Bureaucrats, scabs and strikers

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

The truth of what the AFL-CIO bureaucracy represents has become a frequent subject of conversation with me in the last year, down in Bal Harbor, Florida, where the bureaucrats like to go to sunbathe.

What made the headlines was that the AFL-CIO leadership welcomed Jackie Presser and the Teamsters Union delegation to the University of Illinois’ "House of Labor." The Teamsters were kicked out, 30 years ago, for being corrupt. The AFL-CIO wants the Teamsters back now, because that means 1.6 million more members paying dues. Even with these new members, it means only about 14 million workers in organized labor—down from 18 million just a few years ago.

The Teamsters are still corrupt, but to me, all the labor bureaucrats are corrupt parasites living like kings off the sweat and misery of the rank-and-file workers. Teamsters President Jackie Presser earned $200,000 in 1986, the same year he ordered meat-packing workers to scab against the striking P-9 workers at the Hormel plant in Austin, Minn.

Some of those striking Hormel workers were at the home of Bal Harbor, to confront the bureaucrats. Where Jackie Presser's entourage, the Jim Guytton, put down striking Local P-9, got punched in the face. To me, that just about says it all, right there.

Union back into the bureaucratic fold they call the Teamsters back now, because that means 1.6 million more members paying dues. Even with these new members, it means only about 14 million workers in organized labor—down from 18 million just a few years ago.

The labor bureaucracy has become a bad word to define by residents and activists in the Black community. The problems as I have heard over the last year seemed quite remote from the issues confronting the Black community. The problems as I have heard over the last year seemed quite remote from the issues confronting the Black community. The problems as I have heard over the last year seemed quite remote from the issues confronting the Black community.

...significantly, it was two of the very few community activists attending the conference who expressed the relationship between Black thought and reality. One of the activists said, "The division of working class, underclass and now this (continued on page 9)
Mexican women garment workers speak

Los Angeles, Cal.—Several hundred people—many of them workers—filled the ILGWU hall on Nov. 7 to welcome two women from the Garment Workers Union in Mexico City. Below are brief excerpts from remarks by the two visiting women, at the Nov. 7, gathering, and in an interview the day before.

Octavita Lara: I feel great pride to be among you workers here. We need friends in Mexico City. We have only survived thanks to the support from students and community groups, as well as other workers.

"In the factory we work under terrible conditions. Where I worked before the earthquake, the ventilation was very poor. Because of the fabric dust, some women who worked there got lung problems. Plumbing never worked and bathroom accommodations were always filthy. Women came down with extremely bad infections because of this.

"The majority of the garment workers are single mothers who have to work just to survive. We have one boss at work, and then go home and deal with their children. We are strong, but we are alone.

"Even the male comrades in the independent union movement—want to implement democracy on the union level, but we are still under the bosses' attitude. It is difficult to organize."

"We have experienced repression from the factory owners, from the government, and from the government itself."

Impact of 'technology' on clerical work

Changes in telecommunications and microelectronic technology have transformed the world of clerical work—an occupation that is overwhelmingly female. The Factory of Employment, created by the National Research Council to look at the impacts of the new technology on the quantity and quality of clerical jobs in the United States historically, currently and in the future. "Computer Chips and Paper Clips: The Changing Landscape of Clerical Work" is the title of the report.

"Computer Chips and Paper Clips: The Changing Landscape of Clerical Work" is the title of the report. The report contains a wealth of information charting changes in telecommunications and microelectronic technology that this society must answer. It cannot be answered with current solutions, but with a new way of thinking that makes use of the power of the computer.

"We already know that this society has been unwilling to confront the effects of automation in industry. There has been no increased education of workers who are entering the labor market. This has been an increase in the number of the permanently unemployed. The gap between skilled and unskilled workers is growing as we move toward a two-tiered society.

"The question coal miners raised as they confronted the introduction of automation in the early 1950s—"What kind of labor should people do if all the factories are computerized?"—is still the question that this society must answer. It cannot be answered with training programs for clerical workers. The report says that it is her independent relation to revolution that led to the break with Kautsky, etc. The inseparability of women and revolution was a good thing in the movie, but I felt that was not followed through in the review.

"I am afraid I didn't like the movie, but it did show the relationship of women's liberation to revolution. What made Luxembourg an original character was her independent relation to revolution, which transformed the very idea of revolution in the 1910s."

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Responses to review of 'Rosa Luxembourg'

I liked so much Michelle Landau's review of the movie, "Rosa Luxembourg." Landau's footnote on Elsiba Ettinger's book on Luxembourg made me think of a quote by RosaLuxemberg: "When a society is faced with a problem, it is really psychobabel that reduced Luxemburg's passion for revolution and freedom to insecurities—what made Luxemburg an original character was her independent relation to revolution, which transformed the very idea of revolution in the 1910s."

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Women's Liberationist Chicago

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Women-Worldwide

Family planning advocates estimate that the Rean Administration's policy to end U.S. aid to any program that provides abortions will be helpful in the next 25 years in helping to reduce the number of unwanted births.

With chants such as "Without the participation of women there can be no revolution," more than 1,500 women met Saturday in Los Angeles, California, to organize the largest international conference of communist women since the 1930s. The conference was attended by women from all over Latin America and Caribbean Feminist Conferences, including Chinese, Russian, and Cuban groups. It was also attended by women from the Women's Liberation Movement in the United States and Mexico.

"The most important thing was the solidarity between women in different countries. We are fighting for the same issues: reproductive rights, equal pay, and freedom from discrimination.

"It really shows, I think, that very few want to see women's liberation as a revolution. Can get such a big write-up in the bourgeois press."

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Women's Struggles in South Korea

Los Angeles, Cal.—Women workers and women students in South Korea met in Taxco, Mexico, Oct. 19-24, for the fourth and last international meeting of women workers and the movement for women's liberation against repression.

"Women are employed in textiles and electronics, averaging 59 hours work in the factory per week, the longest wage labor work week in the world. They earn women half the wages paid to men.

"In the strike struggles, women workers have been beaten viciously by police and gangs of men, as in the strike at Central Data Corporation in 1983 and the Women's Liberationist Chicago.
Havoc from new immigration law

by John Marcotte

The new immigration law is causing havoc for American workers. I say American workers, because if you live and work in America, I don’t know what else you should be called, don’t care where you come from. We all came from somewhere.

In the Southwest especially, Sept. 1 was a terrible day, when the new law went into effect and bosses started firing thousands of workers, for fear of getting fined by the Immigration and Naturalization Service for having undocumented workers. There are reports of thousands of workers, and their families, living in cars, parks, shelters, begging for food, who’ve lost jobs they had held, some of them for a long time, even many years.

WORKERS LEFT STRANDED

So this has created a labor shortage, the garment bosses claim. Many Los Angeles garment shops claim that they have a shortage of workers because of the new immigration law—or rather, a shortage of workers with the proper documents. So we’ve heard radio advertisements to Mexico and Southern California for migrant workers. Thousands of workers showed up, so many that the farms and state employment agencies were turning away maybe 2,000 a day. Thousands of workers, and their families, got stranded in the rain with no work and no shelter, and no fare home. They filled tent cities, cars, and shelters.

This has actually, according to the United Farm Workers Union, many more farm workers in the U.S. than they need. But that doesn’t stop greedies speculators from springing up to fill this perceived “labor shortage.” Suddenly there are all these employment agencies that will recruit garment workers from the Philippines, Korea, Mexico and other countries, and pay them the boss’s rate, supposedly by the hour. These sharks have been so quick to take advantage of the new law’s opening up the infamous H-2A “guest worker” provisions.

FAKE “LABOR SHORTAGE”

Look at the attitude of the newly formed Chinese Agricultural Manpower Center, a New York company that claims to have a contract with the Chinese government to recruit Chinese peasants as temporary farm workers for the U.S. “We are not exploiting them,” claims the manager. “We are just meeting the needs of the market, like importing chemicals or slippers. It happens that the need of the market now is for labor.”

What the managers are afraid of is backwash. Workers—live human beings, creative persons—are not chemicals or slippers. Marx correctly saw what is at the heart of all this craziness, of thousands of workers being reduced to a commodity among commodities, and the worker fighting against that dehumanization every day. That plus the fact that at the heart of all this craziness, of thousands of jobs declared to be empty at four dollars an hour, the thousands of workers are fired for not having the right papers, and then these agencies contracting in temporary labor with no rights, while workers walk homeless and hungry because they are denied the right to work.

What was new to me is how clearly they saw that "guest workers" are afraid of live human beings, creative persons—not chemicals or slippers. Marx correctly saw what is at the heart of all this craziness, of thousands of workers being reduced to a commodity among commodities, and the worker fighting against that dehumanization every day. That plus the fact that at the heart of all this craziness, of thousands of jobs declared to be empty at four dollars an hour, the thousands of workers are fired for not having the right papers, and then these agencies contracting in temporary labor with no rights, while workers walk homeless and hungry because they are denied the right to work.

The News & Letters editorial of November 1987, “Stock market crisis rooted in production crisis,” misses a crucial point. It is true that the root of the crisis lies in the compulsion of capital to replace living workers with machines. But a critical ramification of that is the substitution of machines for workers is the reorganization of production by and for the workers themselves. It is the reorganization of production by and for the workers themselves.

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Brazil's contradictions

The people who suffered horrible deaths from radia
tion are not the only victims in Brazil. There is so much nuclear waste in lead and cement encased cof
fins that a scrap dealer broke open an abandoned hospital radiotherapy unit to recover its contents. And near Amarante, Guajajara Indians took as hostages a number of officials from the government's Ministry for the Environment. Brazil, a record 40,000 workers were laid off this summer. Hunger among the poor and unemployment has erupted in explosions of food from stores and the police shooting into crowds. Workers are struggling to keep up with inflation and the soaring price of food and the basics for life. They are in a mood of revolt, especially workers, many of whom were in power when the military was overthrown in 1985. In a word, it is not philosophers and philosophies but the practical developments of the world that determine the trend of human history to destroy the bourgeois world.
Deborah Whitehouse, analyst for the Central American Task Force, says that the elusive peace plan of the region is not due to a lack of desire, but of a lack of strategy. As she puts it, the main problem is that the peace plan “is a broad brush, a non-specific, non-planned effort.”

Whitehouse believes that the lack of a clear plan is due to the complexity of the situation in Central America. She notes that the region is characterized by political instability, economic hardship, and social inequality. She also points out that the peace process is not a simple process, but one that requires careful planning and execution.

Whitehouse argues that the lack of a clear plan is also due to the fact that the peace process is not seen as a priority by the international community. She notes that the peace process is often seen as a low priority, and that there is not enough resources dedicated to it.

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Whitehouse concludes by saying that the lack of a clear plan is due to a combination of factors, including the complexity of the situation, the lack of priority, and the lack of resources. She believes that a clear plan is necessary for the peace process to be successful, and that the international community needs to take a more active role in supporting the peace process.

The following are excerpts from her Chicago speech.

Chicago, Ill.—I am the daughter of peasants from Chalatenango province. Since was small, I have been aware of their struggles. They are not just the creators of our rich culture, but also the victims of violence. I have witnessed their suffering, their pain, and their struggles. I have been forced to leave my home, my family, and my friends, all because of the right to return to our country. Even in my new home, I am still a refugee.

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I cannot understand this talk of a Reagan-Gorbachev "peace" summit. They are claiming that these arms talks with "peace" over the Persian Gulf, but how can Reagan talk of "peace" when he would have no mercy in the Persian Gulf war? How can Reagan talk about "peace" when he wants Congress to give him the money for an attack on the Persian Gulf too, so long as he never recognizes the Central American people, so that he can use computers that just sell automatically—military remains sacrosanct. I keep being reminded of how war and capitalist crisis are inextricably connected, and the adrenalin he uses to defend his policy, with huffing and puffing, is obviously right to call for action to stop "Reagan's adventures in the Persian Gulf.

**Activist Chicago**

Most of my recent activity has been in solidarity with the South African revolutionaries. But I would like to be involved in protests against Reagan's attacks on the Persian Gulf too, so long as they are against Khomeini and Iran.

**Anti-War Youth Chicago**

No one is talking about what kind of effect the collapse of price support for wheat and rice goods have on the world food crisis. The first thing I thought of was the people. The first thing I thought of was attacks on the Persian Gulf too, so long as he never recognizes the Central American people, so that he can use computers that just sell automatically—military remains sacrosanct. I keep being reminded of how war and capitalist crisis are inextricably connected, and the adrenalin he uses to defend his policy, with huffing and puffing, is obviously right to call for action to stop "Reagan's adventures in the Persian Gulf.

**Activist Chicago**

I have been reading American Civilizations on Trial, I never went to college, I never graduated, but I know that U.S. history is supposed to be taught in high school. Yet all you're taught is that Lincoln freed the slaves by way of Harper's Ferry. In Washington threw a half-dollar across the Potomac. You never taught about movement of people, about workers' struggle, like in this pamphlet. So here's what's around us for granted, the way things are. There's a sentence in this pamphlet that's stuck in my mind, it says that knowing what's happened through history is the only way of knowing where you're going today.

**Youth activist Chicago**

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**Young white worker Whittier, California**

I have been following N&L again, after a hiatus of ten years or so. I continue to find a great deal of value in your perspective—the anti-vanguardism, the emphasis on cultural heterogeneity within our movement and on the "humanistic" side of Marxism, the openness to working people speaking directly in their own voices, the subtle push for readers to educate themselves more (reinforced by the notion that they can make sense of what is happening to them, and that they can read Marx, Hegel, and all the rest.) Qbviously, I also find enough in Between readers and writers in revolutionary journalism is one I share. My impression is that Buhle doesn't know this, he does and I do.

**The Global Black Dimension**

Some time ago I heard about the death on June 9 of Raya Dunayevskaya, whom I knew mainly through her book published in Spanish, i.e., Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution. I'd like to receive a copy of the "In Memoriam" issue of N&L devoted to her, as well as a good photograph of Raya, if order, possibly, to produce a small pamphlet on this in memory of her. Stay in yours in comradeship.

**Raya's Memorial Issue**

I appreciated Lou Turner's lead article on South Africa (see Nov. N&L) even more for its sensitivity to the point that it is because of the crisis that Botha and Mbeki released signals in that direction. Turner is entering a dialogue with Blacks when in fact, the political moves that Mbeki has made are much more insidious than ever. It reminded me of how Gorbachev has all the time repeated: "In the end, nothing will be doped up with "glamorph.""}

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**Editors Note:** Copies of the special Memorial Issue of N&L, are available for $4.00. For more information, available in Spanish include Rosa Luxemburg, the liberation feminina y la filosofia marxista de la Revolucion y El Humanismo de Marx en la Actualidad. 

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When Henry Ford died, they stopped the line for three minutes. Same for DECEMBER, ket crashes, but the wars go on—no one ing. It eventually killed him. They still Kennedy and Roosevelt. The stock mar­ ket crashes, but the wars go on—no one

Authors

Detroit

Since March of this year, the Interna­ tional United Paperworkers of America is

The merger of the retail clerks associ­ation in 1979 with the workers of the meat­packing industry surely helped

American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses in Vanguart.


The Great Debate on the Future of the Working Class in the U.S. by Richard Church

Grenada, Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Imperialism, Capitalism.

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NEWS & LETTERS

* * *

peACE IN CENTRAL AMERICA?

Despite the civilian government, hu­man rights conditions in Guatemala have not improved. The "American Watch" recently estimated that in the first year of civilian President Vinicio Cereno there were an average of three disappearances and extrajudicial killings per day. When GAM Group of Mutual Support pressured Cereno for an investi­gative commission of international fig­ures like the Nobel Peace Prize laureate Adolfo Perez Esquivel, Cereno said Guat­emalans should forget the past and be­gin with a clean slate—something the relatives of the disappeared cannot ac­cept. Readers who wish to know how they can help can write:

FINDING

1020 S. Wabash #491
Chicago, IL 60606

RENE LEVESQUE

The death of former Premier Rene Levesque on Nov. 1, marks the end of an era in Quebec. Though he often for­got the working people who elected him in 1976 and compromised their urgent demands by small-scale reforms at a time when radical changes were needed, there was nonetheless a huge outpour­ing by the people of Quebec and during the days after it. Certainly he was not a Marxist, and perhaps some of his policies seemed deplorable discrimina­tion against French-speaking Quebeck­ers before 1976 can be understood what he represented to us. We now have to look back at our history and figure out where we go from here. The liberation of Quebec, of the United States, and the rest of the world has yet to be achieved, and a difficult strug­gle remains ahead of us.

Former activists,

Quebec City

What Kind of Labor?

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**Black student protest**

In November, South Africa announced brazenly that its troops had been occupying large chunks of territory of its Black-rulled neighbor Angola, ever since September. This is the first large-scale South African intervention in over a decade, and was sparked by the possibility that the U.S. and South African-backed UNITA rebel movement would be annihilated by a major offensive of its Black-rulled neighbor Angola, ever since August 1987.

The South African racists, like Reagan, claim to support the movement of a Black shanty town, with women and children fleeing from clubs of cops, and he eats it with a river of blood without a glimpse of the Black Consciousness movement.

**Black activist Los Angeles**

**Montreal’s deadly racism**

Montreal, Quebec—Anthony Griffin, an unarmed Black man, was killed by a Montreal police bullet to the head on a cold November day in Montreal. Anthony Griffin’s “crime” was to have possi-

**Trace the dialectic road of revolution in action and in thought in the Black world, right to the mass upsurges in South Africa**

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**Black activist Los Angeles**
In factories; each plant manager has to send a certain number of workers to the military, officially proclaimed "draftable," while the government can withdraw them from their place of residence, and are subjected to imprisonment. Within the military control, they have had the audacity to rename May Day, "War Day." The Black community are the "new concepts and methods for dealing with the inner city." The pamphlet, "Strike Guards," as groups of 10 to 20 radicalized workers concentrated in revolutionary Kurdistan, are appearing often in revolutionarily Kurdistan, are appearing with greater frequency in other regions of the country. A recent example was the regional strike in northwest Iran. Several thousand workers, including women and children, participated in this successful wildcat strike. Strike Guards, window-smashers, and Kurdish workers joined in solidarity and their actions have drawn on them the organizers of a "Strike Guards," as groups of 10 to 20 radicalized workers, visited the striking plants in the region and gave encouraging talks.

Ireland: Terror no answer

On Sunday, Nov. 8, 11 people were killed and 56 were wounded in Dublin's annual St. Patrick's Day parade in Emskilen, North- ern Ireland. The bomb which planted a couple of Cubans, a government military officials who come to collect peasant and worker youths. A recent government-sponsored UN delegates' visit to the war zone in Sarajevo included some new concepts and methods for dealing with the profession of people.

A recent article by Ben Jorovsky in the Chicago Re- publican (November 8, 1987, #11) sheds further light on the Black community. Earlier this year put the declining South Side Leclaire Center along the route for a memorial parade in honor of the dead from the two World Wars. The victims were gathered to watch the parade when the bomb exploded. The Irish Republican Army (IRA) issued statements which blamed the bombing on paramilitary groups, and the government has announced the treaty will not be re-negotiated.

Gonzalez came to power in part because he promised the U.S. bases would go and Spain's role in NATO would end. Some of the most serious incidents of the post-war period were those involving American military personnel in Spain. The government has announced the treaty will not be re-negotiated.

Gonzalez promised to reduce the U.S. military presence significantly. It remains to be seen if his promise will hold when the anti-military will do from now until next May when the treaty actually expires.

U.S. bases out of Spain!

Tens of thousands of protestors marched in Madrid, Nov. 1, demanding the removal of all U.S. bases, installa-tions and personnel from Spain, and Spain's pull-out from NATO.

The Socialist government of Felipe Gonzalez is determined to do away with the U.S.-their presence in 1986, a wing of 72 fighter planes, five air tankers (used by the U.S. Strategic Commander in Europe) were attacked Libya in 1986), and about 5,000 of the over 12,000 U.S. support personnel stationed in Spain. U.S. negotiators have not agreed to this, and the Spanish government has not tolerated the thought of revolution, not even when it had gone off without being triggered, and that the logic of a revolutionary development.

A remembrance of George Breitman

The state-capitalist tendency of which I was a member left the SWP in 1973 under the banner of a state-capitalist position. One of the first to support our position in this period was Natalia Trotsky, who wrote to me about the need to break out of the "benign neglect." More importantly, the SWP and the Trotskyist movement.

The leadership of the SWP, under James P. Cannon, has been fundamentally wrong on basic Trotskyist questions. The result has been that Russia under Stalin remained a workers' state and could be defended. That basic error promoted the SWP by the 1960s into a completely Castro-Stalinist-oriented organization. The present SWP leadership can not tolerate the thought of revolution, not even when expressed as Trotskyism or Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution." It is incompatible with their Castroist perspectives.

Sanctuary: the Spirit of Harriet Tubman

Detroit, Mich.—No play more aptly titled than "Sanctuary: The Spirit of Harriet Tubman" could have opened the recently-reopened former Hague Theatre in America. The Underground Railway Theater Company links today's Sanctuary Movement to the Black liberation struggles.

The Black freedom struggle has been continuous and signified by the efforts of many who have been too often neglected in the perspectives of Central Ameri-ca Solidarity groups. And the play—original, dramatic script of this remarkable woman who fought to show the dialectic of liberation in the USA.

The first act opens with a scene of the 1850 antislavery ferry, working in a Philadelphia res- taurant, barraged with the inevitable falselook-to。 The audience is given the chance to imagine a world in which Harriet tells her life story to a young freedman and persuades him to join the movement.

The second and final scene is set in Chicago. 1899, Joaquim, a young Hispanic man, Mary, a Black woman, and Carol, a white waitress, all work in a restaurant. The women are members of a local chapter of International Labor Union; "Wings of the Morning," singing songs like "Folksongs for the 20th Century." The set designer used pre-Civil War quilt patterns and Surrealist weavings because "these folk art forms are part of their own heritage, in landscapes that are "magic...always moving to another reality." To me this means not magic, but the ways old notions of reality change when people are creating their own freedom.

In the final scene, once more reality is transformed.

In the final scene, once more reality is transformed. "I am not that terrible one—for a..." the play ends as Harriet reminisces on the Southside Leclaire Center alongside the face of a Latin American. The solidarity movement must be explicit today in order for the Sanctuary movement to realize its freedom idea. It is itself a magnificent con- cept of the "Third World," the way it is written.

—Susan Van Gelder
poverty in America

As all manufacturing has ceased and people leave in America, for their hard labor except poverty. We thought our employment rate is going down here, but it is because $10,000 per year; and 14 of the 19 city precincts are member; 48% of the households have incomes below $10,000 per year; and 14 of the 19 city precincts are classified as low income.

A city resident said, "Nothing is new. There still are no jobs. Now all the stores are closing also, so there is a law, News and Letters Committees. If the unemployment rate is going down here, it is because they run out of food, and they say next year, which is about two distributions. This will hurt a lot of people.

A food worker in Jackson County, Kentucky said: "All the government programs are going downhill. People on food stamps keep getting cut and they don't like it. We're trying to get more donations of the hole, and have to quit. The closest unemployment office is one and one-half hours away, so people have to pay"

HUNGER AMONG FARM FAMILIES

The New York Times has reported that hunger has spread to farm families. A study by the University of Iowa showed that food stamps and unemployment compensation have not only hit the middle and working class, but also farmers. In Iowa from 1984 to 1986, the number of farmers receiving food stamps increased from 2,000 to 20,000.

The Physician Task Force on Hunger in America reported in 1986 that one out of six Americans do not get enough to eat every day. The task force noted that 64% of the farmers are in serious financial straits and have difficulty in obtaining food. In the last ten years, the number of people living on farms who are officially classified as poor has grown.

SURPLUS FOOD PROGRAM CUTS

Did this statistic create any action in the press? We haven't heard of any. A farmer administration spokesperson criticized the study because the figures were "not official" and the authors were "not trusted." Basically, only an economist can recognize a hungry person. And since this report, the American Farm Bureau announced that 50% of surplus food will be available to those who need it in the next year, and perhaps none at all will be distributed between now and April.

Since the stock market crash on Oct. 19, the economists and politicians worried about whether or not the economic collapse would spread to third world countries. Even the richest of Americans—on the farms, in small towns, and in the inner cities—the depression is already here.

News & Letters

News & Letters Committee is an organization of Marxist-Humanists that stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private property form or in the state property form under its state capitalist name, Russia or China. We stand for the development of new human relations, what Marx first called a new humanity.

We're here to do what we're paid for and we're here to do what we're paid for, so we are not going to do anything that will make us look like we are not doing our job.

Chapter 1 and carried it through all the chapters, which didn't stop, in Part 1 just with Hegel, but went through Marx. There is a continuity then, to all of those (1987-88), that mainland China, too, that mainland China, in the years, and finally, the "New Passions and New Forces", which essentially is a discussion about what is known as "social and economic autonomy," and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution as a whole, and its relation to the "New Passions and New Forces". In fact, P&R was so deep into new paths of philosophy and revolution, that the "New Passions and New Forces" is a whole new chapter in toto and in new form of workers' revolt, not just a dilution of the ideas of Marxism and "accumulation of too much power in his leadership." Lenin wasn't sure he "knew how to use that.

In a word, unless one sees Stalin, not just as a bu- reaucrat, nor just as a simple aristocrat, but as one who is on the way to see either the existence of state-capitalism or that the only way to oppose that leadership is with a new form of the "party to lead", and a rethinking of leadership. It was only our age where state-capitalism and nationalism are the two decisive forces that, to some extent, could really grasp the dialectics of liberation, though all were, as individuals, revolutionaries. Had Lenin not held to the concept of national liberation movements, it isn't only the Russian Revolution that would have remained incomplete, but he never would have had that flash of genius on what we now call the Third World with his declaration, "If not through Berlin, then perhaps through Peking."

But that he surely left us a great revolutionary legacy—those "new passions and new forces", an organ- ization and its imperative need for as philosophically as possible, is that Marxism has got to the point of question "transformation in the opposite" applying also to the "aristocracy of labor." For that matter, we had said that the surplus food program was the foundation for a total break with Stalinism and Trotsky-ism, it defines what we mean by revolution. And revolution was evident enough in the break-up of the Johnson-Ford Tendency, until we reconnected with Marx's break with the concept of the "party to lead" and achieved in recreating "the new humanity" for our age."

As the mid-1980s and the emergence of a new wave of ideological and political challenges, it led to a break with the bureaucratic leadership. It was no longer enough to"Black-Franta Fanon"—the New Left youth movement, and its going theory to be picked up "en route" rather than developed to the point of philosophy. What that great movement of the '60s and '70s has achieved in its form of organization and its imperative need for as philosophically as possible, is that Marxism has got to the point of question "transformation in the opposite" applying also to the "aristocracy of labor." For that matter, we had said that the surplus food program was the foundation for a total break with Stalinism and Trotsky-ism, it defines what we mean by revolution. And revolution was evident enough in the break-up of the Johnson-Ford Tendency, until we reconnected with Marx's break with the concept of the "party to lead" and achieved in recreating "the new humanity" for our age."

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"All the government programs are going downhill. Peo­ ple on food stamps keep getting cut and they don't like it. We're trying to get more donations of the hole, and have to quit. The closest unemployment office is one and one-half hours away, so people have to pay"

The number of farmers receiving food stamps in 1984 was 200,000. In 1986, 1987, and in the inner cities—the depression is already here.

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DECEMBER, 1987

No answer in Reagan or glasnost

by Gary Clark

Recently I've been talking with a number of other youth activists who are involved in the anti-war, anti-nuclear movement in the United States. Some of these activists have come from diverse backgrounds, including some who are trained as scientists. One of these activists, a young man who has experience in physics and engineering, has been working with a group of students who are involved in anti-war protests in the United States. He told me that he has been feeling increasingly frustrated with the lack of progress in the anti-war movement. He feels that the current administration is not taking the issue seriously enough and that the protests are not making enough of an impact.

On the other hand, another activist who has been involved in the movement for several years, told me that he believes the protests are making a difference. He pointed out that the protests have put the issue of nuclear disarmament on the agenda of the general public, and that they have forced the government to address the issue of nuclear weapons.

Despite these differences in opinion, both activists agreed that the movement is making progress. They both emphasized the importance of continuing to protest and to educate others about the dangers of nuclear weapons. They also agreed that it is important to work with others who share the same goals, in order to build a stronger and more effective movement.

The activist who has experience in physics and engineering also told me that he is interested in learning more about the science behind the issue of nuclear weapons. He said that he would be happy to work with others who are interested in this area, in order to contribute to the movement and to help bring about a peaceful future for all.

No answer in Reagan or glasnost
Mikhail Gorbachev's Russia: The Stalinist rewriting of history continues.

Nowhere in the speech are the youth mentioned, but they are the ones having their feet kicked out from under them, where Gorbachev spoke, to high officials. They have formed hundreds of grassroots organizations and publications, as well as even dailies (for example, themselves as "New Left"). Today they are protesting Gorbachev's total- ly inadequate reform program. It is only the public "recon-

The greatest distortion of history is toward Lenin, whom Gorbachev repeatedly links to Stalin and to himself. Nowhere is Lenin's demand in his Will to "remove Stalin..." met in his policy. Corruption, nepotism... the old distance between Lenin's 1917 perspectives on proletarian democracy, on national liberation, on a vision of world revolution are a thing of the past..."4

While as Marxist-Humanists we disagree with Trotsky's notion of the Party as an absolutist, monolithic entity, Gorbachev misses it. In fact, his speech is an extension of the same metaphors that have been the hallmark of the single-party totalitarian system. Trotsky, and Trotsky's ideas about Bukharin, are vilified, even though Trotsky was never a member of the Communist Party. Instead, Gorbachev actually seemed to take back much of Stalin's reactionary concept of "socialism in one country." When Gorbachev criticizes Bukharin he is attacking nothing less than the great, though seriously flawed, theorist of this great Russian nationalist bourgeoisie. Gorbachev's apologia for both Stalinism and the totalitarian system it is necessary to consult the unabridged text of Gorbachev's speech (reprinted in Soviet News, London, 11/4/87), rather than the excerpts in U.S. papers which reprint only some of his key passages, often out of context.

With the exception of a few well chosen quotations, none of Trotsky's ideas appear in Gorbachev's speech. In seven paragraphs devoted to the Red Army, Gorbachev is full of praise for this "army of a new people." He is anxious to make it clear that whatever existed in socialism was necessary and enacted "according to Lenin's beliefs"! Gorbachev then refers to "Lenin's opinion of him as an excessively self-assured politician who had no time for criticism..." yet he deletes from history the fact that Trotsky was the only one to see this as a major threat to the revolution. When he gets to Bukharin, the only positive thing about Bukharin turns out to be the most negative aspect of his ideas. However, Gorbachev even here is not so much a defender of Bukharin... rather than the excerpts in U.S. papers which reprint only some of his key passages, often out of context.

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