

War machine grabs our pensions



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

I am a retired GM worker, born in 1921. As far as receiving Social Security is concerned, I am what they call a "notch baby." At my UAW retirement meeting, I heard the words "notch baby" for the first time. There are ten million of us, born between 1917 and 1921.

The meaning of notch babies is that the U.S. government is stealing at least tens of billions of dollars from us, who fought the capitalists' wars and produced this nation over the last 50 years. We now find out that we are not getting our full Social Security payments. I want every damn penny that I have coming to me!

SOCIAL SECURITY 'NOTCH BABY'

Hell, if it wasn't for two sisters in Bell Gardens, California, Audrey Webb and Edith Dtviler, we might never have heard about this government rip-off. The two sisters worked in identical jobs for a printing company. They started work on the same day in the same year, 1957, and retired on the same day in the same year, 1982. But Mrs. Webb, who was born in 1916, receives \$735 a month from Social Security and Mrs. Dtviler, who was born in 1917, receives only \$583!

The way it was explained to us at our retirement meeting was this: During the Johnson Presidency and the Vietnam War, Johnson said we could have both guns and butter. His budget bought the guns, but there was no money to pay for the butter. So where do you think the "butter" money came from? It was "borrowed" from Social Security!

This money was supposed to be put back, but along came Nixon, Ford, Carter, and now Reagan. It never was replaced because of the continuing build-up of arms. We now have the greatest war-building machine ever in history—and this is supposedly a time of "peace"!

So the way the government decided to take care of the problem was to take it out of the hides of workers who had paid into Social Security. They decided that they were supposedly "overpaying" us and they had to "adjust" our payments. I am getting about \$120 less per month because I am a "notch baby"—that is, someone born in a notch of time (after 1917) who is eligible for less benefits.

I remember when Social Security first came out of the Roosevelt Administration. Most of the coal miners in Kentucky where I come from were saying: "It's a

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Black World

From the Tuskegee underground



by Lou Turner

Editor's note: This Black World column comes from Lou Turner on tour in the Southern Black Belt.

Tuskegee, Ala.—The Tuskegee Institute of Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* and the Tuskegee of '60s student activism co-exist uneasily today. One is an overconfident epitome of the "administrative mentality," the other is a cautious student underground in search of new ideas and opportunities to oppose the old ones. Tuskegee University (TU) president Benjamin Franklin Payton's inviting Ronald Reagan to speak at commencement in May has moved the two Tuskegees from co-existence to confrontation. That, however, is where the tensions between the two will climax; it isn't where they begin.

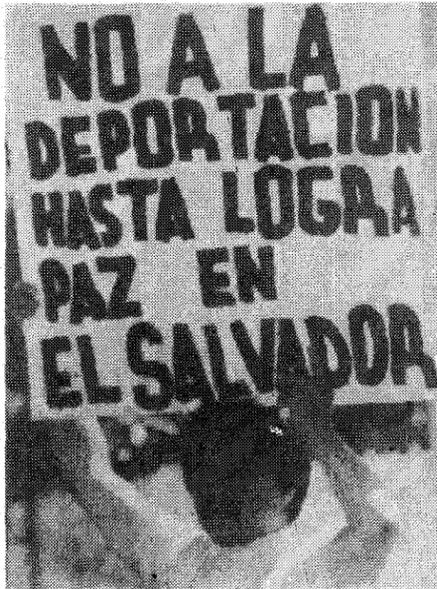
Dr. Payton announced a new tuition increase at a standing-room-only all-university assembly on March 30. Presumably, the increase is to pay for computer equipment made by IBM, a company that the South Africa divestment movement has long since exposed as an essential prop of the South African apartheid regime.

CAUSTIC LEAFLET

Before Payton confirmed the rumors of the tuition increase, and while anxiety spread among students concerning Reagan speaking at their commencement, an anonymous student leaflet surfaced on campus. Pushed under dorm room doors and tacked on bulletin boards, the caustic flyer became the subject of underground dis-

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New immigration law spreads fear; solidarity across borders needed



Left: "No to deportation until peace comes to El Salvador." Right: Immigrant garment worker.

by Michelle Landau

On May 5—the "Cinco de Mayo" holiday celebrated with great festivity in Mexican-American communities across the United States—the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 goes into effect. "Cinco de Mayo" marks the May 5, 1862 battle of a determined, poorly-armed Mexican garrison against an invading French army; it symbolizes Mexican independence and resistance to foreign domination.

Far from a celebration of independence, Cinco de Mayo, 1987, brings fear and confusion to millions of Mexican and other immigrant workers and their families across the U.S., in the face of the possibility of an uprooting of their homes and lives. "It's like a slap in the face," a young Mexican-American woman remarked. "It seems deliberate that the U.S. government chose this date. It's like they're saying: There's your Cinco de Mayo; now celebrate it."

That fear, confusion and uncertainty is precisely what the new act is designed to generate. While theoretically the law is directed against all "illegal" immigrants here without official authorization to live and work, its impact will fall heaviest on dark-skinned peoples, both English-speaking from the Caribbean islands and Spanish-speaking people. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has targeted them as the "invading hordes" from the South, whom Howard Ezell, Western Regional Commissioner for the INS, has advocated "grabbing,

cleaning up and frying."

State-sponsored racism against immigrant workers is nothing new. It is as old as the birth of this nation, "a nation of immigrants," as old as American capitalism and its hunger for cheap labor, its racist scapegoating of immigrants in times of hardship and unrest. In fact, this country's first immigration law was the African slave trade, legalized by the Founding Fathers until 1807, and continuing all the way until the Civil War, that still-unfinished second American Revolution.

"AMNESTY" A LIE

Estimates of the number of undocumented workers in the U.S. range from five million to 20 million. Many risked their lives fleeing poverty and persecution to get here. They have worked long hours in the sweatshops and fields for minimum wage, or less, or no pay at all, subsidizing the American economy, not vice versa. Yet

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On the Inside

Marxist-Humanist Philosophy—Eugene Walker writes on Raya Dunayevskaya's most recent work-in-progress—p. 5

New protests in Chile—Our Life and Times covers the demonstrations during the Pope's visit—p. 8

High school students speak, take action

Letter from Steinmetz

Chicago, Ill.—Lindblom High School has every right to complain about closed campus (see story, "Closed-campus walkout," in April 10 N&L)—they want us to act as adults, then they should treat us as adults. We are involved so we should be given a right to vote.

At least at Lindblom the principal changed the rules. At Steinmetz High School things are not right—this neighborhood group called the Northwest Neighbors Federation (NNF) has been going around the neighborhood since last spring spreading stories about us.

This time last year when kids were loitering around Steinmetz (they were not from Steinmetz) the police were called day after day, hour after hour with no response. Finally, we got more police response when we got a new commander named Matthias Casey at Grand and Central.

You can ask the people on the 2900 block of Mulligan near the school to verify this. There have not been kids there in over a year.

STUDENTS' VOICES SHUT OUT

St. Ferdinand Church has meetings in their church hall; everyone gets up and talks against Steinmetz—if you have a rebuttal you are not allowed to talk. They promised meetings to hear the other side—no meetings.

Alderman Banks promised to have public meetings to hear the other side—no public meetings. Who is behind all this?

St. Ferdinand puts the names of every parish kid who is on the honor roll at every other school but Steinmetz in their weekly bulletin. Only bad things are spoken in their parish hall. Do you think this is mixing politics

with religion, or what?

Neighbors complain about papers on their lawn from school kids—these same neighbors bring their big dogs to Steinmetz to relieve themselves. We have to take gym on this lawn; our school teams play here; the police go by constantly and don't say a thing. Maybe the ordinance should be refreshed in their minds. What would you say was worse—their dog crap or a few papers?

SCAPEGOATING STEINMETZ STUDENTS

All of this has been brought to the attention of Mr. Babbo—the leader of this group—and William Banks, the alderman. No response.

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New York's 'S.O.S. Racism'

New York, N.Y.—About three years ago, a French youth group called S.O.S. Racisme (Youth Against Racism) was formed. Students organized the group after specific racial incidents occurred, including an attack by whites on two North African immigrants, causing one to die.

In La Guardia High School of the Arts in New York, a branch of S.O.S. Racism was formed two years ago. About 30 students attend our weekly meetings.

We consider ourselves an educational group; we educate others as well as ourselves. We have started a program which consists of going to elementary schools and giving workshops about racism.

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'Disappearance & Survival in Argentina'

The Little School: Tales of Disappearance & Survival in Argentina by Alicia Partnoy (Cleis Press., P.O. Box 14584, San Francisco, CA 94114).

Today in Argentina, not only is the military launching a campaign claiming that the problem with Argentina's "dirty war"—where they murdered at least 9,000 people and caused 30,000 to "disappear"—is simply that "others have told the story better than we"; but the Pope as well cares so little about those deaths that on his trip this month he did not even mention them.

What we learn in a new way in reading Alicia Partnoy's book on her experience of being kidnapped and tortured—disappeared—is that not only was it women, the Mothers and Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo, who were the first to strike a blow against the junta, but women were equally the victims of the dirty war and, even as victims, fought against it.

That fight takes place where the "disappeared" are always blindfolded, where their hands are always bound, where they are made to lie on the floor for hours or days with hands tied behind their backs, where they cannot speak to each other, where they are beaten for the slightest infraction of rules they are never told of or for no reason at all, and where at any moment they can be taken out and murdered—and are.

Their resistance takes many forms, from not giving information when being tortured to daring to talk to a friend, to reciting poetry, to sharing bread: in short, keeping your humanity. In one incident Partnoy relates how they kept the guards from beating 17-year-old Benja. They asked for water, for bread, and then she had this idea. She challenged the guard: "I bet I can arm wrestle with you and win." She not only won, until he exhausted her starved body, but kept the guard from beating Benja.

The body of the book is a moving poetic account of her experiences. But when you read the Appendix you understand why Partnoy had to write this book and why the Argentinian movement adopted the slogan of those who survived the Nazi Holocaust; "Never again!" The Appendix is her accounting of those who passed through the concentration camp called "The Little School." Almost all were between 17 and 30 years of age, all had either done absolutely nothing or simply advocated and worked for democracy—and almost every one of them had been murdered.

—Terry Moon

Editor's note: On March 27, Alicia Partnoy was in Chicago and spoke at the feminist bookstore, Women and Children First. Below are excerpts from her talk.

I started to tell this story as a cold account of facts, as cold as I could make it. But I needed more ways of telling it and that's why I wrote *The Little School*. I think there are not enough ways of repeating this to reach as many people as possible so that torture stops.

It's a very optimistic book. People tell me how brave you are to have gone through all this and that says that it is a dangerous book. My whole point is that these things shouldn't happen in the first place. My whole point is that I'm not different from any others. The only difference is that I was lucky enough to survive.

I wanted to rescue the mood of that moment in my country, the expectations of the youngsters, the ideals we were growing together, and I wanted to rescue the best of all of us under those circumstances.

While I was in the concentration camp, the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo started to meet—the mothers of the disappeared ones who march in front of the government house. They were one of the leading human rights forces who started to work hard on

behalf of the disappeared ones. As much as they could, they released information to the people. That was the first step to the military stepping down from what they were.

As an exile, I am very lucky because I have legal status here. I came as a refugee. There are thousands of people from Central America, from El Salvador, from Guatemala, from Honduras who are trying to come to this country, to do what I'm doing, reveal their lives.



The drawing is by Alicia Partnoy's mother, Raquel Partnoy. Alicia wrote in her Introduction: "Her suffering during the years of repression has given her the tools to show this terrible reality in her powerful drawings."

Even if they can come, they can't speak out. The process of talking about this makes you feel you are not defeated, that you can still do things. But if you come and you are not even allowed refugee status, then what do you do? You feel defeated.

I don't know if you can work on rehabilitation. The Nicaraguans were good. They had a lot of torturers identified and many were amnestied. Too good for my taste, to let them go out and let them come back as contras. At the beginning it was O.K., but now the consequences are very hard. But at least you have to hold them accountable in public. That's the first step you have to take. That's not revenge, that's justice.

—Alicia Partnoy

Flight attendants protest

Los Angeles, Cal.—One hundred seventy-five flight attendants, employees of American Airlines (AA) and members of the Association of Professional Flight Attendants, demonstrated outside the offices of Equitable Life Insurance here on April 7. Equitable is the largest stockholder in AA (it owns 12% of AA stock) and the flight attendants are asking people to pull their insurance out of Equitable to put pressure on AA to stop its firings and union-busting efforts.

In Dallas, 20 people were fired for passing out leaflets at the airport protesting American's two-tier wage structure for flight attendants. New attendants are getting scale B, just \$11,900 a year as their base pay! Old attendants average \$25,000-\$26,000 a year (scale A).

As of last month, 40% of AA flight attendants were already on the B scale and, at the drop of a hat—if a flight attendant on A scale has a spot on her uniform, or somebody says she said the word "damn" to a passenger—any excuse, they'll fire her. They're moving very fast to replace all A scale workers with B scale.

About one-third of the demonstrators in Los Angeles were on the B scale. They're really a poverty class. With that kind of pay, some of them who have children qualify for food stamps. —Long-time labor activist



Canadian, Italian, Argentinian and Brazilian women joined thousands of Chilean women in Santiago on March 10 to celebrate International Women's Day. Despite police brutality, over 100 arrests, tear-gassings, beatings and water cannons—often filled with sewage—the women danced in the streets, read poetry from the top of cars and managed to regroup in different parts of the city when dispersed by police. They shouted: "For democracy and life, we shall fight united!"

Information from Outwrite

A coalition of 30 political, professional, church, civil liberties, Black and abortion rights groups—representing 100,000 people—has mounted a campaign against a petition drive to end Medicaid-funded abortions in Michigan. The People's Campaign for Choice called the anti-abortion drive "misleading, deceptive and hypocritical" and an attack on the rights of the poor.

In Turkey, the Federation of Women's Organizations, a coalition of 12 women's groups, met on February 7 and issued a joint statement declaring: "We will never give up the rights that have been given to women." Their president said: "Women must not give in to the religious fanaticism going around."

Information from Outwrite

Anti-porn conference debates direction

New York, N.Y.—Anti-pornography feminists turned out over 700 people from around the country, Canada and England to a conference April 4 entitled "The Sexual Liberals and the Attack on Feminism." The focus was to refute those who oppose outlawing pornography, whether because they are against all forms of censorship or because they are not against all forms of pornography, and to condemn the opposing branches of the women's movement as "not feminist."

PORNOGRAPHY HURTS WOMEN

Speakers explained that pornography hurts the women photographed in it, teaches males to objectify and abuse women, and reinforces women's powerlessness. They related it to rape, battery, incest, child abuse and prostitution. They called pornography—and this society—"women-hating." But they failed to offer solutions to the problems of censorship being used against us, of how to define pornography, and of how not to aid the right-wingers who also oppose pornography.

The turnout included theorists, writers, anti-rape and anti-violence activists, and curious students. The "Baby M" case was a focus of related discussion about the use of poor women's bodies to serve the rich. Some came because Reagan's America encourages violence against women. Women protesting the recent racial attack at Columbia University pointed out that the same white fraternity involved in that attack has been accused of sexual harassment and "date rape."

Some women criticized the conference for not having more speakers on other aspects of violence against women and other ways to fight woman-hating besides passing laws. A Black woman transit worker said, "Our oppression takes many forms, but the conference just focused on one. We come into contact with men in many ways. Sexual harassment and other mistreatment on the job is important to me." At a panel on international feminism, Black women in the audience criticized the lack of non-white speakers and a discussion took place on the relation of pornography to Third World women's other problems of survival.

WOMEN INTERESTED IN MARXISM

"Sexual liberals" was used to mean libertarians who exalt individual rights as if they were purely personal matters and as if we had free choices about our lives. Anti-pornography crusader Andrea Dworkin claimed her branch of feminism seeks to destroy "a sex, race and economic hierarchy which the Left had decided is not an important problem." She accused "the Left" of aiding the right-wing in keeping pornography legal. She failed to distinguish among the tendencies of the Left, between revolutionaries and liberals, or to admit that many in the right-wing agree with her on pornography.

In spite of the speakers' condemnations of the Left, we had lively discussions at the News & Letters literature table about Marxist-Humanism, which showed, as had the "Scholar and the Feminist" conference held at Barnard College two weeks earlier, that a battle of ideas is going on and that women are interested in a multiplicity of issues and ideas.

I thought the main speakers relied too much on exhortation and not explanation of their views on how to change the world. If they believe that eliminating pornography will empower women and thereby transform this society into a just one, then that is a view of change they should acknowledge and debate. I disagree with eliminating men from the process, and believe we need a broader uprooting of every facet of society, from how we work to how we love.

—Anne Jaclard

Selected Publications of News & Letters

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
Statement of the National Editorial Board
Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby \$2 per copy
- The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World Since World War II
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
- Grenada: Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Imperialist Invasion
by Raya Dunayevskaya 75¢ per copy
- Working Women for Freedom
by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes \$1 per copy
- Latin America's Revolutions
Bilingual pamphlet on Marxism & Latin America \$1 per copy
- Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.25 per copy
- Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought, by Lou Turner and John Alan
New Expanded edition contains Introduction/Overview by Raya Dunayevskaya, Lou Turner and John Alan
Appendices by Rene Depestre and Ngugi wa Thiong'o \$3 per copy
- Constitution of News & Letters Committees 25¢ postage
- A Guide to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism:
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- Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts
Special bulletin on Marxist-Humanism as a body of ideas by Raya Dunayevskaya, Eugene Walker, Michael Connolly and Olga Domanski \$1 per copy
- The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.
by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy

For Marxist-Humanist Books, see pg. 6

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Labor marches with Cudahy strikers

Cudahy, Wisc.—Striking workers at Patrick Cudahy, members of Local P-40, United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), welcomed supporters here April 12 on an enthusiastic march past the plant and on to a 2,000-strong outdoor rally. Their supporters—mostly workers from southern Wisconsin to Chicago—also brought additional food and money, so that strikers in the fourth month of the strike receive \$65 plus a bag of groceries each week, instead of just the UFCW strike benefit of \$40.

One P-40 striker said that as a maintenance worker he was one of the few workers scheduled for a raise in the contract the workers overwhelmingly rejected in January, while most workers were to be cut over \$2.00 per hour. "The company thought they could bribe the skilled tradesmen into crossing the picket lines, but only a couple did."

Not one worker in 20 has crossed the picket line, though the company has maintained some production with supervisors and scabs. The company has had the arrogance to apply for government wage subsidies for giving them job training!

It was fitting that a delegation of locked-out rank-and-filers from Local P-9 came from Austin, Minn. to the rally, because it was their strike against Hormel that had inspired meatpackers and rank-and-file workers and made acts of solidarity such as support for the Cudahy strike possible.

But Mark Rosenbaum, Local P-40 president, dismissed them by saying it was time to move on to the next battle, and that they couldn't afford a fight between a local and the International—this about the In-

Rust bowl refugees

Los Angeles, Cal.—I guess we're what you would call "American Refugees," my wife and I. I lost my job at a mill in Youngstown, Ohio, seven years ago and for the last three years we've been on the road. We've been taking jobs with day-labor companies all over the country; there never seems to be any real work in any of the cities we get to, so we work for the minimum wage for as long as we can, then we move on.

You hear so much about the recovery on TV and I just can't believe it. Since we've been travelling I see more and more people on the road. The one thing we're sure of is where we're going and that is nowhere.

Right now I've gotten to L.A. and I'll work here as long as the job holds out. Or until they ask me to scab. One thing I'll never do is scab; that is what will always make me a union man. My union didn't do a whole lot to help me but the idea of unions, that's what I support. —American worker

P.O. defrauds temps in LA

Los Angeles, Cal.—I work for the Post Office and the ways things are done makes me angry. The union (American Postal Workers' Union) has always been friendly with the Post Office management, not with the workers. Management thinks it's the military here. The union is ineffective. Bidding for jobs by seniority is a joke. They just train the person they want for the job and then say that that person is better qualified.

The NTE workers—Not to Exceed 90 days—work twice as hard for half the pay. They are led to believe they will get hired as regulars, but only two out of 100 get a job. They are just being used when work is heavy, and they work without any benefits.

I work in the bulk mail section, and the conditions are not safe. The building is overcrowded with equipment and machines. We have 15-minute mandatory safety talks every week, but when we bring up the crowding we are ignored.

Last week management gave their yearly public tour through our section. They cleaned up the place to make it look safe. They put most of our equipment in another building, and we were walking around trying to find the things we needed to get our work done. One woman said she felt like an animal in a zoo with the public on tour watching us—and they weren't even seeing what it's really like. —Woman postal worker

ternational that had put P-9 in trusteeship and signed a Hormel contract that left the scabs in and the strikers out on a waiting list!

A couple of "long-haired preachers" also spoke. A priest criticized Patrick Cudahy in the name of the Milwaukee Archdiocese for using the wealth of the workers had produced against those same workers. Jesse Jackson brought his presidential campaign to the rally, citing forms of corporate terrorism, all of which are legal, and under Reagan commonplace.

Continue to boycott Patrick Cudahy products, and anything with EST 28 on the label. Send donations to Local P-40 Strike Fund, 3559 E. Barnard Ave., Cudahy, WI. 53110. —Bob McGuire

Victory over Land O'Lakes

Spencer, Iowa—About 270 meatpackers, members of Local 152, United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), have won a \$9 million settlement of their unfair labor practice case against Land O'Lakes. Land O'Lakes took over the Spencer Foods plant in 1979, and reopened it with new workers, refusing to bargain with the union or rehire its members. The workers charged that Land O'Lakes was a "successor" company and legally required to bargain with the union.

"It is not a back-pay settlement in whole by a long ways," said one worker, "but when you get anything under the Reagan rule, you have to take a look at it." He pointed out that the settlement, which includes \$2 million in back pay, \$5 million in interest and \$1 million in damages, falls far short of what the workers would have earned since 1979. But he pointed out that it is one of the largest back-pay settlements in National Labor Relations Board history.

Before the money is even paid out to the workers, however, officials in Clay County, Iowa, are searching for ways to force workers who got welfare while unemployed to now pay back the county.

"The whole practice of reopening a plant under different management, with new workers and no union, is going on all over the place today. It has to be stopped," said a UFCW activist. "Maybe this settlement will help." —Packinghouse worker

U.S. Auto shell game

Detroit, Mich.—A few weeks ago at U.S. Auto Radiator, the company called a meeting to explain their new program. They call it the "Safety Incentive Program," but really it's the opposite. The plant is divided into groups. If in 60 days your group has no lost time due to accidents, you are eligible for a drawing. The first four names drawn win \$100, \$50, \$25 and \$25. If your group has 180 days that are accident-free, the drawing is for a television and a watch.

This program is disgustingly ignorant. It says the worker is in the wrong, and puts groups of workers up against other groups. It amounts to them telling us we should do something about safety. But it's the company who should do something about unsafe conditions and machinery. —U.S. Auto Radiator worker

Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

buy-off to stop the labor movement." Other miners were saying: "No, I believe it's a pension plan. We pay in while we work; we have something to live on after we retire."

Most workers in those days in the mountains of Kentucky didn't trust the government. They referred to it as "God" like this: "God giveth and God can take away."

Edith Hetrick is a 66-year-old notch baby who heads an organization of notch babies that has 50,000 members in California. They are planning a rally in Washington in June. To me, it is great when she says, "We have to stand firm to restore our rights."

But when she says, "I have faith in our government, that the elected officials will do the right thing," I know she is misleading what she's supposed to be leading. As a worker with 50 years in the labor movement I have no faith in the government. For "we the people" to mean something to a person today, you have to be one of the rich, including the death merchants of the military-industrial complex.

STAR WARS STEALS FROM US

We can wait till hell freezes over before Congress will right all these wrongs of the government. That's like telling the wolf in the hen house, "Replace those chickens you just ate." Reagan is out to steal Social Security and everything else in sight to build his Star Wars.

There are liberal Congressmen, like Edward Roybal, who are supposed to be for us, but Roybal says he is "ready to deal to get the best possible bargain" for the notch babies. But why do we have to be "bargained" for, when it is a question of our rights?

To me all of this shows the importance of struggle, and how hard it's going to be, how now we have to fight just to hold on to what we've already gained, whether we're still working or whether we're retired. It's like Marx said, the struggle has to be continuous. You can't overcome by fighting, and then laying back and saying, this is it.

At my retirees' meeting, all the retirees were angry and militant, pounding the tables—even the workers I used to have to fight with because they were right-wing when we were in the plant together years ago. Now their eyes are opened and they see what is happening.

In my life, I have never heard or read about a revolution that was started by old people. But I can say this: A lot of us are ready.

Rally on Central America

Detroit, Mich.—Six thousand people marched in downtown Detroit March 29 to "Stop U.S. Intervention in Central America." The group reflected a broad coalition which is also organizing a contingent to participate in the national protest, the April 25 March On Washington.

The marchers came from Detroit and suburbs, and from more distant localities like Ann Arbor, Flint, East Lansing and Toledo, Ohio. There were members of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish peace and solidarity groups; labor unions, welfare rights and women's rights groups.

Rally speakers also were diverse—from featured guest Ed Asner, to a woman from the African National Congress and City Councilwoman Maryann Mahaffey. Though Blacks were a minority among the marchers, the Rev. Charles Adams, President of Detroit's NAACP, gave an impassioned speech and drew as much attention as did Mr. Asner.

But more inspiring than all the movement veterans was the strong presence of young people. Detroit's Renaissance High School (which has sent students to Central America in solidarity work) had a group with a colorful banner.

Students from the University of Michigan, Michigan State, Central Michigan, and Eastern Michigan came to march. One young man from the University of Michigan told me he had sat in at the Regents' meeting to protest campus racism (see April 10 N&L).

—Michigan marcher

All out for April 25
March on Washington

Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

News and Letters Committees, an organization of

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

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

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

Editorial

Canadians seek independence from the United States and their own rulers

Ronald Reagan took a little trip to Canada April 5-6 to meet with his fellow right-wing head of state, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. It was Reagan's first international trip since the Iran-contra arms scandal broke in November, and came at a time when Mulroney had seen his approval rating in the polls drop to 23%, the lowest for any Canadian leader since World War II. Each sought to boost his image as they discussed U.S.-Canada trade, acid rain and Star Wars research. The importance Reagan placed on this journey was pointed up in his decision to have both Secretary of State Shultz and Defense Secretary Weinberger accompany him. Yet so glaring were the contradictions that emerged, that the trip revealed not U.S.-Canada as "best friends," but both the true nature of relations between a superpower and its neighbor, and a glimpse of "two worlds" within Canada itself.

Consider the issue of "acid rain," that deluge of sulfur dioxide which falls on Canada and the U.S. Northeast. That it comes mainly from coal-fired electric power stations and ore smelters in the U.S. is in no serious scientific doubt. That it has killed nearly all life in 14,000 lakes in Canada, that over 80% of Quebec's sugar maples have become diseased from it, has been proved. Canada demanded a U.S. timetable to cut sulfur dioxide emissions now. Reagan first responded with an offer to spend \$2.5 billion over the next five years to "study" the problem, and then, just before leaving Canada, grandly "agreed to consider" negotiating a "bilateral accord" on emissions. But no sooner had Reagan left, than his Chief of Staff Baker was telling reporters, "We're not committing ourselves to negotiate a treaty. It leaves both sides all their options."

MULTI-DIMENSIONAL PROTESTERS AGAINST REAGAN-MULRONEY MEETING

The 8,000 protesters who marched outside Parliament during Reagan's visit depicted U.S.-Canada relations far more honestly when they raised an effigy of Mulroney, dressed as "Uncle Sam," with U.S. money bulging from his pockets. The demonstrators came from the labor movement and from Women's Liberation, from Central America support groups and anti-nuke organizations. And whether they carried signs saying: "Stop Killing Trees," "U.S. Hands off Nicaragua" or "Don't Trade Away Canada," they made clear their opposition to both Reagan and Mulroney. Echoes of the demonstration even reached into Parliament, where Reagan was heckled as he sought support for the contras.

Much of the protest hit out against a proposed U.S.-Canada trade agreement—a supposedly "historic" accord to eliminate trade barriers between the two countries. There is big money involved, since Canada and the U.S. are the world's largest trading "partners," with \$129 billion changing hands last year. But it is no equal partnership—so thoroughly do U.S. corporations dominate the Canadian economy that nearly 80% of all Canada's exports go to the U.S., and the vast majority of Canadian manufacturing is controlled by U.S. corporations. The broad opposition arising in Canada to a Reagan-Mulroney trade pact, however, includes both corporate leaders and union officials. It is an opposition with sharp class divisions within.

Canadian workers are asking whether a trade pact negotiated now with Reagan the union-buster would mean that the health and safety standards, the conditions of labor, the benefits won through long struggle, would be forced down through concessions contracts. They have good reason to worry that Reagan's aims would dovetail with those of Canadian-owned corporations. One of the most bitter of the many labor battles in Canada this past year was fought against Gainers, an Alberta meat-packing company owned by a thoroughly Canadian Reaganite, Peter Pocklington.

The fact is that the multi-dimensional forces for freedom which have blossomed in Canada in 1986-87 have opposed both U.S. imperial domination and their own rulers. The conflict has actually been sharpest within the union movement. In recent months we have seen fishing industry workers in Newfoundland quit the U.S.-based UFCW (United Food and Commercial Workers Union), while another UFCW local in Vancouver was attacked by thugs sent from the U.S. when it sought autonomy.

CANADA'S MILITANT TRADITION AND NEW REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

The militant traditions of Canadian workers have long been appreciated by U.S. union brothers and sisters. The simple right to a "tea break," enforced by rank-and-file workers at Chrysler's Windsor, Ontario, plant in 1968, sparked demands for a similar break by autoworkers across the river in Detroit.

New revolutionary voices in Canada today, whether workers fighting concessions in the shops, women's liberationists marching 6,000-strong in Toronto, or Native Canadians—Indians, Inuits, Metis—uniting

nationally for the first time as they demand that the Canadian Constitution recognize the native right to self-government, need to be heard more clearly by the freedom movements here at home.

In the 1960s American anti-war activists often romanticized Canada as a haven for those opposing the Vietnam War. The October Crisis of 1970, and then-Prime Minister Trudeau's imposition of police-state rule, brought such illusions to an abrupt end. Today's Canada under Mulroney has ceased to be a haven for Central American refugees. With the passage of vicious new U.S. immigration laws, some 6,000 Salvadorans and Guatemalans sought asylum in Canada in January and February, 1987. Suddenly, on Feb. 20, entrance to Canada was also blocked. Against this attack, Central American support activists have organized protests to "Keep Canada's door open!" Their signs could be seen in the crowd outside Parliament on April 5.

The lines of communication between the U.S. and Canada have long seemed to be one-way only—U.S. voices, whether corporate, government, or even labor leadership, doing the talking, and Canadians doing the listening. We need to open a two-way road of freedom ideas, a genuine dialogue of liberation for this whole North American continent.

News & Letters

Vol. 32 No. 7

April 24, 1987

(closing news date April 13)

News & Letters (ISSN 0028-8969) is published 21 times a year, biweekly, except monthly in August, September, December, for \$5.00 a year (bulk order of five or more — 15¢) by News & Letters, 59 East Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, IL 60605. Telephone (312) 663-0839. Second Class Postage paid at Chicago, Illinois. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to News & Letters, 59 East Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, IL 60605.

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News & Letters
is printed in
a union shop.

REAGAN, GORBACHEV AND THEIR BI-POLAR WORLD

I learned a lot from Dunayevskaya's two-part column on "Two of a kind: Reagan and Gorbachev and their bi-polar world." In Part I (March 27 N&L) she showed that Gorbachev would like to save Reagan from the disgrace of Irangate by cutting an arms deal with him; indeed, she first raised that prospect back in January (see "Star Wars from the Skies," Jan. 30 N&L). But in Part II, she shows Reagan as so all-consumed with destroying the Sandinistas and so self-deluded that Star Wars can give him actual nuclear superiority over Russia, that he isn't rushing to let Gorbachev save him.

Isn't that what we're seeing now with the hullabaloo about the Soviet spying on the U.S. embassy in Moscow—i.e., an effort to provide an excuse for not rushing into an agreement too soon? What I learned from Dunayevskaya's piece, is that "two-of-a-kind" is not so simple as saying "plague on both your houses"; it takes a lot of deep digging to get at the meaning of ongoing events.

Marxist-Humanist
Chicago

Peace groups are nominating Gorbachev for a Nobel Peace Prize! When you ask how he could get a peace prize while he's fighting in Afghanistan, you are told it is a "complex issue." That's exactly what the establishment types said to me during the Vietnam War to stop our opposition. To me human rights are not that complex. Either they are observed or they aren't.

H.S.
New York

I have been reading in the Marxist-Humanist Archives, in the period of the 1950s, before I was born. Raya Dunayevskaya's report to the Founding Convention of News and Letters Committees in 1956, "Theoretical and Practical Perspectives: Where to Begin," has a view of the bi-polar world of the capitalist rulers in the atomic age. She shows there how Russia and America are "two of a kind." It hit me hard, because I was also just reading her latest

Theory/Practice column on "Two of a kind: Reagan and Gorbachev and their bi-polar world."

What she shows, then and now, is that the real "two worlds" is not Russia/America, but the two worlds inside each country, the world of the rulers' exploitation and crisis, and "the world struggling for a new freedom, a total freedom worthy of human beings." I liked the quote she brings right into her founding Convention report from a worker, Angela Terrano: "Under a new society, work will have to be something completely new...It will have to be completely tied up with life."

Young working-class woman
Los Angeles

I'm tired of being deluged with Reaganite lies. Start sending me your newspaper as soon as possible.

Student
De Kalb, Illinois

... AND CHINA

I visited China last year and everywhere I went I heard talk of modernization. But when I saw a man loading a 30-foot log into a truck bed by hand, alone, I wondered what he thought about it all.

Chinese-American youth
Salt Lake City, Utah

I never knew in the 1960s that "power comes from the barrel of a gun"—which was a favorite slogan of mine in my Black Panther environment—came from Mao. I feel cheated now that I have learned how Mao manipulated the masses.

Black activist
Los Angeles

NO BORDERS

A coalition of environmentally-concerned people from Windsor, Canada, Detroit and Detroit's suburbs demonstrated here on the first day of spring

to oppose the \$470 million trash-to-energy incinerator now under construction in the central city near homes, schools, and the open-air Eastern Market. Coleman Young's administration has avoided discussing the concerns over the plant emitting toxic fumes and wastes, as if the opposition to this plant is just part of the automatic resistance by the suburbs to anything built by a Black administration.

But one mother with children in two public schools within sight of the plant found a favorable response to her flyers about the plant from a majority of the parents, Black and white. The Detroit-Windsor demonstration was the culmination of a "No Borders Week—a Festival of Life."

Already coughing
Detroit



WOMEN'S
LIBERATION
& HUMAN NEEDS

I thought Terry Moon's column on "AIDS: Questions of sexuality and freedom" (N&L Feb. 27) was one of the most critical discussions of the topic that I have read. Her context of what are "human needs"—Marx's quote on "to what degree another human is needed as a human being"—is so different not only from the punitive attitude of the right-wing towards sexuality, but the attitude of the liberals.

I'm all for TV condom ads, but I'm convinced that the only reason they're receiving such powerful political and media support is that heterosexual men are suddenly worried about being able to have "safe sex." Women have always had to worry about "safe sex"—about whether we'll get pregnant (from those men who always refused to wear those same condoms), about dying from illegal abortions...

Revolutionary feminist
Los Angeles

Last week we were visited by two feminists, one from Lima, Peru, and the other from the U.S. We had meetings

Readers

for them in many places, discussing feminism and class, feminism and socialism, feminist theory from an activist point of view. The trip was the result of the Nairobi Conference where they had met some Indian women who invited them. It was an attempt to bring closer Latin American and Asian women, since here in India there is little relationship to English and Spanish-speaking feminists because of the language problems.

We have been involved in several demonstrations (one over the election of a "Miss India"); have attended an anti-nuclear conference; and are planning a fair for rural women in Spring and an all-India Conference in Bihar, where we hope it will give a push to the women's movement.

Women's Liberationist
Bombay, India

I am sending you a letter to forward to Tatyana Mamonova whose article I just read in the Feb. 27 issue of N&L. As an Algerian dissident, I believe there are enough common experiences between women in the USSR and Algerian women to initiate a valuable exchange.

We will also mail you the latest news about the struggle of five French mothers whose children were kidnapped after divorce by the Algerian fathers. They have been joined by a British mother for a 600-km march from Paris to Geneva to publicize the fact that Algerian mothers are considered just the bearers of children, while ownership belongs solely to the fathers. Women, of course, do not have the right to apply for divorce, only men do.

Women have to think in terms of internationalism. Over the past six years I have been asking organizers of feminist gatherings to invite exiled dissidents from the USSR but without success. Nevertheless, we will be heard, and soon.

Algerian for solidarity
Montpelier, France

Theory/Practice

1986-87: New illuminations on the philosophic expression of Marxist-Humanism

by Raya Dunayevskaya

I am turning over "Theory/Practice" this issue to my colleague Eugene Walker—R.D.

This past year Raya Dunayevskaya has been in the process of writing a new book tentatively entitled *Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy: The 'Party' and Forms of Organization Born Out of Spontaneity*. This work has given new illumination to the Marxist-Humanist body of ideas. It is bringing to the fore the manner whereby the Idea of Marxist-Humanism is renewed and developed through a working out of new philosophic perceptions of Hegel, Marx and Lenin.

At the same time, these new writings—sometimes in the form of letters to intellectuals, sometimes in informal notes she has entitled "Talking to Myself" or "Random Thoughts"—have helped those of us who are involved in putting out a biweekly Marxist-Humanist newspaper in thinking about how we view objective events and how these events become reflected within our paper, *News & Letters*, as part of a Marxist-Humanist body of ideas. Here, I would like to share some of my thoughts on these new writings with the readers of *News & Letters*.

PHILOSOPHIC EXPRESSION AND OBJECTIVE EVENTS IN MARXIST-HUMANIST WRITINGS

Any summation/anticipation of objective events of revolution/counter-revolution through philosophic labors is, of course, by no means any sort of one-to-one correspondence. As Marx noted, the practice of philosophy is itself theoretical. New philosophic expressions within the body of Marxist-Humanist ideas may, at first glance, seem far removed from the ongoing rush of current events. And yet, the working out of particular Marxist-Humanist concepts at given historic moments has cast illumination on the objective events of an era.

Thirty years ago this May, Raya Dunayevskaya, after completing the manuscript for *Marxism and Freedom*, penned her Introduction to that first edition. Looking back over three decades in the biography of an Idea—Marxist-Humanism—that had first been set forth in book form at that time, we can see the impact of this work on an audience of enormous range. Eastern European revolutionaries as in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, who were searching for intellectual weapons to fight Stalinism; African revolutionaries, in rural Gambia and elsewhere, who were exploring pathways to be free not only of colonialism and neo-colonialism, but newly im-

posed single-party states; Japanese Leftists trying to find a non-Stalinist, non-Maoist context for presenting Marxism anew; Argentinian Marxists discovering the Humanism of Marxism as a needed indigenous dimension to Latin American revolutions—all found their way to this book *Marxism and Freedom*, whose first edition numbered only a scant 5,000.

And here in America *Marxism and Freedom* was taken up among coal miners in West Virginia, among civil rights workers in the South during the 1960s, among New Left youth on campuses from Columbia and the University of Michigan to UC-Berkeley, among Black and white autoworkers in Detroit, among newly emerging groups of women's liberationists. And not least, *Marxism and Freedom* began to shape the work of the Marxist-Humanist group, *News and Letters Committees*.

This first major Marxist-Humanist work became the basis for our work within *News and Letters Committees* both as activists and as theoreticians. It as well became the ground upon which we related to readers of *News & Letters*, who did not consider themselves Marxist-Humanists, but were writing in to our paper. In a word, what we projected in the years following the publication of *Marxism and Freedom*, and what our readers felt an affinity to, was the conception that masses were not only revolutionary force but were revolutionary Reason as well. This projection of Marx's New Humanism for our day contrasted sharply with the totalitarian state-capitalist practice that had passed for Marxism within Stalinist Russia, and which had obfuscated revolutionary thought and action globally for close to three decades.

Philosophy and Revolution formulated a Marxist-Humanist conception of Hegel's Absolutes, viewed not as static ends, but as revolutionary, philosophic, new beginnings. This book was published in 1973 as more than a decade of revolutionary activities and challenges to state power drew to a close. The ending of this era came as much from the failure of revolutionary activism without a philosophy of revolution as from the actuality of state-power repression.

Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, written in the early 1980s, created the category of post-Marx Marxists as a pejorative, beginning with Marx's closest collaborator, Engels. Its publication came on the eve, not alone of new intellectual debris thrown on top of Marx's Marxism by non-Marxists and Marxists alike during the 1983 Marx Cen-

tenary Year conferences and symposia, but of the bloody decapitating of the Grenada revolution from within by one so-called Marxist faction, thus providing the excuse for Reagan's counter-revolutionary invasion.

The most recent Marxist-Humanist book, *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future* (1985), concretizes dialectics for a particular subject of revolution. It does this by situating *Women's Liberation* very specifically within our epoch both as to a new state of production, Automation, and a new stage of cognition, beginning as a movement from practice, from masses in motion.

In each of the above works Dunayevskaya has presented "unorthodox" views of the thought of Hegel, of Marx, of Lenin, ones which have provoked a variety of responses from Hegel/Marx/Lenin scholars-intellectuals and revolutionaries alike. For more than four decades she has entered into a most profound "dialogue" with each of these thinkers as the manner by which she comes to grips with today's ongoing reality.

Now once again, as she is undertaking a new study for our day on *Dialectics of Organization*, *Dialectics of Philosophy*, she has begun her labors by digging into the ideas of each of them. Let us look at her new "dialogues," though of necessity in a very brief and tentative way.

NEW PERCEPTIONS ON LENIN

Dunayevskaya has begun a new study of Lenin which encompasses a critique of Lenin at his very highest point—his *Philosophic Notebooks* on Hegel's *Science of Logic*. This is a stunning vantage point for her critique when you realize that it has been Dunayevskaya who has pioneered and developed the most comprehensive view of Lenin as philosopher based precisely on these *Philosophic Notebooks*. In no sense does her vantage point mean a renunciation of those *Philosophic Notebooks*. Rather it means a further probing within.

In order to grasp her new point of departure today let us trace briefly her view of Lenin as philosopher as it has developed over some 40 years. In 1948-49 she translated Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* into English

(continued on page 7)

1. Those who wish to follow Dunayevskaya's recent writings both on new perspectives on Lenin and on Hegel should consult "The Year of Only 8 Months," Report of the Expanded Resident Editorial Board Meeting, Jan. 3, 1987, which contains as well "An exchange of correspondence between Raya Dunayevskaya and Non-Marxist Hegelian scholars." Order from N&L for 50¢.

Views

CAPITALISM'S OBSCENITIES

At the Port Authority Bus Terminal in Manhattan I saw a sign in a clerk's window which said, "Don't give our panhandlers money." I felt the sign was obscene, and the use of the possessive pronoun especially so. Capitalism tries to own everyone, but it will never succeed.

Observer
New York

WHAT CONCERNS YOUTH

Young people have been sold a line about freedom and opportunity in this country. Then they have to face the reality of unemployment or nothing-jobs and the fear of being drafted into war. As a youth I somehow knew that the American dream was bull, but such alienation did bring me to consider suicide. The articles on teen suicide in N&L (April 10) not only point out that the root of the suicide problem is in the society itself, but show the humanism of Marxist-Humanism.

Youth
California

I think N&L is important because it shows that those of us who feel oppressed by this society are many, and that together we have something to strive for. If you don't see that, you can feel like you're just pounding your head against a wall. This happens a lot to youth. I liked the article "Two-way road at SACCC" (N&L March 13). A woman in that community group is quoted as saying "Do we speak to our youth? Do we ask them about what concerns them?" This is very important.

Teenager
California

Until the coup of 1973, education was a social right of all Chileans, and free. The military government has now dismissed 23,000 elementary and secondary

teachers, claiming that the economy calls for "saving" wherever possible, and many public schools will not reopen this year. Thousands have rallied all over the country to protest this latest attack on Chileans' fundamental rights, and are asking for support from teachers, students and parent organizations in the U.S. The Pinochet regime has received \$16 billion in loans. Letters to Sergio Gaeto, the Chilean Minister of Education in Santiago, Chile, and to our own representatives in Congress could result in enough international pressure to help change the situation. For more information, write:

Unitarian Committee for
Democracy in Chile
P.O. Box 42862
Los Angeles, CA 90042

AN URGENT APPEAL

Even the mass media are by now reporting on the detention, torture and death of children at the hands of the South African government. In December it was reported that 8,000 of about 24,000 people detained since June 12 were juveniles. Photographs show a Black child marked by the scars from beatings and the burn marks left by electric shock on another child's foot. The regime has lashed out by imposing the most drastic censorship in South African history. For over 30 years we have been defending detainees in Southern Africa. The first claim on our resources now must be the child detainees. Please ask your readers to help us help them.

International Defense and Aid Fund
for Southern Africa
P.O. Box 17
Cambridge, MA 02138

A CORRECTION

I regret that in my lead on West Europe in the March 27 *News & Letters*, the ruling party in the last coalition government in Ireland was referred to incorrectly as Fianna Gael. It is Fine Gael.

Mary Holmes
Detroit

FIGHTING AUTOMATION

I was talking about automation with a meatpacking worker at Hebrew National when he told me it came to their plant in the form of a "Kosher machine" that replaces the rabbi! Needless to say, the workers feel strongly about continuing the fight.

Strike supporter
New York

On March 28, the Los Angeles P-9 Support Committee, composed of political groups and labor activists, kicked off the national "Boycott Hormel" campaign for L.A. with an informational picket line in front of Ralph's supermarket, which has a "special relationship" with Hormel to stock its products. We talked to a lot of people going into the

market, many of whom were interested and friendly, and we received local TV coverage.

One man who came down to picket was from the Communications Workers of America (CWA), and he said that their union was giving full support to the P-9 strikers because CWA workers are involved in the same struggle, against Automation and contract concessions, that the meatpackers are facing and fighting. "It's like, with all the Automation, the companies won't have any use for us anymore," he said. "But we don't want to be the unemployed blacksmiths of the future."

The next supermarket picket is scheduled for April 18, Easter weekend. BOYCOTT HORMEL!

News & Letters Comm. members
Los Angeles

NEWS & LETTERS: AS PAPER, AS ORGANIZATION

A South African speaker was asked at a meeting here where people can read about what is really happening in South Africa, since the press is so heavily censored. The speaker, an organizer for a Black South African trade union, held up N&L and said, "This is where you can read reports directly from South Africa. N&L tells the truth about what is happening there. It is the only revolutionary paper in the U.S." It made me wonder if the logo of N&L's "Freedom Journal" should not read: "From South Africa Uncensored."

Women's Liberationist
Los Angeles

Enclosed is a sub to N&L, which I've read off and on over the years. I mostly agree with Marxist-Humanist ideas I've read—breaking down the division of thinking and doing, the East bloc is state-capitalist, the emphasis on thinking dialectically, etc. But I prefer to consider myself an ecological humanist... So many different ideologies go by the name of Marxism that the word doesn't convey much, and the most prominent are associated with Social Democratic and Communist Parties. Those Marx-

isms have become ideological covers for statist forms of capitalism.

From what I've read of Marxist-Humanism and N&L, I think I believe in a stronger role for a revolutionary organization in projecting alternatives and catalyzing action, but I agree that the organization's function is educational and catalytic, not to take power on behalf of the people. The Green movement is very diverse ideologically and in the process of sorting itself out... I hope some of your people will come to the Green Conference in Vermont in July and challenge Greens with your perspectives.

Ecological humanist
Vermont

A free and just society won't come through a party but through organizations like yours, critical of all existing ideologies. I speak of your work wherever I go. Thank you for your support of Marxist Humanism in Eastern Europe. You more than any others have continuously expressed your solidarity and support for our struggles.

Dissident
East Europe

Debates at Black Americas conference

Los Angeles, Cal.—About 50 writers and students, mainly Black, attended an unusual, stimulating conference at Scripps College, April 2-4, entitled "Cross Examinations: A Discourse on the Black Americas." It revealed the revolutionary nature of the Black U.S.-Caribbean dialogue, the Black intellectual reaching out to original revolutionary impulses—and the type of barriers that some would erect to dull this cutting edge.

At one session, Michelle Cliff's reading of a soon-to-be-published work focused on a young woman's awakening in the struggle against racism during the Black Revolution of the 1960s. It was a magnificent poetic description of those political years; Cliff made the movement come alive through the voice of one individual, beginning to comprehend the full meaning of her own life's experiences, her yearnings and passions.

And yet, discussion of Cliff's reading by some of the Black intellectuals present was reduced to a critique of her style—that she didn't write in dialect—

Black World

(continued from page 1)

ussions and meetings among students.

The anonymous pamphleteer called on the TU student body to "band together Brothers and Sisters with U.S. (United Students)." At the same time, TU's history of struggle was brought to bear on the present student crisis in the flyer in the following manner:

"Tuition has increased by approximately 10% in the last two years. For damn sure the quality of education here at luxurious Tuskegee University has not improved.

"Hey, the conspiracy is on and after a while Brothers and Sisters like you and I will not be able to afford this place, and that is what they, the people who operate this place want—out with the Field Niggers and in with the House Niggers—commonly referred to as the Bourgeoisie. Let us band together and send a message not to the White House but to the Red Brick House (Kresge administration building) where our so-called masters labor. Let it be known to the Masters in the Big Red Brick House the Field Niggers built this place and Field Niggers are here to stay.

"Often times we are angered by the injustice that is happening to our fellow Brothers and Sisters all over the world and, we wish we could do something about it, but we can't because it is out of our hands. However, now the injustice is being done to you, not by the White man but directly by the Black man, and the situation is in your hands. You, my Brothers and Sisters, have the unique opportunity to change the direction and course of luxurious Tuskegee University's policies that are forced upon you...."

When the next underground leaflet appeared it was in response to Payton's address at the all-university assembly, and it called for a noon day rally on April 3. Despite the legendary history of TU's administrative intimidation of students, faculty and staff, as especially portrayed in Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*, some 400 students gathered for the rally, not at the exposed outdoor location called for in the leaflet, but in the student-controlled College Union under the cafeteria.

This spontaneous change of location by the students reveals to what extent student opposition to administration policy is compelled to live an underground existence in face of administrative intimidation. It also shows, however, to what extent students are determined to have their first act of protest not be their last.

After all, Reagan is coming for May commencement exercises, and while Pres. Payton refuses to support a student conference on South Africa, presumably because it is "too controversial," his tuition increase and Reagan invitation have now set in motion a student movement that promises to focus more controversy on TU than Booker T. Washington ever hoped to stem with his Atlanta Compromise. Students have "cast down their buckets" and brought up a new generation of struggle at Tuskegee University.

Black Belt boycott

Selma, Ala.—The sight has become a familiar one over the last several years in the Alabama Black Belt. Black community activists associated with the Alabama New South Coalition (ANSC) walk a picket line in front of a local white owned business on Broad St. in Selma, carrying picket signs protesting racial discrimination in the hiring of Blacks.

The business this time is Pilcher-McBryde drugstore. Mrs. Marie Foster, the leader of the picket line, is a civil rights veteran going back to the 1950s, who sets such day-to-day activities in the rich historical context of the movement she experienced.

"Never have Blacks worked in Pilcher-McBryde, except in the menial jobs. We're going to picket other drugstores like this. They think they won't feel the boycott, but few Blacks have crossed this line.

"I was active in Selma against Sheriff Jim Clark back in 1964. We called in Dr. King and SCLC, then. My church, Tabernacle Baptist, held the first mass meeting in Selma on May 13, 1963. That was before Brown's Chapel became the center of the Selma movement."

Pilcher-McBryde has refused to talk with ANSC about its discriminatory hiring practices, and when Mrs. Foster called to discuss the ANSC employment survey of businesses in Selma, she had the phone rudely hung up in her face. ANSC activists have used such picket lines to draw attention to the larger Dallas County government, which remains as lily-white as Pilcher-McBryde.

—Observer

rather than an appreciation for the poetry of freedom that sang in the young woman's thoughts.

As revealing was a session which centered specifically on politics and less on literature. Cedric Robinson's paper on Frantz Fanon tried to disengage Fanon from Marx, who, according to Robinson, was the "representative of the emerging bourgeoisie of the 19th century"! Robinson's presentation as well divorced several of Fanon's sharp statements from the whole development of his ideas during the decade of the 1950s, making the Algerian Revolution into an abstraction.

Robert Hill, the editor of the Marcus Garvey Papers, reduced Garvey to a "trickster" providing "cultural affirmation"! A paper by Selwyn Cudjoe on "James, Harris, Melville" inadvertently demonstrated what Cudjoe himself had called "fiction in history books." Cudjoe himself had called C.L.R. James' return to a study of Melville's *Moby Dick* in the period 1953-55 as a search for the "original American character."

But this was challenged by a Marxist-Humanist who showed that these were the very years James was pulling away from the American worker's character, rejecting Marxism and the direction for an American Marxist paper that would be a unity of worker and intellectual. He referred to the documents on James in *The Marxist-Humanist Archives*, specifically on "The Appearance of Differences in the Johnson-Forest Tendency."

Another Marxist-Humanist comrade, a Black worker, challenged the speakers to address the hunger for ideas of freedom in the Watts ghetto, and establish the link between their thoughts and those who are crying out for freedom as concrete now.

Clearly, the animating spirit of Black thought is the struggle for freedom. The conference leaves one asking: why, then, do some of today's Black intellectuals reduce the role of revolutionary thinkers and activists like Garvey and Fanon?

—Cyrus Noveen

Rally against racism



Editor's note: Three hundred University of Michigan students came out for the Second Annual March and Rally against Racism and Apartheid, held April 4 to commemorate the assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. It came at a time of new racist incidents and mass protests at the University. (See April 10, N&L). The march began at the Diag on campus and went through town where it was joined by Black community members fighting for quality, integrated public schools; religious groups; and a contingent from UAW Local 735, GM Hydramatic at Willow Run. Below we print an interview with a Black woman student who participated in the rally and is active in UCAR (United Coalition Against Racism), a student organization active in the campus protests.

Ann Arbor, Mich.—About three weeks ago, my friend and I were walking from one dorm to another. It was dark but not really late. A carful of five white males pulled up next to us, and one guy screamed at my friend, do you want to have sex? We didn't say anything, and he made some comment. They were talking and all of a sudden a rock came from the car and came close to hitting my friend's face. They just took off. That kind of thing goes on every single day—maybe not a rock, but a lot of comments.

The reason UCAR got together was to get the university, the community and the students to do something about this. Nobody should have to live like that and be afraid to walk around. UCAR gets four or five documented incidents everyday. We can't do anything about the specific incidents such as what happened to us. But when we go to the university administration to show how bad the racism is, we have documented proof.

When Jesse Jackson came here, he served as a mediator between UCAR, BAM III (Black Action Movement), other minority groups, and the university. Some things got ironed out and some didn't. We're back to the same old business as usual.

Only two of the 12 demands have been dealt with—the proposal to establish a vice-provost of minority affairs, and to give an honorary degree to Nelson Mandela. But there are ten more demands they haven't said anything about, especially increasing minority enrollment, Black enrollment specifically.

We have to continue and not just stop with one or two demands. Racism is everywhere, and I don't think it's just going to go away. If you're not being treated fairly, you can't just take it. No one is going to fight for you—you have to fight for yourself.

Coming next issue

Today's struggles in the Black Belt
by Lou Turner

Direct from South Africa
Freedom Journal

Domestic workers organize

Johannesburg, South Africa—The South African Domestic Workers Union (SADWU) is gearing up for action against employers to increase pressure on the government to extend trade union rights to its members. Domestic workers, like farmworkers, are excluded from legislation governing labour relations and workers' rights. A memorandum sent to the Minister of Manpower more than three years ago has not yielded satisfactory results.

According to the union's Transvaal secretary, Margaret Nhlapo, the minister has repeatedly delayed responding to the memorandum. Nhlapo will not say what action against employers is being planned—but a strike has not been ruled out.

But she cautions that a domestic workers' strike will not have the desired impact unless the majority of workers outside the union are organized.

The union has been organizing workers at a rapid pace. One of the major problems is organizing domestic workers into strong structures. This has not been easy, given the fact that domestic work is not as highly socialized as factory or mine labour. But the union has consolidated street committees, the equivalent of factory committees, in almost all regions. The major task of the street committees is to monitor working conditions and to take up grievances with employers in a particular street.

Who are homeless?

Los Angeles, Cal.—An afternoon rally on April 4 drew 400 people to City Hall to hear the impassioned declarations of homeless organizers battling this most vile skeleton in America's closet. "In this land of affluence, homelessness should not be," cried spokesman Ted Hayes.

Listen to who the homeless are; not "the unfortunate," but unemployed workers. One Black man collecting donations angrily informed donors that "I shouldn't be here. I went to college and I have eight years experience in electro-mechanical assembly. Nobody will hire me now, just because I'm homeless."

Another man expressed frustration at the movement's stalemate. "All I see is that the leaders just keep going back to the county supervisor over and over, and nothing happens. I'm afraid those politicians are gonna drop the issue. It seems like helping us hurts their position. Another reason they don't care—look around you—most of us are Black."

Nothing coming from the system has worked, despite continuous homeless people's vigils. A different beginning was expressed at another rally later that same night; a rally linking South African, Central American, and homeless struggles.

—Wayne Carter

Marxist-Humanist Books

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

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Youth

Stop war drives, East and West

by Sheila Fuller

Two differing views on "Reagan, Gorbachev and their bi-polar world", (Raya Dunayevskaya's Theory/Practice columns in the last two issues of N&L) have made me both very excited and concerned about the April 25 demonstration against Reagan's foreign policies.

One view is from a 20 year-old working youth who is planning to go to the demonstration, who told me, "I like what Dunayevskaya had to say on Marxism in Latin America and the spontaneity of its revolutions. Reagan and Gorbachev want to dominate and crush all spontaneous revolutions. I'm sick of people not being able to dictate their own future because Russia and the U.S. are trying to dominate everything. Reagan's practice for an invasion of Nicaragua scares the hell out of me."

The other view is from a N&L subscriber who wrote, "I wish to take issue with Dunayevskaya's essay....Gorbachev did not 'save' Reagan—he made him an offer he could not refuse....For the second time in the 20th Century, a major revolution in humanism is happening in Russia." I think she represents the view of many. How can those of us who are looking for a totally new human alternative, independent of both nuclear superpowers, confront this attitude that still wants to attach the movement to a state power?

That question of how to oppose war by remaining independent of both poles of capitalism and raising a banner of what we are for is crucial to the movement today. Therefore, I want to look at how Marxist-Humanism responded to the U.S. invasion of the Bay of Pigs 26 years ago this month, and how that response can illuminate our struggle today.

OPPOSE BOTH NUCLEAR POLES

The very day the CIA-backed invasion of the Bay of Pigs was announced, April 22, 1961, Raya Dunayevskaya felt the insufficiency of waiting the few weeks for the

Letter from Steinmetz

(continued from page 1)

Everything that goes on in the neighborhood is blamed on us. Kids from St. Ferdinand were caught by Steinmetz doing graffiti; do you hear about this? Oh, no.

If you say you go to Steinmetz, people look at you like you have the plague. We are tired of it and are going down fighting.

I think we have taken enough abuse, and so have our parents. We would like to know what we did to have so much hate going on in our neighborhood.

Come to Steinmetz anytime.

Also, they put closed campus on a referendum in our ward (April 7). Only certain precincts were allowed to vote; people miles away from Steinmetz were allowed to vote; some people who are close to the school should have been allowed to vote and weren't able to.

St. Ferdinand parish also allowed this Mr. Babbo and his group to stand by the church while masses were going on and have people sign petitions against Steinmetz. People would say they didn't know anything was going on. Mr. Babbo and Jay Clarke would tell the people stories so they would sign. Do you think this is right when some of their parishioners go to Steinmetz?

This NNF had people outside Steinmetz the day of the primary voting, blocking our way—catching all the people who vote at Steinmetz with papers against Steinmetz. They were all the way up to the door, which is illegal, and no one stopped them.

The students want to know.

Who is behind all this?

We are a group of students who like Steinmetz and who enjoy going home for lunch.

Thanks for listening.

If you care about students—try to investigate.

New York's 'S.O.S. Racism'

(continued from page 1)

So far, we've done one such workshop. We started by asking questions, inviting the kids to talk about racism, getting their ideas. We also discussed pictures that the second graders had drawn about racism. Towards the end of the teach-in, we played a game in which the children could understand how it felt to discriminate and be discriminated against. We have already set tentative dates with other classes and hope to be doing these workshops more often.

On April 3, we held a benefit with high school bands and speakers. With the money we raised, we will pay for the reproduction of literature to educate people about racism. We will also buy materials for the mentioned workshops. We hope to have another benefit before this school year terminates.

As a group, we also attend demonstrations. In January, S.O.S. attended the march and rally in front of Mayor Koch's house to protest the Howard Beach racist attack. (I was surprised to see the riot cops expecting violence at the rally.)

S.O.S. and another New York youth organization have already filled two busloads to attend the April 25 demonstration in Washington, D.C., for justice and peace in Central America and southern Africa.

I personally put S.O.S. above schoolwork on my list of priorities. I think history is important to understand the present and future, but what good are logarithms if I get blown up by a nuclear bomb? I don't see how sines and cosines (trigonometry) are going to stop a third world war.

—Student activist

publication of News & Letters to respond, and published a "Preliminary Statement on the Crisis over Cuba."* It declared our opposition not only to Kennedy's imperialism but to that other nuclear pole, Russia.

It critically discussed the development of the Cuban Revolution from its beginning when Marxist-Humanism had greeted Castro's declaration that this was a humanist revolution, to Castro's administrative mentality that was transforming the revolution into its opposite; and it singled out the ramifications of the U.S. invasion: John F. Kennedy's attempt to clamp down on the movement at home under the name of fighting "subversion."

It concluded: "This is what must concern us. This, and not taking sides other than opposition to both sides, is what we must single out as the threat to the struggle for the minds of men. This is far beyond the Cuban struggle. This is the American revolution. This is the world anti-war struggle. All this the Kennedy Administration has declared war on..."

GORBACHEV IS NO ALTERNATIVE

The point was to never separate the opposition to both poles of capitalism from the new human society that we were for. As horrible as Reagan is, the alternative is not to be seen in a Gorbachev.

It is Gorbachev, after all, who is waging war against the Afghan people, who, as Dunayevskaya points out in "Reagan, Gorbachev and their bi-polar world," "out of the blue came" to rescue Reagan from the Iran arms-for-hostage affair "waving the red flag of arms control as if it were stars and stripes forever," and whose interest in Europe is to "uncouple it from the U.S."

Today, 26 years after the Bay of Pigs invasion, the threat to the survival of humanity by the two superpowers' race for nuclear superiority is much greater and, opposed to that, new revolutionary movements are arising around the globe. The need to not separate the opposition to war from a discussion of how to fight for freedom without following any state power becomes more urgent than ever. Would you like to join this discussion when we march on April 25? Please look for the News and Letters Committees' literature table there.

* This statement became the first in a series of Weekly Political Letters that Dunayevskaya began to write as political-philosophical analyses of world crises. See Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, #2906-3153.

New illuminations on Marxist-Humanism

(continued from page 5)

(Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, microfilm #1492). They formed the basis for a philosophic correspondence between Dunayevskaya and the two other leaders of the state-capitalist tendency, C.L.R. James and Grace Lee (microfilm #1595 and #9234). In 1953 came her Letters on Hegel's Absolute Idea. Here she has a "dialogue" with Lenin on his breaking off his Notebooks on Hegel before he fully goes through the Absolute Idea.

However, in her *Marxism and Freedom* (1958), the focus is not on any shortcut in Lenin's encounter with Hegel; rather, it is on "Lenin and the Dialectic: A Mind in Action," where she presents Lenin's encounter with Hegel's dialectic as the ground for what she terms the Great Divide in Marxism. In *Philosophy and Revolution*, her chapter on Lenin is entitled "The Shock of Recognition and the Philosophic Ambivalence of Lenin." The discussion of philosophic ambivalence is not about Lenin's commentary in the Notebooks, but about his failure to publish them and discuss them publicly, his ambivalence towards his own work.

But now, in working out a book on *Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy*, Dunayevskaya has felt the necessity to work out the philosophic source of Lenin's failure to reorganize his organizational conceptions. In her view it is no longer sufficient to work out the political reasons for his organizational attitude. (See Chapter XI of *Marxism and Freedom*, "Forms of Organization: The Relationship of the Spontaneous Self-Organization of the Proletariat to the 'Vanguard Party.'")

Her new perception encompasses the fact that Lenin's ambivalence rested not so much on the question of the extension or "application" of his *Philosophic Notebooks* to "organization," as it rested on the fact that Lenin's Notebooks in and of themselves ended in a shortcut. He magnificently extended a hand to practice, but never fully immersed himself in the dialectic when the dialectic was the chapter on Absolute Idea in the *Science of Logic*. Instead, Lenin remains on the threshold of the Absolute in the Idea of Cognition, and restricts his comments on the Absolute to how Hegel presented it in much abbreviated form in the *Smaller Logic of the Encyclopedia* rather than in the *Science of Logic*. And yet it is precisely that Absolute Idea which Dunayevskaya argues holds the key for the relation between philosophy and revolutionary activity, including organization in our era when Absolute Idea is seen as New Beginning. (See especially "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning," Ch. 1 of *Philosophy and Revolution*.)

Here is how she formulates the thrust of her work-in-progress in one of her "Talking to Myself" notes: "What I'm driving at is that, unless we work out the dialectic in philosophy itself, the dialectic of organization, whether it be from the vanguard party or that born from spontaneity, would be just different forms of organization, instead of an organization that is so inseparable

Fairfax High: 'like a jail'

Los Angeles, Cal.—A lot of students seem to be returning to fashion and disco these days, and they don't have time for "uncool" things like politics. But, still, the "Students for Consciousness" group here at Fairfax High puts out a newsletter on topics like Central America, South Africa, Irangate, and the homeless. People must read them, because you see very few copies in the trash basket.

That newsletter must have an effect because it's making some people angry. There've been editorials in the school newspaper saying, "Why don't these guys keep this stuff to themselves, or else other groups like the KKK will also start exercising their Constitutional rights."

In our history class, we force the teacher to discuss issues that are happening in the world. Otherwise, the history we're taught could get a good rating from a white supremacist group. There's no Black history taught at all. All we do is prepare for this big test we are having in May; and we're not going to get past World War II. We're going to skip the Civil Rights Movement, the Free Speech Movement, the 'Nam protests—and nothing happened in the '70s, they say, so there's nothing to talk about there.

They want to cut us off from the outside world. The school is like a jail. I read the article in N&L (April 10) about the students who walked out of the school in Chicago because of the closed campus policy. That was great. We also have that, which means you can't go out at lunch. The gates are locked. If they see you walking around outside school, they'll bust you.

In fact, the school was designed by someone who designed jails. The windows are too high to crawl out of, too small to even look out of. You can't get out or even look out. When you walk around the school, the administrators stare at you, just like you're a prisoner. There are security guards with guns.

It's dehumanizing. You see all these fences, and you see people walking outside—and there's a locked fence between you and them. You have to sneak around to get out. Sometimes it's fun, but you really get tired of it, and wish they would let you relate a little with the outside world because they really are literally locking us away from it.

It's like, school life is school life, and anything outside of school you'll learn about after you graduate.

—Fairfax student

from its philosophic ground that form and content are one." (Oct. 6, 1986)

DIALECTICS OF PHILOSOPHY;
DIALECTICS OF ORGANIZATION;
IN HEGEL, IN MARX

The working out of "the dialectic of philosophy itself" in relation to "dialectics of organization" has compelled a return² by Dunayevskaya to the writings of Hegel. In particular she has chosen to concentrate on his final writings—both the Third Attitude to Objectivity³ included in the *Smaller Logic* and the final three syllogisms of *Philosophy of Mind* added only in 1830-31, just before Hegel's death.

Here is how she recently phrased the cruciality of this period of Hegel's life-work: "Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind*—which Lenin didn't touch at all, especially its final three syllogisms—and all the prefaces, introductions, attitudes to objectivity of the *Smaller Logic*, were written after the *Science of Logic* had already been completed and Hegel was re-examining his whole life's work. Thus, the 1830-31 writings of Hegel are as critical as those of Marx's last decade."

Space will not permit us here to follow into the new work that Dunayevskaya has begun on Hegel as well as on Marx's concept of organization, particularly under the impact of the Paris Commune.³ Instead, I want to end where I began: with the new illumination on the philosophic expression of Marxist-Humanism that comes from new digging into the work of Hegel, Marx and Lenin. As well the illumination extends to the kind of political-theoretical-philosophic journalism we are undertaking with a biweekly *News & Letters*. Post-Marx Marxists are forever talking and writing of leadership, leadership, leadership, the Party, the Party, the Party, within their journals, as if that were the magic formula for facing the crisis within post-Marx Marxism and the insoluble contradictions of capitalist class society.

But any serious grappling with questions of organization—whether of a Marxist group, or the self-organizing of masses in motion—cannot escape from working out the dialectics of philosophy, the revolutionary philosophy that Marx created anew out of the Hegelian dialectic, and which is again the task of our age. Any shortcuts from this task will end in diversions from the revolutionary uprooting needed. The pathway toward new human relations, including organization, lies in working out and concretizing the dialectics of a philosophy of revolution.

—Eugene Walker

2. Raya Dunayevskaya's writings on Hegel are quite extensive. Among the major ones to consult are *Summaries of Hegel's Major Writings: Notes on Phenomenology; on Science of Logic; on Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences* (Microfilm #2806-2842); *Letters on the Absolute Idea* (#1797-1812); and "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning," Chapter 1 of *Philosophy and Revolution*.

3. For an earlier study of Marx on Organization, see "The Philosopher of Permanent Revolution Creates New Ground for Organization," Chapter XI of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Chile: mass protests during the Pope's visit

The vast crowds which came out to greet Pope John Paul II—500,000 on April 2 in the Santiago slum neighborhood of La Banderita, one million April 3 in central Santiago, 400,000 on April 5 in the working-class center Concepcion—were not only strong in their numbers. Even more powerful was the bursting forth onto the world stage of their elemental anger at over 14 years of the fascist rule of General Pinochet.

This was seen both in the impassioned speeches made by grassroots activists and in the pitched battles youths fought with police at each gathering.

At La Banderita, a woman identified as Jimina stated: "They want us passive, we have no freedom to participate and when we do, we are repressed and beaten. Many young people have been detained or banished or were injured or killed for demanding dignified life." Through prior negotiations with the regime, these and other calls to resistance were broadcast live on a nationwide TV station owned by the Catholic Church.

In Concepcion, the fishermen's federation, the teachers' union and the dockworkers' union all addressed open letters to the Pope. They stated that any attempts to strike against starvation wages or to change repressive labor laws were "cruelly repressed." A disabled stevedore spoke to the crowd of 400,000, demanding "total freedom for workers' organizations." Everywhere the youth predominated.

The Pope's visit was nothing less than an attempt to take over the opposition to Pinochet so as to prevent a genuinely revolutionary opposition from setting the agenda for a post-Pinochet

Chile. On Chilean soil he did not speak out against the dictatorship, but warned against violent attempts to change Chilean society.

Both Pinochet and the U.S. were jolted on Sept. 7, 1986 by a well-coordinated, pre-planned, and very nearly successful attack on Pinochet's motorcade by 20 guerrillas armed with automatic rifles and bazookas.



Youth stone police in Chile

In addition, new forms of revolutionary organization are being worked out in the slums by grassroots groups operating outside the channels of any of the Left parties. As an activist from Santiago wrote last year: "Many of the self-organized groups are anti-party because they have been used as tools by the main parties."

Though some church officials have

supported the fight against Pinochet, the Pope made clear who he thinks is the main enemy: "Comparison between Chile and Poland is incorrect. In Chile, the regime is by definition transitional. One cannot say the same thing about Poland." The Chilean masses know that statement to be a lie, having suffered for so many long years under the totalitarian regime of Pinochet.

India: human rights

Bihar, India—How does one prosecute the State? On April 19, 1986, in the small town of Arwal in Bihar, central India, over 500 unarmed, landless peasants belonging to the "Mazdoor Kissan Sangrash Samiti" (MKSS, Workers and Peasants Struggle Committee) were demonstrating outside the local police station against the inaction of the police when their lands had been encroached upon by rich landlords. The police cornered the gathering and opened blind fire on the people, killing more than 23 and injuring many more.

The legal system does not recognize state violence as a crime. But the Indian Peoples Commission for Human Rights has been formed and has taken up the Arwal case as its first one. Twenty eyewitnesses have entered depositions before the sitting tribunal in New Delhi on Feb. 7-8, 1987.

The Indian Peoples Commission for Human Rights is one of the first of its kind in the Third World. It is to receive petitions concerning violations of human rights by the Indian state.

With the opening up of markets and natural resources to foreign capital, the introduction of automation and the massive deforestation programs by industries, the Indian state is becoming more and more undemocratic and violent. The Indian Peoples Commission for Human Rights has the potential to shape a fitting reply. —JBR

The Spanish clergy

The Pope chose the eve of his departure for Latin America to beatify two priests and three nuns executed during the Spanish Civil War. That act opens old wounds which the Spanish Socialist Government has been trying to heal.

The service, held in St. Peter's Basilica, was the occasion for the gathering of the nobility and Spanish clergy who have consistently supported Franco and fascism. The fascist clergy have been trying for years to raise to sainthood the members of the clergy who were killed during the Civil War. Pope Paul VI suspended the effort in 1964, but Pope John Paul II revived it in 1983.

The Spanish Civil War, which took place when the military forces revolted against the legally elected Spanish Loyalist Government, lasted for three years. The Catholic Church was inseparably linked with the fascist cause, and the resentment of the Spanish workers against the activities of the Church resulted in the deaths of hundreds of the clergy. Thousands of workers and peasants were slaughtered by Franco and his fascist allies.

French workers

On March 22, no less than 200,000 workers demonstrated in Paris against the conservative Chirac government's attempt to cut social security and welfare. The demonstrators came from all over France, in the greatest outpouring of French labor since the last days of the Giscard government in 1979. Even though the organization and leadership of the demonstration was entirely under the Communist Party/General Confederation of Workers (CGT) control, the demonstrators were not Communist only, but represented a large sector of the working class as a whole. This massive labor outpouring followed closely after the November/December student movement and the December/January spontaneous railroad strikes from below.

New immigration law spreads fear; solidarity needed

(continued from page 1)

most will not qualify for legalized resident status under the new immigration law.

The key provisions of the law (known as Simpson-Rodino) center on: (1) civil and criminal sanctions against employers who, after Nov. 6, 1986, hire persons unauthorized to work in the United States; (2) a legalization or so-called "amnesty" program for immigrants who can prove they have resided continuously in the U.S. since before Jan. 1, 1982, and those who worked in agriculture for at least 90 days from May 1, 1985 to May 1, 1986.

The regulations formulated by the INS to implement the amnesty provision put roadblocks every step of the way in front of even those who, by "intent" of Congress, do qualify under the limited legalization program: from the \$185 per person legalization fee; to the disqualifying effects of absences from the U.S. or receipt of public assistance; to the ultimate trap—the need to show a five-year-long documented life in the U.S. on the part of those who for years deliberately left no trace of their existence.

"Everyone is anxious," said a young Mexican worker. "No one knows what will happen. People are already being fired from their jobs. Husbands and wives have to decide what to do if only one qualifies; there is no extension of legalization to spouse or children. Everyone is full of questions that no one seems able to answer."

The very concept of "amnesty," portrayed as "generosity," is being questioned on the Mexican side of the border. Jorge Bustamante, Director of Tijuana's College of the Northern Border, has written of "the Mexican perspective [of] a migratory phenomenon characterized by a demand for cheap labor in the U.S.... 'Generosity' has no place within this notion, but rather the very unequal economic interests of 'buyers' and 'sellers' of labor in an unfair international market..."

LABOR ACROSS BORDERS

It is, indeed, control of labor that is at the heart of the "Immigration Control Act" of 1986 — not to "save American jobs," as the propaganda asserts, but to ensure a cheap, docile labor force, documented and undocumented, for American business and agriculture.

The special provisions for granting temporary legal status for certain agricultural workers hearken back to the *bracero* program of some 30 years ago, when its stipulations requiring adequate housing, food, wages at working conditions for "legal" farmworkers (*braceros*) were rarely enforced. *Bracero* workers were often used as strike-breakers, and were themselves deported as "subversives" if they attempted to organize.

It was following the ending of the *bracero* program in 1964 that a new wave of successful farmworker unionization began, but Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers had to learn through bitter struggle that successful farmworker organization depends on organizing documented and undocumented farmworkers alike. In Arizona, the Arizona Farm Workers Union began on that ground, in the late 1970s, and extended their organizing and communication across the Mexican border.

In the cities, garment worker organizers are finding that Simpson-Rodino is having its desired, if temporary, effect of hampering unionization and strikes. Antonio Orea of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in Los Angeles told *News & Letters* of the increased fear workers are experiencing. Nonetheless he told us of a current strike against Ideal Textile, where 95% of the 200 workers are undocumented.

In telling of the long struggle to get unions to recognize the importance of organizing the undocumented (he himself had worked as an "illegal" in the garment industry a decade ago), Orea added: "We said that the undocumented workers could be organized, and we did it. Some of the most militant workers were undocumented, as in a campaign a few years ago with a group of workers from El Salvador. They had the highest political consciousness of anybody. These people were ready; they were not thinking only about organizing a union, they were thinking more about what was happening in El Salvador."

Coming next issue

—A Special Supplement—



Notes on Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind

by Raya Dunayevskaya

The ties between workers in the U.S. and in Latin America are finding many new forms of expression. Last September, the California board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union adopted as a "sister union" the Salvadoran Textile Workers, and offered assistance to a group of women workers in San Salvador striking against a Levi Strauss jeans factory.

SALVADORANS AND GUATEMALANS: APPEAL FOR SOLIDARITY

Reagan also has El Salvador—and Nicaragua, and Mexico—on his mind. Many Mexican activists interpret the Simpson-Rodino law, whose threatened employer sanctions can be selectively enforced, as a form of pressure on Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid to change his backing of the Contadora peace process, or face a flood of deported, unemployed workers and the attendant economic chaos.

U.S. military assistance continues to fund death squads and torture, bombings and imprisonment, in El Salvador and Guatemala, where despite "civilian" regimes the disappearances and murders continue. Unemployment and poverty can mean a slow death for deported Mexicans or Haitians, but a quick, icy death could await deported Guatemalan and Salvadoran refugees.

Precisely because of this heightened threat to their lives, Salvadorans and Guatemalans began mobilizing and speaking out with urgent strength. Two thousand poured out for a rally in Los Angeles on March 22, under the slogan, "Without democracy and peace we cannot return: No deportations."

A Guatemalan man told *News & Letters*: "In 1984, my friends were disappeared. We were active, organizing in our neighborhood for basic reforms: wage increases, better education. I was 25 years old. The Guatemalan National Intelligence Service was searching for me with a helicopter equipped with a gun. I had to flee. I know that by speaking out openly I run the risk of being deported to my death, but I have to speak to the North American people the truth about Guatemala today."

It is these truths of life and struggle that the new immigration law seeks to smother with fear, and with racist scare propaganda directed to American workers, asserting that those from other lands are our enemies. The refugees bring a different message. The Latin American refugee from Mexico or El Salvador, and the Caribbean refugee from Haiti or Jamaica, brings to the U.S. rich dimensions of culture and color, and often-times the experience of freedom activities in his and her native lands. "The INS cannot get rid of all of us," one Guatemalan woman said. "I appeal to North Americans for solidarity."

It is this human solidarity that is so needed now. Deepened pathways to freedom can begin to unfold as we recognize that the struggles of "illegal aliens," against deportations and for a new way of life, are inseparable from all of our own needed struggles for freedom and for new human relationships, right here in the U.S., and across all borders.