

## Farmworkers used up and thrown away



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

On New Year's Eve, after working a full eight-hour day, 300 onion field workers at Boskovitch Farms in the Santa Clarita Valley in California were suddenly fired, without any warning. These workers were stunned, as many of them had been with the company from 15 to 30 years. New Year's Eve these workers were given their last paycheck, and were told that they would not be rehired or relocated to another Boskovitch property.

The Boskovitch family, which had grown rich from the bent backs of these workers in the Santa Clarita Valley, is moving much of its farming operation to Mexico where, according to them, they can get field workers for a whole day for what they pay a worker here to work for one hour.

### 30 YEARS AND OUT

These farmworkers worked from sunrise to sunset, sometimes two weeks without a day off, sometimes by the lights of their cars, when the company had large orders to fill. One woman, Rosa Delarosa, said she had worked in spite of back pain and arthritis when she was needed to help fill large orders for Boskovitch. And now suddenly: no job.

In the "Workshop Talks" column in the Feb. 13 N&L, John Marcotte wrote about how the new so-called "immigration reform" law is really an attack on American labor. He discussed one aspect that shows how the big growers have made sure to guarantee themselves a supply of cheap labor, no matter how else immigration policy in this country changes. But what is never guaranteed is the worker's right to a job.

What kind of system is capitalism, when one person has the power to control the means for another to exist? It's against the law to kill another, but what is the difference in killing a person or taking away his or her means to live?

I went to Newhall in the Santa Clarita Valley to try to meet some of these workers to hear their story. I went to what they call the "outdoor unemployment office" — the lot outside a market on San Fernando Road where workers gather hoping for day labor.

I met one worker who had been working for Bosko-  
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### Black World

## America's Black touchstone



by Lou Turner

Two recent accounts—one appearing in the Feb. 13 issue of *News & Letters* by Lucius Outlaw on the mass Civil Rights march in Forsyth County, Georgia, and the other, Jesse Jackson's Op-Ed article in the Jan. 28 *New York Times*—represent compelling responses to distinct and ongoing struggles of Black America.

Jesse Jackson reminds us that Ronald Reagan openly drew Klan support when he first announced his candidacy for President in Philadelphia, Mississippi, where in 1963 three civil rights workers—Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman—were murdered. Nevertheless, Rev. Jackson's reminder was not for the purpose of drawing the inescapable conclusion that Lucius Outlaw does, namely, that "racism in the U.S. is Reaganism. It is an agenda on which Black people are expendable."

### JESSE JACKSON AND REAGANOMICS

Rev. Jackson wants us to look past the "symbol" of the racist, neo-fascist episodes that occurred in Howard Beach and Forsyth County, to the real "source"—Reaganomics. "The farmers in Forsyth County feel like an endangered species," Rev. Jackson tells us, adding: "What can they expect from an Administration that has presided over the decimation of family farming? When people lose their hope, it is hard for them to be open minded." In other words, Reaganomics made them do it!

Once, the late African-American poet Robert Hayden expressed what binds the symbol to the source of American civilization:

...what do they fear mistrust betray more than the freedom they boast of in their ignorant pride...  
america...as much a problem in metaphysics as it is a nation...

("American Journal")

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## One year after Marcos ouster: an in-person report

# The Philippines: coups, mass opposition



More than 20,000 marched in Manila Jan. 26 to protest army massacre of peasant demonstration.

by R. Russell

*Manila, The Philippines*—In today's Philippines what is most striking is the intense political atmosphere of activity and discussion that has led up to the national plebiscite on the proposed Constitution, Feb. 2: first, the massacre of 16 peasants and supporters on the historic Mendiola Bridge in the heart of Manila, Jan. 21 (see in-person report, Feb. 13 N&L); then the 20,000 who marched in protest against the massacre on Jan. 26 (see article, p.2); finally the three-day coup attempt by right-wing, pro-Marcos forces in the unreformed military on Jan. 27-29.

On the Monday following the Jan. 21 massacre, we marched 20,000 strong, crossing the Mendiola Bridge, and past Malacanang Palace. A member of BISIG (acronym for the Tagalog Bukluran sa Ikauunlad ng Sosyalistang Isip at Gawa, or Union for the Development of Socialist Theory and Practice), the group with which I marched, said it was the first time in many attempts that he had made it over the bridge without gunfire or tear gas and dispersal. But immediately after passing by the international press, with the bright television lights and national politicians observing, thousands of demonstrators held hands and ran through dark streets toward the main boulevard, exhilarated but fearful of violent retribution.

Thousands walked to the church where three of the peasants lay in state. Hundreds filed past the caskets as relatives, many very poor and from the provinces, looked on and were touched and comforted by the revolutionaries. One human rights activist working with Task Force Detainees of the Philippines told me that many of the peasants caught up in the massacre were still unaccounted for, either languishing in prison somewhere, or lost in the city at large.

Living these momentous events in person in the context of a truly startling diversity of human forces struggling to give birth to a new society, creates a lasting impact; at some point, the realization comes that you yourself have been transformed.

From the moment I stepped off the plane I was "adopted" and taken care of by the Filipino people, both those to whom I was a total stranger, and those who knew me through *News & Letters*. In fact, the most overwhelming initial impression of today's Manila is the contrast between the material retrogression of 15 years of fascist rule and plunder, and the present openness and vitality of the people—the Filipino youth, women, peasants, workers, and national minorities—that a revolutionary movement has inspired.

### URBAN-RURAL RELATION

This contrast is manifest most profoundly in the urban/rural relationship. Perhaps 35% of Manila's population live as squatters in shantytowns, which spring up anywhere vacant land can be found. Many of the people are fleeing the destitute rural areas.

Salig, who is a worker and lives in a squatter community in San Juan, Metro Manila, told me, "We are aiming for constructive change. Right now we are very much engulfed by oppression in our midst...Decisions should come from below. We believe in that principle. Leaders in a community size up a problem, then it is solved collectively. You cannot do it alone. All the people are involved: women, students, out-of-school youth...every force is needed to prevent demolitions."

In fact, the first to massively confront the Aquino Government, one day after the Jan. 22 Mendiola Massacre, was the urban poor, with women in the forefront, who seized and occupied lots at the Dagat-  
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### On the Inside

## CHINA IN TURMOIL



Special 'Theory/Practice' column by Raya Dunayevskaya asks whether Deng is doing the ousting or is the one being ousted... p.5

# AIDS: questions of sexuality and freedom

by Terry Moon

AIDS, the disease from which no one recovers, has forced a national debate about TV ads for condoms, and brought new arguments into the question of sex education and clinics that give out birth control devices and information in high schools. Surgeon General C. Koop seemed to give legitimacy to this debate when he stated in November that we must do something to stem the AIDS epidemic and that, next to abstinence, condoms are the best known safeguard.

While it sounded as if that fanatical Reaganite anti-abortionist, Koop, had at last said something that made sense, that illusion was dispelled on Jan. 30 when Koop instantly capitulated to Education Secretary William J. Bennett, who insisted that the emphasis had to be on morals and abstinence.

It is not only that Reaganism and the Catholic Church ignore reality when they insist, as Koop and Bennett's joint statement did, that "Young people should be taught that the best precaution is abstinence until it is possible to establish a mutually faithful monogamous relationship." What is so sickening is that if they can't impose their twisted concept of "values" and "morals" on the women and youth of the U.S. and control our sexuality to fit their ideas, they would just as soon have us die.

## MARX NOT SO FAR AFIELD

While it may seem far afield, what this debate brought to my mind was what Marx wrote in his *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts* in 1844. I found myself thinking of one sentence in particular: "To what degree the needs of man have become human needs is also seen in this relationship (between men and women), i.e., to what degree another human is needed as a human being..." Here Marx was not talking about needs like food and shelter; he was working out what being a human being meant and could mean in a new society.

That kind of thinking about what it means to be human is totally missing in the whole debate going on today, because this administration doesn't give a damn about what our human needs are. Not only do they run roughshod over our needs for human dignity, meaningful work, the right of women to control our own bodies; even the necessities like food and shelter—which could be met even in Marx's day—are either brutally denied or ignored, or we are forced to fight just to keep them.

Even with the liberals it is not human needs that is on their minds. Their attitude is that we have to be pragmatic because an AIDS epidemic in the next 10 years would be more devastating than the bubonic plague, and because the number of teenage women in the U.S. becoming pregnant averages near 3,000 every day, with more than half giving birth and half of those births to women who are not married.

## REAGANISM'S PUNITIVE ATTITUDE

On the other hand you have Reaganism and the Catholic Church, whose attitude to all these questions can be summed up in one word: punitive. Their attitude is that, by god, if you have sex without being married, or with too many people, you're going to pay. You're going to pay by getting pregnant, in which case they will do everything they can to keep you from having an abortion—especially if you are poor—or from

## Philippine indignation

**Manila, The Philippines**—On Monday, Jan. 26, an indignation rally was held condemning the violent dispersal of the peasants' march held on Jan. 22 (see Feb. 13 N&L), where 20 people were killed and more than 96 wounded in their march to Mendiola. The indignation rally was the biggest held since President Aquino assumed power.

More than 20,000 people of various organizations of the Left movement took part demanding the immediate investigation and punishment of those involved. It was a tense moment for both sides. Despite the mainstream Left's avowal to "settle accounts," nothing happened to mar the peaceful rally. What could have been a potential burst of violence was diffused as some Cabinet officials and leading personalities of the cause-oriented groups took part in the rally.

If violence had occurred in the rally, the military coup plotters could have stepped in and justified their intervention by saying that the government did not have control of the situation any longer. They calculated to take the political initiative the moment the Aquino government was wracked with internal crises. At the moment, the situation apparently seems to be normal after a landslide victory of "yes" for the 1987 Constitution.

The peaceful indignation rally created an atmosphere wherein the ultra-right and militarist forces could not implement their coup plan successfully. It was intended that a series of destabilizing moves take place before the Feb. 2 plebiscite. A clear legalistic mind was behind the whole plot, and none other than the dictator Marcos must have hatched the plan.

The takeover of Channel 7, the armed confrontations between the government forces and the coup plotters at Villamar airbase and at Sangley Point, only confirmed the general plan of taking major military installations as a precondition for a successful takeover. In the last day of the three-day siege at Channel 7, a glaring lack of civilian support for the "mutiny" showed the utter failure of the coup d'etat. The first bid to grab power was over.

—Correspondent, The Philippines

getting birth control information in the first place. Or you're going to pay by dying of AIDS.

When young people first begin to explore their own sexuality, how can they do the kind of thinking that Marx was talking about if the very question is drowned in ignorance and fear of death and of pregnancy? Shall we pick a lifelong partner so that we won't get AIDS? Will we end up needing another human being so that we can have regular "safe sex"? No doubt Koop and Bennett think that is what women are for; I think women and the youth of the 1980s have a different notion of what we need and want.

That different notion finds expression in the fight against Reaganism. We know from our own experience that it is precisely when we are fighting for our freedom that we sometimes, quite suddenly, grasp what it means to be fully human and what our needs are. I think that is what Marx meant when he talked of how we are "only individualized through the process of history."



Women in Lebanon continued their protests (see Jan. 30, 1987, N&L). On Feb. 3, Moslem women demonstrated at Beirut University demanding the release of four professors who were kidnapped last month. Over 500 people took part in the march as a general strike called by students protesting the kidnapping paralyzed West Beirut.

The Detroit, Mich., Cadillac Tower maintenance employees found out they are not alone when on Feb. 2 more than 300 people joined their picket line (see Jan. 30, 1987, N&L). They were protesting the firing of 20 workers on New Year's Eve, who are now awaiting trial for chaining themselves together in the lobby of the building on Jan. 5. One group of supporters came from Local 26 of the United Food and Commercial Workers, who have been on strike against Cook Family Foods since the beginning of January.

Israeli women are up in arms over discriminatory laws. Women in the town of Migdal Haemek protested the rabbi's decision to bar all women—even women relatives—from the gravesite of 105-year-old matriarch Hannah Chamu, because 11th century mystical writings could attribute the town's recent misfortunes to the presence of women at gravesites. Throughout Israel, women are as well demonstrating against divorce laws which require the consent of both parties, yet give more freedom to the man. It took one woman, who left her husband because of repeated beatings, 23 years to obtain a divorce.

## Working pregnant & angry

**Detroit, Mich.**—I read in the newspaper about Lillian Garland, the Black woman in California who got pregnant, and when she came back to work after having her baby, her job was gone. (See Feb. 13, 1987, N&L.) A woman at my job came back to work after her pregnancy. I asked, "Did you come back because you wanted to, or because you had to?" She said, "I had to, because after my six-week check-up with my doctor, he said I was physically OK. After that, I couldn't pick up any more benefit checks."

At our job, you don't get paid for pregnancy leave by the company, but from sick and death insurance benefits. Our contract says you can collect for 13 weeks. When women are pregnant, or after they give birth, a lot of people say, "Stick it out as long as you can. That way you'll have more time with your baby after it's born." But you can't do that unless you've got a lot of money saved up.

You get \$90 a week in benefits. It's not much but it sure beats nothing. But they take away even that \$90 a week you're entitled to under the contract when management and the insurance company get together and say, "The doctor says you're OK." So my co-worker got her benefits cut off six weeks after she had her baby. It wasn't her choice to come back to work, she had to.

I don't think this is fair. Our contract says we're entitled to 13 weeks of sick and accident insurance. Then too, if you have a serious injury, you need to be off more than 13 weeks. But they won't pay for the full time you are disabled. So either the benefits don't last long enough, or you can't collect for the full term.

You can feel tired from the strain of labor and childbirth, though physically all your organs are all right and you're able to walk. But you just feel like you want to rest. It seems like rest and relaxation are supposed to be only for the wealthy, and leisure is something a worker is never able to have at all. —Working woman

## Russian feminist speaks

*Editor's note—Tatyana Mamonova was exiled from Russia in 1980 for her editorship of the samizdat book, Women and Russia: an Almanac by Women about Women. (See July 1980 and Jan.-Feb. 1981 N&L.) That work revealed a diverse Russian Women's Liberation Movement and exposed the sexism in that state-capitalist land. Below we print excerpts from an article she recently sent to News & Letters.*

...Women doctors, lawyers and engineers in the Soviet Union certainly have a greater chance of realizing their potential now than they did before, but the patriarchal society demands from them untiring proof of their rightfulness. You want new rights? Fine! But you remain accountable for all that was earlier required of you by nature and tradition. If you can cope with both the old and the new responsibilities, we will raise you to higher spheres. And don't complain—it's your choice. Be strong. Be quiet...

Methods of birth control are primitive, and this is an area with practically no development in the Soviet Union. Naturally, women must resort to many abortions. This affects their health, so government officials thoughtfully begin to raise the question of banning abortions. A new dead end.

So, too, was the way in which the new exploitation of women in heavy industry such as construction and railroad work was ended in 1981—following underground feminist criticism which was penetrated from above—with a ban which identified 460 jobs as dangerous for women, such as driving buses, trams, airplanes and steamships. A doubtful solution.

I find myself in a vacuum. While in the Soviet Union, I was not allowed to attend international women's conferences, just as I was not allowed on the Committee of Soviet Women. It would seem that all doors should be open to me now.

However, my efforts to attend the Copenhagen Women's Conference immediately after my exile in 1980 were unsuccessful because I did not have a passport. In 1983, the French feminists invited me to UNESCO in Paris, but then informed me that being a stateless citizen, I did not have the right to speak there.

In 1985 the Kenyan Consul denied me a visa for a trip to the international women's conference in Nairobi for no apparent reason. Neither in Vienna, from where I tried to escape to Copenhagen, nor in Paris, nor in New York where I was denied a visa, did anyone come to my aid. My appearance in Boston on the program "The Women's Conference in Nairobi" received a strange answer from the international committee: "Do you belong to any organization? We do not concern ourselves with individual questions..." What a pity. Wouldn't it be worth it for them to compare experiences so as not to repeat mistakes?...

—Tatyana Mamonova

## Women students at Wesleyan 'break the silence'

*Editor's note: In October, six women students at Wesleyan University in Connecticut began interrupting campus tours to discuss the problem of sexual assault with prospective students and their parents (see Jan. 30, 1987, N&L).*

We were found guilty in January by the Student Judiciary Board (SJB) of violating the non-academic code of conduct. We had been charged with verbal harassment, which is included in the same section of the code as coercion and sexual assault. We were not found guilty of that. However, we were found guilty of "interrupting the institutional process in a way that endangers the safety or freedom of others."

Our trial lasted seven hours, from 7:30 pm to 2:45 am. Three of us were put on non-academic probation, which is a political censorship. If we're found guilty of violating the code again this semester, according to the terms of the SJB and the administration we will be suspended or expelled.

After this semester we're still censored because if one is found guilty of violating the same section of the code again the SJB is supposed to augment the punishment. The three others were issued letters of warning because they don't have a past record, whereas the three who were put on non-academic probation had been arrested last year when 128 students blockaded the administration building demanding divestment in South Africa.

What we actually said on the campus tours was moderate. We did it as a way to increase awareness and break the silence about sexual assault. We said that we know it's not specific to our campus but we're not satisfied with the resources available at Wesleyan and feel the administration could respond in better ways.

Targeting the admissions office is not taken well by a corporate body like Wesleyan. This is only an educational institution insofar as it doesn't affect the corporate end. Of course when the disenfranchised speak out you'll "interrupt the institutional process."

This is not the only form of activity that was going on here. There is an ad-hoc committee researching the history of sexual abuse at Wesleyan. We also held a teach-in on sexual assault at which 50 people, both women and men, spoke out about their own experiences.

The university tries not to pay any attention to these problems. The police say there were no incidents reported to them last semester. But based on third-party reports to the Middlesex Hospital Crisis Center, we estimate that at least 30 Wesleyan students were sexually assaulted last semester.

—A participant

# Boycott Hormel—rally in Austin

Dear Workers,

Austin, Minn.

The Hormel Company has been promoting that they and the city of Austin are in a healing process. The problem with that statement is over 850 families, in Austin alone, disagree. A total of nearly 1,400 workers have not returned to work, and no provisions have been made to get their jobs back.

In August of 1985 when Local P-9 tried to negotiate the criminal injury rate of 202%, the reduction of benefits and wages, and the union rights that belong to

them, the Hormel Company had no intention to budge from their concessionary position, even with record-breaking profits.

Over 800 people who crossed the P-9-sanctioned picket line in January of 1986 are currently operating the packing plant, most of whom live out of state. The loyal union people who refused to cross a picket line are being called dissident vandals. Anyone who tries to fill out an application for employment is automatically refused when it is discovered they were with P-9.

Only with media such as News & Letters can the rank-and-file be informed of the truth and draw their own conclusions. Without papers such as this and the support generated, the P-9 families would have gone hungry long ago. Your continued support is the only source we have to feed the striking families. As has been said for years, an injury to one is an injury to all.

Over the past 17 months Local P-9 has tried many things to try to settle this problem, one of which is to call people to Austin to help understand the problems we all are faced with in the workplace. On March 14, 1987, the Austin United Support Group is having a rally to bring people together in solidarity. No one should go away with any unanswered questions. Speakers and entertainment will be provided for the entire day. If we all stand together we can put an end to this destruction.

In Solidarity,

Denny Mealy, 19-year member



For contributions and information, contact Hormel Rank & File Fight Back Fund, PO Box 903, Austin, MN 55912, (507) 437-4110.

## TV ad all too real

The latest Dunkin' Donuts ad on TV really epitomizes capitalism. Instead of revolving around the market place, like most ads do, it is all about "production for the sake of production"—of donuts. The donut maker leaves his house in the early early morning bleary eyed and tired saying, "got to make the donuts." The next shot, he arrives home, dragging himself through the doors saying, "made the donuts." The film speeds up (just like the production line!) and you see him going in and out the door through rain, sleet and shine, one of him saying "got to make the donuts," the other saying "made the donuts." He is now spending every moment of his day making the donuts, even in his sleep. The ceaseless production of donuts has made him insane.

—Receptionist, New York City

## Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

vitch for five years. He made \$4.65 an hour — more than minimum wage because he was an onion washer, which was "above" a picker. He said that out of the crew of 100 the company kept only 20, and that four crews of 100 each were laid off. He said: "Boskovitch will hire new people and pay them minimum wage. He fired all of us who were making \$4.65."

### FARMWORKER DEATH CAMPS

I read another article in the Los Angeles Times about the working conditions in San Quintin, Mexico, where Mixtec Indians, natives of Southern Mexico, come to work in the fields for \$3 or \$4 a day. They live in crowded labor camps. One woman featured in the story was Maria Parra. Her three-year-old son died from dysentery the day before.

This was not the first child the Parras had lost. The last time they worked in San Quintin they lost a son, two years old; he also died from dysentery. They are worried about their six-year-old daughter; the day they buried their son she had been sick from diarrhea and bleeding. The Times writer reported that the conditions in the camp are typical of the area. The children often get sick and die from dysentery or malnutrition.

Is this what the American capitalists are running south of the border to do? Is this the cheap labor they exploit and brag about? To me these capitalists should be brought to trial and found guilty for crimes against humanity.

Even here in the U.S., it was only this month, Feb. 6, 1987, that a court ordered the Labor Dept. to issue regulations requiring farmers to provide toilets and drinking water to farmworkers in the field! Men, women, and children. This covers over half a million workers. In our great civilization, the richest country in the world.

And the capitalist growers with their lackies in Washington have opposed these rules and still oppose them. And even if there are regulations, that doesn't mean they will be enforced. It's going to take labor itself, in the fields and the factories and the mills, to make rules for ourselves, to bring a human change.

# Making worker fit machine shows capitalism's values

Los Angeles, Cal.—The roofing tile production plant where I work just bought a new shingle machine and created a new third shift. The company didn't call back the workers laid-off a few years back, but hired in workers from another roofing company.

These new workers were put right on the line their first day of work without a breaking-in period. The attitude of the plant manager is that there is no excuse for a loss of production time—not even a mechanical breakdown, much less a physical injury—when they need to pay for this expensive new shingle machine.

Even an experienced worker like the coater machine operator, who had been on the job for 10 years, was rushing to do his job and got his pants leg caught in the coating pump coupling. His leg was broken instantly.

A few new workers quit their first day on the job. One woman worker stated that she was not even able to get a drink of water, much less go to the restroom if she needed to. Another worker told me that they were not used to working without a break every two hours: "It's a federal law that they don't observe here, and the union doesn't seem to be any help."

Our plant has many unsafe working conditions, from speed-up to silicon dust and asphalt fumes in the air due to a bad exhaust system. To top this off the state doesn't give a damn either. Gov. Deukmejian plans to dismantle Occupational Health and Safety (Cal OSHA) and wipe out local efforts to criminally prosecute employers whose negligence results in workplace deaths, to save the state \$8 million a year.

The company were I work is a reflection of a system gone mad, where a death-defiant pace is required to maintain a job, and we must compete against other working people to survive.

—Gene Ford

## Union talk at NJ store

Newark, N.J.—"The torture never ends," reads a button a fellow worker wears every day. That speaks totally to what's going on in this retail store, part of a big chain. Profits are up through the roof, the stock is about to split, and none of it is going back to us, even though through Christmas we were told we better work 60 hours-plus a week.

Management has instituted a new way to try to divide us, called "department heads," workers who get a little more money and are made to be stooges. They promoted or fired all the assistant managers. That means that department heads now do what assistant managers used to do.

They tell department heads, "Do not do any work—get somebody to do it." It is a division between mental and manual labor—they do the thinking and order somebody to do the work. One department head said she doesn't want to tell us what to do, but now it's her job that's at stake.

Now that we just had our lay-offs, we are told key people will be brought in on cut shifts: seven hours here, nine hours there, till 8 or 9 pm, when they want you. Unfortunately, the most militant fighters, the youth from the inner city, were laid-off. After the Christmas rush, if you're not playing ball 100% their way, you're out. Some of us have been fired for "minor infractions," and others have been warned that if we don't fall in line we will be fired.

Because of all this, discussion of unionism has come up. Even those who have been here awhile—who when a union first came around seven or eight years ago were glad management shut the door on them, sent out for food and wouldn't let the union reps in—even they are talking union.

—David Anderson

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## Editorial

## Challenging the nuclear warheads of Reagan

In the largest protest ever held at the Nevada Test Site, more than 2,000 people demonstrated Feb. 5 against Ronald Reagan's continual testing of nuclear weapons. The demonstration came just two days after the first announced underground nuclear test of 1987. This challenge to the nuclear madness of the Reagan administration—over 400 were arrested when they crossed the boundary line and entered the test site—marks a new moment of anti-war opposition that is very necessary, and which must be developed.

Far from the exposure of the Iran arms deals and the illegal funding of the Contras' terrorism against the people of Nicaragua slowing down the nuclear warhead of Reagan, the period since the scandal has become public has been one in which new pro-war actions have taken place, especially concerning Star Wars:

• **The militarization of the space laboratory**—This past December the Pentagon suddenly insisted that all negotiations with U.S. allies concerning their participation in the construction and work aboard the space laboratory be suspended. (See "Star Wars from the Skies," Jan. 30 N&L.) The Defense Department wants no international agreement that would preclude its use of the space station for anti-missile and other military research.

• **An attempt to gut the anti-ballistic missile (ABM) treaty of 1972**—In order to rush to Star Wars testing in the skies, and not only on the ground, the Reagan administration has turned the language of the treaty upside down. Borrowing from the Orwellian language of doublespeak, the Pentagon, led by Caspar Weinberger and his warhawk cohorts, has invented terms like LCI—legally correct interpretation—to make a "broad" interpretation as opposed to a "narrow" one of the ABM treaty. This obfuscation of treaty language will destroy the meaning of the treaty.

• **A Pentagon Star Wars shuttle**—In December the Pentagon requested its own heavy lift shuttle to put Star Wars parts into orbit. Not content with the fact that the military is the number one user of the crippled "civilian" NASA space shuttle, the Pentagon wants bil-

lions for its own space shuttle.

• **Rushing for early deployment of a Star Wars system**—Kinetic kill vehicles, which are space-based rockets, Exoatmospheric Re-entry Vehicle Interception System, or ERIS, which is concerned with ground-based interceptors, and High Endoatmospheric Defense Interceptor, or HEDI, which would intercept warheads as they re-enter the atmosphere—all are part of Star Wars programs that Reagan wants to be in place by the mid-



1990s. This administration hopes to be so far into the program that no future president could stop it.

At the Nevada Nuclear test site demonstration were several members of Congress. As well, the Chairman of the Senate Armed Forces Committee, Sam Nunn, questioned the Reagan administration's interpretation of the ABM treaty. But Congress does not represent any fundamental opposition to the Reagan policies. After all, Congress in the Reagan years has given the military almost all it has requested on a silver platter.

**No, to stay the hand of this nuclear president no action or act of Congress will do. Only a deepening of the activity of the anti-nuclear movement can assure a fundamental challenge.**

The demonstrations at the nuclear test site were accompanied by protests at dozens of college campuses

across the country. But the question of deepening is not alone one of numbers. In June 1982 some three-quarters of a million people marched and gathered in New York City in the largest anti-nuclear protest in U.S. history. However, in the years since, Reagan has seen fit to go full steam ahead on both his nuclear and conventional war plans. The possibility of an invasion of Nicaragua is not something separate from his Star Wars schemes, but part of the same retrogressionist mentality. The same can be said for many of his reactionary policies right within the United States against labor, women, Blacks, youth.

Thus, an opposition to Reagan's nuclear plans cannot be separated from building a movement to change America root and branch. If the anti-nuclear movement that demonstrated in Nevada and across the country can begin to confront that reality, a new beginning can be at hand.

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## AMERICAN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL: THE STATE OF REAGAN'S AMERICA — 1987

## Reader

When you see the hate from the whites in Howard Beach, NY and Forsyth County, Georgia, you understand how Marcus Garvey got six million Black Americans to support his movement. You wonder if there is any way out here.

Furious  
Illinois

I'm one of the few Blacks who live on the upper East Side. I've been living here for 16 years, but at least once a week I'm stopped by a white plain-clothesman and asked for identification. He says, "You look like someone we are looking for." When I complained to one cop he told me that 90 percent of the prison inmates are Black. It's a humiliating experience. I'm indicted for being a Black man everytime I step out of the door.

Jim  
Manhattan

We need to ask: "who speaks for the Black masses"? We mustn't lose sight of the fact that the movement made King a leader. N&L from the beginning called the movement not "civil rights," but "freedom now." Contrast this with the recent NAACP "image" awards ceremony on TV, which seemed only to be trying to show that a Black's intellect could be the equal of whites.

Kings memory is being corrupted. It's disgusting to see George Schultz linking arms with Coretta King and singing "We shall overcome"...

Long-time activist  
Brooklyn, NY

## WORKERS' LIVES

Have you seen the Feb. 2 issue of Newsweek? The cover story is "Your next boss may be Japanese." Inside they tell you that this is "where the jobs are" in America now, and give advice on "How to win over a Japanese boss." Here are some of their hints: "Work long hours; be patient; eat raw fish; move to a small town." Unfortunately it is no joke; it is outright, disgusting racism. Here is Reagan's "competitive edge" in all its xenophobic glory.

Working woman  
Chicago

John Marcotte's column "Immigration law attacks labor" (N&L, Feb. 13)

showed what a sham the new "liberal" immigration control act is. I believe another reason that this law is anti-labor and anti-immigration is the fact that the working conditions of undocumented workers dovetail with the capitalist drive towards a two-tier society. The very structure of this new law is that of a two-tier system, giving growers the option for hiring "guest workers" at even lower wages.

Labor activist  
Los Angeles

I've read in history books about how orphans used to be sent off to work houses. Now Governor Blanchard says he wants to bring all that back. He says it's supposed to be a "learning experience" for teenage delinquents. If a youth is caught at shoplifting or something like that, they want to send him or her off to what sounds like a work house, although the Governor isn't calling it that—he's calling it "camp."

Worker  
Michigan

I recently met an El Salvadoran and we got in a good discussion. He told me about how the Salvadoran government takes Indians out of the mountains and puts them in the army. It reminded me of how the U.S. government takes Blacks and Chicanos from the ghetto, where there are no jobs, and puts them in the army. My new Salvadoran friend was happy to see from my response that not all white Americans are red-necks.

Revolutionary white worker  
California

## THE HOMELESS

There are more and more abandoned cars on the streets of Detroit. The towing companies don't make enough money towing them so the cars just sit there. So many people are homeless in Detroit by now that people are living in some of these cars. N&L's Native American columnist, Shainape Shcapwe told me that it was like this back home on the reservation in North Dakota. People lived in old cars there so long that you would see cars with wood stoves in them. This "renaissance city" looks more and more like the reservations whose brutal conditions of life

pushed many Native people into the cities in search of something better.

Steve Fletcher  
Detroit

On Feb. 6 the homeless here started a Reaganville tent city in the park next to Berkeley's city hall. It is great because we realize we are not alone. I got out of college recently, ended up cooking in a restaurant, and when business was slow I lost my job. I couldn't pay my rent and got booted on the street. The hardest thing is depression. You wonder when you're going to be able to get cleaned up to go out and find work. The permit we have is for 20 people to stay out here. They don't want all of us to get together. When people see they can stay out here, and start talking to each other, things will change.

Homeless  
Berkeley

## MILITARISM

According to a recent Wall Street Journal, "Official U.S. policy holds that the Soviet needn't worry about the Trident II's first-strike threat because the U.S. would never start a nuclear war." But many Americans are not so sanguine. Over 7,000 converged on Cape Canaveral in mid-January to protest the first flight test of the Trident nuclear missile. More than 200 were arrested for various acts of nonviolent civil disobedience. Strong national networks will sustain this struggle, as Americans become more and more aware of the military intrusion on all aspects of our lives. Your readers can get more information from:

National Mobilization for Survival  
853 Broadway, Rm. 418  
New York, N.Y. 10003

I read your column on Platoon and saw the movie. It made me think that I never learned anything about what the Vietnam war was like in history books. Didn't John F. Kennedy start the Vietnam war by sending troops to Vietnam to "build roads"? Now Reagan is sending the National Guard to Honduras to start a war. Nobody is listening to the public, neither Reagan nor Gorbachev. Both superpowers put all the priorities on money.

High school student  
Chicago

## DUPRE/DUNAYEVSKAYA

Louis Dupré's argument in his review of Dunayevskaya's works (N&L, Feb. 13) is difficult and very new. It is certainly surprising to see this Hegelian scholar dwelling on the most economic parts of both Marx and Dunayevskaya. It is not surprising, of course, that when he quotes Dunayevskaya's analysis that, in Capital, Marx had actually "deepened" the Hegelian dialectic, Dupré emphatically disagrees with her. But what is nothing less than startling is the last line of his review—his conclusion that Dunayevskaya is "independent of" Marx. Is Dupré saying that Dunayevskaya has made explicit what Marx, himself, did not yet see in his own historical materialism? It is a most thought-provoking and original review of Dunayevskaya's work!

Mike Connolly  
Chicago

It was most illuminating to see that someone like Louis Dupré concentrated his review of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution on Part III of that work, which he called "the dialectical element in Marx's theory." It was also illuminating to see Dunayevskaya give her column over for a genuine dialogue to a review that so clearly disagrees with her work.

Young intellectual  
Chicago

## ORAL ROBERTS FUNERAL FUND

The John Lennon Society, a progressive student activist organization at Northern Illinois University in DeKalb, Ill. has established the Oral Roberts memorial funeral fund. Should he die on March 31, all proceeds will go to his widow to cover funeral costs. In the event that he does not die by the anticipated date, all proceeds will be used to build a progressive student movement at N.I.U., with a focus on ending CIA recruitment at N.I.U. and complete divestiture of financial interests in South Africa held by the N.I.U. Foundation. Donations should be sent to:

Help Bury Oral Roberts  
P.O. Box 1013  
DeKalb, IL 60115

**Theory/Practice**

by **Raya Dunayevskaya**

Chairwoman, National Editorial Board

The December 1986 month-long student demonstrations in China brought into the open the present turmoil, but they were neither the cause nor the consequence of what is bringing the crisis to a climax. Behind the in-fighting within the Communist Party leadership trying to shift the blame for the present crisis from itself to the rank-and-file, there is a great deal more involved than either finding scapegoats, or the "West's" dogmatic and vulgar glibness about economic "reforms" and political "democracy."

Clearly, in one respect, it is a question of the succession to Deng Xiaoping which will be on the agenda in the fall when the Thirteenth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is held. But even that is only a partial answer, for it is not a question of who will follow Deng, but what will follow any successor. To avoid the answer to that type of burning question, Mao Zedong had called the near-civil war of the 1971 Lin Biao affair "the great disorder under Heaven."

There is no doubt that that had been the most serious crisis since winning power, and that the crisis came not from the outside or from capitalist elements within the country, but from within the ruling Communist Party leadership, from the very one Mao had constitutionally designated as his successor ("closest comrade in arms").

A whole decade has passed since Mao's death. The disasters of his final decade called the Cultural Revolution have been halted. Yet the "new" world stage he set in motion by rolling the red carpet out for Nixon in 1971 is exactly what happens to national questions in a global world when two nuclear Behemoths are struggling for single world mastery and you do not unfold a truly independent challenge.

**THE 1985 YOUTH CHALLENGE TO DENG'S OPENING TO JAPAN AND OTHER STRUGGLES**

The Youth have always had a very special role in the Chinese revolutionary movements, and none more im-

**Whither China?**

portant than the 1960s (to which we will return). But to fully understand the ongoing demonstrations in 1986-87, we have to turn to the demonstrations the year before, to the final quarter of 1985. The demonstrations in China in 1985 were not on any youth problems; they were a challenge to Deng's new policy on Japan. The students read Prime Minister Nakasone's militaristic visit to the shrine where World War II officers lay buried as signifying the same retrogressionist move as Reagan's visit to the Bitburg cemetery in Germany, which produced the same type of outcry against this so-called conciliationism with the Nazi-Japanese militarist past. It was a direct challenge to Deng's deviationism, not only on Japan but globally, and not only on "foreign affairs" but nationally, from the labor/capital relationship at work (witness the steel workers' strikes) as well as reflecting the continuing restlessness in the People's Liberation Army.

That the CCP leadership understood that's what the students were doing could be seen as early as Oct. 9, 1985, when the Japanese Foreign Minister, Shintaro Abe, arrived in Beijing to discuss the new Peace and Friendship Treaty that had been signed between China and Japan. The Chinese Vice-Premier Li Peng agreed with him that relations between China and Japan were now on an even keel, but nevertheless reminded the Japanese Foreign Minister of all the difficulties that there have been between the two countries.

Indeed, the Japanese news agency Kyodo reported that "Li obliquely blamed" the Japanese government for having caused certain "unstable elements in their relationship." Since clearly the student demonstrations against Japan continued, it certainly cannot be considered an accident that the CCP official at that moment confirmed that "rapprochement talks were going on between it and the Japanese Communist Party."<sup>1</sup>

1. See the Quarterly Chronicle and Documentation Section of the China Quarterly, no. 105, March 1986. Indeed, the Documentation Sections of the magazine from the whole period of Oct. 1985 through Sept. 1986 are important both for military affairs and foreign affairs, with Japan on the one hand and Russia on the other, as well as actual economic developments in the country.

At the same time there were contradictory reports, (more or less deliberately contradictory) so that the reader didn't know which one set the direction for the year. Was it, for example, a fact, denied by China, that it and the United States engaged in joint naval maneuvers, or was it a fact that China itself was undergoing great technological and militaristic developments in the Pacific? (See nos. 106 and 107 of the Quarterly Chronicle and Documentation Sections of the China Quarterly).

**FROM MARX TO MAO**

To fully understand what 1987 has in store for China in light of what has been developing in the objective situation on one hand and the wrestling with the Mao legacy on the other, we have to turn to 1983. The significance of 1983 rests on the fact that it was both the Marx Centenary Year and the 62nd anniversary of the founding of the CCP.

What is of more immediate importance is Mao Zedong Thought. On Nov. 27, 1981, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party finally passed a resolution entitled, "Mao Zedong's Historical Role and Mao Zedong Thought." To prove that though Mao had made "gross mistakes in the 'Cultural Revolution'...his merits are primary and his errors secondary," they summarized Mao's Thought as follows: "Mao made a theoretical synthesis of China's unique experience in its protracted revolution in accordance with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism...many outstanding leaders of our party made important contributions to the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought and they are synthesized in the scientific work of comrade Mao."

By 1983 there was a great deal more than just the continuation of Mao's Collected Works. The question was what is that collectivity that produced Mao Zedong Thought? They have now issued the Selected Works of the present-day recognized leaders—Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Deng. Deng is the only one living, the one with the power, the one who is bringing about the most challenges to his own rule. The first who had to fall as these demonstrations reached a climax was his protege, Hu Yaobang.

Let's never forget that youth have a very special role in China in the 20th century. Back in the mid-1960s they even thought that they could use the Cultural

(continued on page 7)

**Views**

**'TOOTING OUR HORN'**

N&L doesn't toot its own horn loud enough. The "changed world" N&L has been talking about as a dramatic shift, ever since last April, is now clear to everyone since discovery of the second government in the basement of the White House.

**M. Franki**  
Bay Area

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I like very much your trying to make N&L an organ of reader and editor communication. What you are doing is something rare and phenomenal. There are few weeklies and journals about which I know anything that follow anything like such a program... The space you already give to your readers surprises me; I am especially happy, not only for this, but that you also publish letters expressing strong disagreement with your stand on various matters... I am sending a small contribution.

**Veteran socialist**  
Cape Girardeau, Mo.

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Please make my subscription retroactive. I want ultimately to work my way back insofar as past issues are concerned because I think of N&L in terms of a personal reference library.

**Reader**  
Massachusetts

*Editor's Note: Bound volumes of N&L are available at \$25 a volume for the following years: 1963-70; 1970-77; 1977-84. Unbound copies for 1984 to the present can be col-lated on request.*

**ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE**

I was very encouraged to read the report on the strikes in Romania in your Jan 30 issue. Over the past 15 years there have been several outbreaks of strikes in Romania, including the mass strike of Jiu Valley coal miners in 1977 and 1981 which shook Ceausescu's regime to its foundations. In 1979 there was also a major attempt to organize an independent trade union movement which attracted support from thousands of workers, mainly from the Hungarian and German minorities. These events point to how vulnerable is the state

capitalist regime in Romania. The next wave of mass resistance in East Europe could begin there, and at any time. We must be prepared to mobilize full solidarity.

In the spirit of Gdansk.

**Bruce Allen**  
Polish Workers'  
Solidarity Committee  
PO Box 284, Main Station  
St. Catharines, Ontario

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My interest has always been in mass movements and their ideological formation, but such movements do not exist in Italy today. Anyone who tries to form a group or organize a demonstration that is not connected with a recognized political party risks ending up in jail. When some Communist youth and Democrazia Proletaria organized a demonstration of a few hundred against a nuclear reactor center not far from Rome this winter there were more policemen than demonstrators. The presence of "Autonomous" protesters was used as a pretext by the police to use tear-gas and beat people on the head—and when the demonstrators tried to escape into the buses in which they had come, the police threw tear gas into the buses. Some ten or so "autonomous" people were arrested.

The same is true for strikes in which Italian workers have traditionally engaged in massive demonstrations. Now they are settled by union leaders, managers and government arbitrators who sit around a table and decide on contracts. I have not given up all hope, but certainly it is a difficult situation.

**Correspondent**  
Milan

**NO GOOD BOSS**

At the New York Marxist School, a CUNY professor, William Tabb, spoke on "Ivan Boesky in Historical Perspective." He said that there were two types of corporate raider, one a right-wing type, the other a populist figure who wants to improve the company. He missed the important point Charles Denby made in *Indignant Heart*—there is no such thing as a good boss.

Tabb says he is not a "doomsday Marxist," that he has faith in the system being able to play itself out. Isn't it obvious that neither capitalism nor state-capitalism is working? Now China plans to open up a stock market. They claim that their stock exchange will not permit any speculation. But aren't the

leaders already gambling away the lives of the people for increased capital?

**Observer**  
New York

**'NEW HUMANISM OF YOUTH'**

I was disappointed with the article by the Teacher from Paris on the "French students vs. Chirac" (N&L, Jan. 30). I was waiting to read about what Le Monde had called "the humanism of the youth"... When the teacher spoke of the movement being apolitical, what exactly did he mean? It was only apolitical insofar as it was not dominated by any political organization. It may not have contained the rhetoric of 1968, but I do not think it can be reduced, as the bourgeois press has tried, to mere "justice and equality."

**Disappointed**  
New York

Most urgent throughout the first issues of the biweekly N&L is the need to work out direction for the movement—in activity, in thought, in organization—the ways in which people are doing that, and the participation of our organization, News and Letters Committees, with others in working that out. The Chinese and French youth and workers are rejecting the old political formulas and organizations and creating new forms to make freedom real, make it concrete—as Angela Terrano put it in her article on Howard Beach (N&L, Jan. 30). Is it that attempt to make freedom concrete that allows the French correspondents to insist that "...the struggles today do not proclaim any revolutionary ideal?"

**Working woman**  
Philadelphia

I learned a lot from your article on China. News commentators were saying that students got their ideas of democracy filtered from the West. But their movement comes from their own experience, not foreign influence. Students' concerns around basic necessities, overcrowding in dorms, dorm food, etc., is a focus of many student movements, as when I was in Mexico, or in France recently.

**Hospital worker**  
Oakland

I've been going to a lot of demonstrations. Some kids who call them-

selves liberal only go so far as to say that the Republicans are bad and the Democrats are good. But I think the Democrats are only a tiny step different from the Republicans. At the last anti-apartheid demonstration I went to, I joined a group of kids called the "sholem youth group." It's a youth section of a group of secular Jews. We meet once a month—just us, no adults—and discuss what's going on in the world and what to do in demonstrations that are coming up.

**High school student**  
Los Angeles

**DISTRIBUTING N&L—in HAITI, IN MICHIGAN**

I distributed News & Letters at the January 1987 National Congress of Democratic Movements here. At bookstores in Port-au-Prince, where I can place N&L for sale, I want them to also carry the French edition of Raya Dunayevskaya's book, *Marxism and Freedom*. It will sell well in Haiti—people here are interested in these ideas. This book is very developed, because it denounces the bad application of Marxism in certain countries: for example, Russia.

**Correspondent**  
Port-au-Prince, Haiti

In front of a small factory notorious for unsafe conditions, a worker who enthusiastically paid 50¢ for his copy of N&L said, "I like this paper because it contains lots of truth. Inside the conditions get worse and worse. They don't even do proper repairs on the machines. For six months I've looked for a better job, but when you're over 50, you can't find anything new so I'll just have to go on supporting these people with my labor."

**N&L Committee member**  
Michigan

What a great headline to shout out at our distribution there: "U.S. Auto Radiator Makes You Sick!" Maybe you should test-holler all your headlines!

**Susan Van Gelder**  
Detroit

*Editor's Note: Bundles of N&L are 15¢ per copy. Can you distribute the bi-weekly in your area?*

# Black World

(continued from page 1)

Although the "pot of gold" that Rev. Jackson believes is at the end of his Rainbow politics is the Democratic Party sweepstakes, the "symbols" of Howard Beach and Forsyth County have led to a deeper realization by African-Americans that electoral politics have no real transforming power. So objective has that become that not only have their overstrained expectations, which welcomed political power, turned to disappointment, but that disappointment is only one step away from revolt.

In Rev. Jackson's ideological drift toward the "center" of the Democratic Party, he falsely counterposes "economic" to racial violence, allowing Howard Beach and Forsyth County to be soft-pedaled as the activity of "the lunatic fringe." Speaking at California State University in Los Angeles, he told a student audience that "This generation must not wallow in diversion." This is said just as a new generation is emerging on the scene.

What Lucius Outlaw correctly refers to as a "renaissance of feelings and passions" among this new generation of youth activists, also expresses their search for new philosophic beginnings that go beyond the results of the '60s. Any generation that would satisfy itself with "results" previously achieved only succeeds in turning the past into "a pillow for intellectual sloth."

What Rev. Jackson has yet to grasp is that it is not the "source" but this new subject which will determine the course of the movement. And already his economism has thrust him far from the cutting edge of it.

## RACISM: SYMBOL AND SUBSTANCE

Even so moderate a Black spokesman as John Jacob, executive director of the Urban League, finds no confusing disparity between the symbol and the substance of American civilization—its racism. As he puts it: "The Justice Department's war on affirmative action and the powerful disinformation campaign it wages to convince the public that affirmative action is actually reverse discrimination cannot but prejudice attitudes and encourage hostility toward Black citizens."

Words like waging "war" and "disinformation campaign" cannot but underscore the fact that the present racist climate is no mere passing "symbol," but rather flows from the well-springs of American civilization. What Rev. Jackson has not sufficiently grasped is that the new generation of civil rights activists are not the only ones for whom the status quo is intolerable. It is also intolerable to the Reagan-inspired racists who want to turn back the clock on every civil rights gain of the 1960s.

Both liberals and Reagan would do well to consider Marx's warning to Pres. Andrew Johnson, written in 1865 in the name of the First International Workingmen's Association, when Johnson was attempting to dismantle the first Reconstruction, at its birth:

*Injustice against a fraction of your people having been followed by such dire consequences, put an end to it. Declare your fellow citizens from this day forth free and equal, without any reserve. If you refuse them citizens' rights while you exact from them citizens' duties, you will sooner or later face a new struggle which will once more drench your country in blood.\*\**

\*See W.E.B. DuBois' Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880, 1935; p. 354.

## Direct from South Africa

# Emergence of unemployed union

**Johannesburg, S. Africa**—For quite some time in South African circles of trade unionism, the unemployed masses were left without a place or rather a union of refuge where their problems could be catered to. When employed workers in their respective trade unions are laid off, they have no shoulders to cry on.

Due to all the problems and grievances voiced by the unemployed, the idea of forming a union of the unemployed emerged. It took a period of four years for unemployed workers with some of the progressive trade union federations to come together to try to alleviate this problem. A committee has been formed to undertake the task of organizing the unemployed. After development, the union will hopefully exist as an affiliate of COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions), one of the largest federations in South Africa.

We, the suffering group in capitalist society, have now



found a home where we can brace ourselves for a better living without the help from the bourgeoisie in this country.

The committee, which first was named the "Unemployed Workers Co-ordinating Committee" (UWCC) became nationwide in the second week of January 1987, when the committees around South Africa gathered to form a National Unemployed Workers Co-ordinating Committee (NUWCC) in the offices of COSATU.

This committee is aiming to achieve what trade unions failed to take a closer look at—the problems of the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) and campaigns for new jobs. The committee also intends to support workers in different struggles on the factory floors, including the demand for a living wage.

So far, the committee is operating around Transvaal and a few other areas within the borders of South Africa. A major task will be organizing and later erecting co-operatives for the unemployed so they will be able to make a living for the starving families who suffer malnutrition because of unemployment. There is now hope that the unemployed of South Africa will combat capitalism with all its destructive intentions.

—Supporter of NUWCC

## Notes from the Gambia

### The IMF is a debt trap

**Serre Kunda, The Gambia, W. Africa**—What the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has succeeded in doing to this small country is to get it into a debt trap. The starvation wages of the workers still remain stagnant while the price of basic commodities rise. The IMF recommended the reduction in the labor force which resulted in the termination of more than 2,000 workers in 1985. This is known as the "Economic Recovery Programme" (ERP), which is to last for three years and is now only one year old.

Not only is the labour force affected by this programme, but there are also drastic cuts in government spending on social services. Among these, education and health facilities have been affected. Public health students who graduated are still roaming the streets without any jobs. Hospitals and clinics are empty without medicine and equipment. Certain schools have since been closed.

### Ceremony for 'Comrade Machel'

After the death of Mozambican President Samora Machel, a number of mourners gathered at Serre Kunda Primary School, wearing black arm bands. The mourning ceremony was chaired by the Secretary of the Gambian Anti-Apartheid Society (GAAS). One minute of silence was observed in honour of the late president and one day after his death, GAAS distributed leaflets in Banjul and Serre Kunda, accusing apartheid South Africa and imperialism for the death of "Comrade Machel."

The two principal speakers at the gathering, Saikou Samateh and Gibril Faal, the Secretary General of the National Union of Gambian Students (NUGS), gave a detailed life history of president Machel as a fighter against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and apartheid. After the presentations, young people of different ages took the floor to express their solidarity with the peoples of Mozambique and South African freedom fighters.

At the end of the gathering, a number of resolutions were passed, including renaming of the school "Samora Machel Primary School." Materials, books and posters were displayed for sale to be able to support the GAAS.

—Ba-Karang

## U of M students outraged at racism

**Ann Arbor, Mich.**—Some students slipped a Klan-style notice declaring "open hunting season" on Blacks under the door of a meeting of Black women students in a dormitory. Immediately following the incident, a group of anti-apartheid student activists, sorority and fraternity members, dorm residents, all united in outrage. We organized a committee to hold a march and demonstration several days later and to make demands on a silent university administration. On Feb. 6, over 100 students marched from the dorm where the incident took place to the central campus where we were joined by 200 more students to express our anger and unwillingness to sit back as little-publicized racism continues.

Howard Beach and Forsyth County we saw at a distance, but here was a declaration of "open hunting season" on Blacks right here at home. The same weekend eight white students jumped a Black student on campus. When the police arrived, they asked if the Black student was from Detroit.

Some people here seem to think these incidents are being taken "too seriously"—that they are only a joke or isolated occurrences. Clearly that is the way the university views it. But we do not view it as humorous or unusual in any way, and have made demands for the creation of an Ad Hoc Committee on Racism as a first step toward ending this type of behavior at the University of Michigan. And we will continue our struggle against racism at home.

—University of Michigan student

# Selected Publications From News & Letters Committees

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard  
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## Stop Nevada nuke tests!

**Las Vegas, Nev.**—Moving the nuclear test in Nevada up two days was a slap in the face to the movement. Nonetheless, 2,000 people were there on Feb. 5 and 435 people were arrested. The amazing thing is that the whole thing was conceived only on Jan. 18.

I feel we are just beginning. I was there because I wanted to be counted. We didn't expect 2,000 people.

There were not many minorities there, but a waiter in a restaurant in the all-Black section of Las Vegas put a big sign in the window welcoming the protesters. He said it was nice to meet people with something on their mind. He knew people that were dying because of the testing.

In contrast to our polite arrests he told of police brutality. They arrested a handicapped woman for selling pencils on the street by handcuffing her to her wheelchair and taking her away.

Since the test site is on land belonging to the Western Shoshone Nation, we were handed applications for "permit to gather, go and come," which their National Council can grant.

Some people, like Carl Sagan and other professionals, stayed in fancy hotels, but others were struggling. There were many people who barely had enough money to buy themselves something to eat. We made it a point to take care of each other.

The whole time I was there I kept thinking about the homeless. The bomb has already dropped on the homeless and the poor, people are actually dying.

—Diane A

Youth

# Employed and unemployed young workers speak out

by Gary Clark

*"What am I going to do when I get out of school? I don't know. Get a job at a restaurant or maybe cleaning up, save up some money and survive."* **Woman high school senior**

*"I haven't found a job yet. I've been out of school for a year and apart from some short temporary jobs last summer there's been nothing. Maybe I'll join the army; it's not much but at least I know it's there."*

**19-year-old high school graduate**

When I started working on this article I wanted to find out what type of jobs the Reagan "recovery" was giving to youth. The first and most logical place was the government's labor statistics. That presented a problem; it seems that in their desire to prove how wonderfully the economy is doing the government has decided that it is unnecessary to publish statistics concerning youth employment. The most recent reports available were from last summer and the data was fully a year old then.

## HORRIBLE STATISTICS AND LIES

The data was enough to give a partial view of the situation. Chart upon chart of statistics when placed in human terms are quite horrible. The unemployment rate of 17-24 year-olds is as high as 55% in some categories among Blacks and Latinos. Of those employed the greatest number were in the service sector: fast-food restaurants, retail sales, part-time jobs. The average length of young adults' jobs is under nine months.

A Black student caught the truth of Reagan's use of statistics: "I'm not inclined to call someone a liar for just any reason, but Ronald Reagan is nothing but a liar. He's been telling the country we have only 7% unemployment and to me this means that we should have 93% employed. He either has the worst mathematicians working for him (which I don't believe) or he's lying. If he counts employment as starving in part-time minimum wage jobs, maybe, just maybe, he's only bending the truth."

A young working woman told me of her life after high school: "I ended up unable to find a job after I graduated in 1985 for six months and, when I did, it was at McDonald's. I thought I was so lucky to get a job there and bought into their crap about advancement.

"Just a few weeks later I found myself unsure week-to-week how many hours I would be working. Some weeks it would be 16 hours; some it would be 40. There was never any indication what would happen next. The pay wasn't any better; starting at \$3.35/hour, I worked myself up to \$3.65 after nine months, but was fired because a customer complained to me about the service and I didn't bow and scrape enough."

## ONGOING ECONOMIC DRAFT

This type of situation has pushed many youth into the military. Many of the youth I grew up with have been forced to join the military even though they have always voiced their opposition to what it is they do. **The ongoing economic draft—the threat of joblessness and go-nowhere jobs—has forced hundreds of thousands into the war machine.**

And the economic draft is not all—just a few weeks ago a bill was introduced in Congress to reintroduce the draft proper for all youth.

## Children vs. apartheid

**Los Angeles, Cal.**—On Jan. 19, the holiday commemorating Martin Luther King's birthday, junior and senior high school students organized a "Children's Sit-In Against Apartheid" at the South African consulate in the heart of posh Beverly Hills. In the past, demonstrations in L.A. have basically been planned by adults. High school students who came generally were kids of parents who were there. This was different.

The student organizations that planned the event were Students for Consciousness and the Sholem Youth Group. The first newsletter of the Students for Consciousness at Fairfax High (10/86) had stated: "There is a new political force on campus. We call ourselves **Students for Consciousness**. We are not your average philosophy club or speech and debating society. We are a serious movement within the confines of these school walls. We will be addressing injustices going on in the world, as well as in school."

The organizers thought that maybe 75-100 people would come to the Jan. 19 demonstration, but 300 showed up, from high schools all over the L.A. area. The event was covered by two network and three local news programs, CNN, and numerous radio stations, and made the front page of the L.A. **Herald-Examiner**.

The spirit was energetic, spontaneous. People were singing and chanting. The protesters completely filled the consulate lobby and the city block in front. We put signs on the doors that said "Abolish apartheid."

Along with sitting-in at the consulate lobby and picketing outside, the organizers wanted to have a program that would be different, and get across why we were there and raise people's spirits. The program contained reggae music, a speech by an African National Congress (ANC) member, a candle-lighting ceremony where students told the stories of imprisoned children in South Africa, and a dance by two junior high school students symbolizing equality for all races and the handicapped.

For many of the protesting students, this was their first political action, but, following the sit-in probably not their last. —**Anti-apartheid high school student**

For youth the state of the union is chronic joblessness—some youth will never have jobs—and the threat of war. Today's youth are the next generation of workers but the doors to employment are in the main closed and the few open are only to part-time minimum wage jobs which will never allow them to support themselves.

This cannot be our future. We must begin to think about a new vision of society and take to the task of working out and bringing that vision into reality today.

## Oppose closed campus

**Chicago, Ill.**—Last week the school administration started a closed campus system at Steinmetz High School, which means that from now on we are not allowed to leave school for lunch. They say the neighborhood has complained about students because they sit on people's porches or they fight.

That is not all true. There are only one or two big fights at Steinmetz each year. What needs to be said is that the neighborhood is mostly white and many of them are prejudiced. The closed campus will make the conditions at Steinmetz even worse. We have only one lunch room for 2,000 students. —**Two Black students**

Steinmetz has a few problems but no major problems. The neighborhood is bigoted. I've lived here many years and all of a sudden this issue (the closed campus) comes up. It's not right to punish 2,000 students for what a few do. They don't want Blacks around here. That's what's behind it. Some students talked about having a petition to oppose it but they knew they were outnumbered in the neighborhood. —**White student**

## Youth in Revolt

by Franklin Dmitryev



Over 100 Northern Illinois University students rally on Feb. 5 against the first U.S. nuclear test of 1987.

The Parents Support Committee in South Africa released estimates of the number of detentions there in 1986, saying 10,000 of the 25,000 detained were 18 or younger, some under 12 years old, and almost all for political activity in opposition to the racist, totalitarian state. No figures were available for the number of youths sent to brainwashing camps.

Angry protests by students and their parents forced the Tennessee National Guard to end its terrorization of high school students there. Troops would storm a school assembly, firing blanks from automatic weapons, then reveal it was all staged, give a right-wing speech about "defending against Communism" and hand out little flag pins.

A bus full of Black students from Boston returning from school in the all-white suburb of Newton were attacked on Feb. 4 by a mob of 30 whites, mostly non-students, with stones and a tire iron. Several parents questioned how committed the officials of the 97% white school are to combating rising racial tension there.

## Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

News and Letters Committees, an organization of

## Theory/Practice

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Revolution as a point of departure, not just for democracy, but, as they put it, for having a real Paris Commune type of government. That is to say, a communal non-state form of government.<sup>2</sup>

The Western commentators rushed all too fast to compare the 1986-87 demonstrations to the movement of Democracy Wall. There is no doubt that it was closer to it in time than to 1968, when youth unfurled an altogether new demand in Sheng Wulien's "Whither China?" manifesto that called China the centerpoint of world revolution precisely because it was the point of greatest world contradiction. But the placards for democracy that the 1986-87 demonstrators carried were not just for Democracy Wall, but covered the labor struggles, the arts struggle, the really massive, ongoing opposition to the regime for altogether new human relations.

## IS DENG DOING THE OUSTING, OR IS HE BEING OUSTED?

Once, however, the gates were opened to a "collectivity," it was not just a question of Mao or Mao's successors, but the Marx Centenary, and that meant Marx's Humanism. That brought back the old theoretician-propagandist Chou Yang, who in 1957 had unleashed the theoretical fight against Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays; in 1983 he announced that he now welcomed them but perverted them "to include even bourgeois Humanism." At this point, the issue is muddled enough not to know which side of the fighting Chou is on—with the so-called "hardliners" who consider themselves true Marxists, or "reformers" who want to shift from Sinification of Marxism to rejection of it.<sup>3</sup>

What has happened objectively? The foreign affairs and the theoretical disputes are not the only crises. What is the determinant is the crises at home on the production lines, the poor living conditions and unemployment of the masses, as well as the restlessness in the "technologically reorganized" Army, while seeing the emergence of a new kind of profiteer. This is most evident in the five so-called special economic zones. Recently<sup>4</sup> the **New York Times** reported one such area, Shenyang, the industrial capital of Manchuria, which is evidently so high on "reform" that it emboldened one manager to announce that he had cut the work force at his factory from 1,000 to 800, adding, "I've still got 200 people too many."

The 1986 demonstrations only brought to the front the myriad crises that have been boiling up throughout the 1980s as China tried to catch its breath from Mao's last disastrous decade. But China has found that once again it is facing the two nuclear Behemoths and it dare not go to build an independent path. Has Deng, as well as "hardliners" and "softliners," given up hope that there is an independent Third World that would lead to independence from both Russia and the U.S.?

Integral to that is the international question: where to globally? Had one merely to choose between U.S. and Russia? Was Russia really enemy number one, so that Reagan could consider China his card? The latest thing that China was very quick about denying was the Kyodo news account that China and the U.S. were participating in joint naval maneuvers. China said: absolutely no; they were just "exchanging greetings." Somebody's head will roll. Will it be Deng's?

Feb. 10, 1987

2. For Sheng Wulien documents see **Philosophy and Revolution**, p. 176. A 1982 edition of **Philosophy and Revolution** has a new point of departure in its Introduction with my answer to Prof. George Armstrong Kelly's critique in his **Hegel's Retreat from Eleusis** (Princeton University Press, 1978).

3. This is not the place to work out Mao Zedong Thought as he tried transforming his substitution of guerrilla warfare for proletarian revolution into a new universal. First was the Great Leap Forward. This was followed by the challenge to Russia as head of the international Communist movement. By the mid-1960s we were witness to the great disasters which Mao called the Cultural Revolution (1966-71), which was the Great Substitution for Marx's revolution-in-permanence. See the two chapters "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung" and "Cultural Revolution or Maoist Reaction?" in my **Marxism and Freedom** (1982 ed.), and as well "Post-Mao China: What Now?" in my **New Essays** (1977).

4. See **New York Times**, Jan. 30, 1987.

## Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

The six-and-a-half year-old Iran-Iraq war, which has taken almost a million lives and displaced four million people, intensified this month when Iran's army reached to within six miles of Basra, Iraq's second largest city. Hundreds of thousands of residents fled Basra, while Baghdad, Iraq's capital, came under heavy missile attack as tens of Iranian cities were bombed by Iraqi planes, killing sixty-eight school girls in Mianeh. Though the smoke of the battle has yet to clear, this horrible massacre zone has so far claimed more than 25,000 Iranian and 9,000 Iraqi lives in only one month.

What all military analysts agree upon is that the U.S. secret arms deal of \$30 million of TOW anti-tank missiles and HAWK anti-aircraft missiles has been responsible for significantly improving Iran's striking power, enabling it to destroy both T-55 tanks (Iraq's main battle tank) and Iraq's sophisticated aircraft. The situation resembles that of February 1986, when information provided by U.S. satellites was handed to Iran, aiding its military victory at the Fao Peninsula.

### Spanish students

The student strikes and demonstrations begun in December are still continuing. On Feb. 6, several thousand demonstrated outside the Moncloa residence of social democratic President Felipe Gonzalez in Madrid, while on Feb. 4 students blocked downtown streets in Madrid and Barcelona. Also in Barcelona, 500 high school students held a sit-in at the stock exchange.

Students are demanding continued open admissions to college for graduates of academic high schools, as against the Gonzalez government's plan to introduce elitist selection criteria. In addition, students oppose plans by Gonzalez to sharply raise tuition costs over the present \$350 per year.

At their height in January, the protest actions involved one million students. Half of Spain's high schools were shut down by strikes. Tens of thousands of workers and peasants joined student demonstrations for the first time in Spain in years. On several occasions, police have brutally attacked student demonstrations. But apparently drawing a lesson from the French upheaval last



Palestinian women and children leaving the Burj al Brajneh district near Beirut, Lebanon. Mass starvation threatens the Palestinian camps which are under military siege.

fall, Gonzalez has to some extent retrained the police. Rightist groups have engaged in violent provocation with the apparent go-ahead from police.

Gonzalez has made some small concessions to the movement, but these have not ended it. Youth are facing a very bleak future, with the overall unemployment rate at 21%, but even higher for youths. The demonstrators are

also demanding unemployment benefits for high school and college graduates.

### British printers

On Feb. 5, the Society of Graphic and Allied Trades called off their strike and moved to negotiate a severance agreement with Rupert Murdoch. The Wapping struggle represents a severe setback for British labor, following the still

gime a co-thinker in his battle against "Communism."

Meanwhile, the misery of both Iranian and Iraqi masses continues. According to a recent U.N. report, there are more than 100,000 political prisoners in Iraq, mostly Kurds and Shiites. In Iran, the ceaseless execution, imprisonment and torture of political prisoners continues. Over half a million Iranians have escaped the draft by fleeing to Turkey. The situation has reached such grave proportions in Iran that even Khomeini's ex-minister, Mehdi Bazargan, addressed an open letter to Rafsanjani, writing, "Who gave you the mandate to drive people towards complete annihilation under the pretext of removing Saddam Hussein, whereas his fall would lead into the establishment of a dictatorship or a government favorable to the U.S., an eventuality that you yourself have affirmed and accepted?"

Clearly it is the counter-revolutionary and anti-Left character of Khomeini's regime which has allowed it to find new friends in the East and West. Khomeini's regime has emerged in 1987 stronger than ever, thanks especially to Reagan.

—Neda Azad

more serious defeat of the 1984-85 miners' strike.

The decision to call off the strike followed a demonstration on Jan. 24 of 12,000 workers and supporters who battled police outside Murdoch's fortress-like hi-tech printing plant in Wapping, East London. One year ago, Murdoch fired 5,500 printers from *The London Times*, *The Sun*, and *The News of the World*, and replaced them with 1,500 workers from the Electricians Union, whose leaders had made a secret agreement with Murdoch to scab.

Despite demonstrations and boycotts, Murdoch was able to get his papers printed and distributed, and his 1986 profits were up a staggering 143%. At the Jan. 24 demonstration, British police armed with shields, clubs and water cannon, some of them on horseback, mercilessly attacked the 12,000 demonstrators, sending many to the hospital.

The venter of British "democracy" is wearing very thin for workers in 1987. "It is a disgrace to our so-called democracy that working people can be sacked and treated the way our members were," stated one of the printers union leaders.

## The Philippines in revolt: attempted coups, mass opposition

(continued from page 1)

Dagatan Phase H resettlement area Navota, Metro Manila. Their major demands included implementation of genuine land reform and repeal of an Aquino law, which demands fees for lots which the urban poor cannot afford.

So politicized are these urban poor that the very first night of the coup attempt of Jan. 27, a group stood guard until dawn in front of Veritas, a Church-run radio station near the University of the Philippines, destroyed by Marcos forces during the events of the People Power Revolution of a year ago, but later restored, partly through the aid of international contributions.

### PHILIPPINE YOUTH, U.S. YOUTH

I asked one activist whether the youth living in the shantytowns on the fringes of the campus demanded the right to study at the University of the Philippines.

"The Government sets very low tuition," he said, "but still no urban poor can attend. It is for the middle class. Some youth do resent this."

Yet there is an important history of relations between student activists and all other sectors. In fact, the campus is full of revolutionaries, including many laboring to develop theoretical perspectives capable of living up to the proliferation of freedom movements which have only now, in the overthrow of Marcos and its aftermath, begun to fully blossom.

Not only is there thinking about what kind of new relations, based on a genuine theory of liberation, could be established between different sectors in the Philippines, but as well an intense interest in what is happening among people, especially youth, in the U.S. I was invited to both show a video of Raya Dunayevskaya's recent Chicago lecture, "Youth of the '60s, Youth of the '80s: The Other America and the Idea of Freedom," at LaSalle University, and speak myself on the same topic for a student Political Science club, SAPUL, at U. of the Philippines.

At the SAPUL meeting, I discussed the many activities of youth opposing Reaganism in the U.S., including recent demonstrations against the racial attacks on Black youth in Howard Beach, New York, in the context of the history of youth as a revolutionary force, up to and including the building of shantytowns on "elite" campuses. The persistent question among Filipino youth was, "Is there a real, live youth movement in the U.S. today, and how do we connect with it?"

One student, who has done independent work on the question of Marx's view of the Third World and indigenous revolutionary forces, and has spent time organizing with fishermen in his home province of Samar, where

Japanese and other corporations threaten the delicate ecological balance upon which their livelihood depends, said, "This is precisely the question of our national minorities. Some movements aren't articulated as anti-capitalist: the indigenous movements, such as peasant milenarianism, are imbedded in the historical traditions. In terms of the whole society, they are against intrusions into their lives, like the Bontoc and Kalinga fight against the Chico River Dam, or other development projects. In the rationale of development—in line with developmental goals—the government says we have to create these projects. You can see the class question here. For whom will the national development goals promote well-being? For the national minorities, or for the corporations who will be coming in?"

So eager are the spontaneous revolutionary forces to tell their own story, that an experience like speaking in person with peasant activist survivors of the Mendiola Massacre is truly unforgettable. Though these revolutionary peasants spoke not a word of English—rather Tagalog—they intensely and patiently related every detail of the horror to a Filipino revolutionary activist friend, who translated into English on the spot. They not only related the importance of their self-organization in limiting the actual carnage, but also projected their vision of a revolutionary transformation, which would mean not so much "land reform" as total transformation of human relations for all of Philippine society. While two peasants gave us their story, many more gathered around to listen and interject comments.

Nearly all the activity has been in the context of intense national debate on the Feb. 2 vote on ratification of the new proposed Constitution. Forums in schools,

churches, urban poor communities, and the rural areas included vast numbers of newly politicized forces discussing the issues involved. Two talks I was invited to give for Political Science classes at the University of the Philippines—on American foreign policy and the Third World—were preceded by activists from BISIG, outlining the positions of various groups on the proposed charter. What became vital with release of the "Adaza Tapes" (wherein it was revealed how the U.S. Government had manipulated the Constitutional Commission of the Philippines' deliberations on American military bases) was projecting the "other America," in its opposition to capitalist-imperialism, at the same time as a new type of revolution struggles to deepen in the Philippines.

### WHERE TO NOW

The 60-day ceasefire between the Philippine government and the New Peoples Army has just expired, and the Aquino Government demonstrates little control over its military forces, with new clashes already breaking out. One young woman, who persistently asked about the American youth movement, described herself and her comrades as "martial law babies" who were hardly aware of the insurgency until becoming politicized in 1984. It is these "martial law babies" and many of their parents who are among the tremendous diversity of forces who are moving to uproot the old social relations in the Philippines and create new human ones. Many challenges lie ahead for a revolutionary movement which has achieved maturity very quickly. It is a movement that offers to us in America profound opportunities to create new, revolutionary, international relations.

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