

**Opposition  
within  
the UAW**



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

The old concessions and give-back thinking of the leadership of the United Auto Workers (UAW) has finally got itself in trouble with a challenging group that has emerged within the union. It calls itself New Directions. This group seems to be hearing some of what the rank-and-file workers are saying.

On May 9, 1989, in the first local union election at Mazda's new auto assembly plant in Flat Rock, Mich. (near Detroit), the New Directions slate rolled up a victory that stunned both Mazda and the national leadership of the UAW. By their vote, the 2,700 hourly workers of Local 3000 were saying loud and clear to both company and union leadership: we are tired of the concessions, give-backs, and no representation.

**ELECTION SHAKES UP UAW LEADERS**

According to the election results, Philip Keeling, a New Directions candidate, was elected local president by a vote of two to one over Bill Judson, the current president appointed by the national UAW leadership when the local was first created. Greg Drudi, who ran with Keeling's dissident slate, defeated Ben Hemingway, another national leadership man, for the important post of chairman of shop committee.

This election shook up both the UAW leadership and the management of Mazda. One of the UAW officials said: "We're upset about it, and I'm sure Mazda is upset also." Do I need to explain to any rank-and-file worker which side the UAW leadership is on, when a union spokesman says something like that?

The election showed the workers' rejection of the "Japanese-style" management system which the UAW leadership has totally embraced. There is a Japanese word that says much of what this is about: "kaizen," which means "continuous improvement." What "kaizen" means in practice is that workers are supposed to look for ways to improve their own efficiency—and thus cut down on the total number of workers needed to do the job, as well as speedup the job for the rest.

(continued on page 3)

**Millions in China defy martial law as party leaders maneuver**



by Bob McGuire

As we go to press (May 25) millions upon millions of Chinese masses in Beijing and in each of China's 30 provinces, inspired by the hunger-striking students in Tiananmen Square, have become "heaven stormers" reaching to transform China, while Communist Party leaders maneuver for position. At the same time, the upheaval has brought to the fore the possibility of a deep shift in global politics.

Not even declaration of martial law in Beijing on May 20 could clear away the occupation of Tiananmen Square by the largest group of protesters in history and restore governmental authority in China. The culmination of a month of protests since the death of Hu Yaobang—the continuous occupation at the center of official state power since May 13 by 3,000 students on hunger strike and by as many as one million demonstrators—had upstaged Gorbachev's appearance in Beijing for the first Sino-Soviet summit in 20 years.

A measure of the economic crisis from which the protests sprang was the rate at which students from some of the best universities, with a diet that allowed for no nutritional reserves, began collapsing on hunger strike as early as the second day. Yet it was the personal courage of those who refused all food—and for some, even water—which spearheaded the mass movement.

The longer that demonstrators maintained their self-organization in the very shadow of the government and Party headquarters, the more opposition elements within China surfaced and rallied alongside.

**REBELLION AGAINST MARTIAL LAW**

The declaration of martial law only brought millions more to the streets, crowding into Tiananmen Square, building new forms of opposition, forging alliances of students, workers, peasants and soldiers.

- On roads leading into Beijing thousands upon thousands surrounded army truck convoys carrying soldiers and successfully appealed to the troops to turn back.

- Other Beijing residents went by the thousands to the train stations when they heard that troops were coming from the provinces. There, they blocked the troop train exits and appealed directly to the soldiers not to leave their train cars.

- Even convoys of tanks were turned back as masses of protesters sat down in front and blocked the way.

- Reports poured forth of individual acts of heroism: from an older woman who put a quilt down on the road and sprawled in front of a military convoy; to a peasant who blocked a military convoy by moving his tractor to the highway; to other peasants who linked arms to form a human chain across the road; to "desperados," as they called themselves, young workers who took to the streets of Beijing to look for troop movements; to workers who left their factories to come to protect the students while other workers carried on strikes at their factories; to those who carried buckets of water to Tiananmen Square after the government shut off the water.

And everywhere there were discussions—"a meeting of minds" it has been called. Outside the railway station students on stepladders spoke about the aims of the movement to fellow demonstrators; other students spoke directly to the soldiers on the troop trains and on trucks about a free press and free expression. Meanwhile the slogans demanded "Down

with Li Peng," the Premier who declared martial law, "Down with Deng Xiaoping," chairman of the Central Military Commission, and the man who for a decade has had control of the Communist Party and government.

The deep economic and political crisis against which the Chinese masses protested was sharply revealed as teachers, intellectuals, reporters (who without permission have been creating a free press) and even government workers joined with students. By week's end school children and whole families had joined in support. The workers who marched into Tiananmen Square in organized factory contingents had overcome extreme pressure to keep them at their benches. They had been warned against even watching the marches.

They were threatened with loss of pay at a time when inflation of from 30 to 50% is leaving their wages far behind. They were threatened with loss of their jobs when, in the "restructured" Chinese economy under Deng Xiaoping and Zhao Ziyang, workers no longer have a permanent job. It is clear that lay-offs and plant closings are as possible in a state-run enterprise as in one owned by a foreign company or by an entrepreneur.

Deng, whose formal authority lies only in controlling the military, and Li Peng were gambling that they could still govern by controlling superior military might.

**FROM THE DEATH OF HU YAOBANG TO MARTIAL LAW**

Instead, in one short month China has reached the brink of total crises. Let us briefly trace the development of this month, but remember that it is inseparable from a rich history of 20th century revolution in China that reaches back some 70 years to May 4, 1919.

Party leader Hu Yaobang died in near disgrace on April 15. Students at Beijing University put up posters praising him and demonstrated for the next several days, demanding his rehabilitation as well as the release of political prisoners. As one student noted, Hu, at one time Deng's hand-picked party chairman, who had been removed when blamed for student and worker protests in 1986-87, was the excuse for the demonstration, not the reason. Rehabilitation of Hu meant giving legitimacy to previous demonstrations for freedom of the press and academic freedom. On April 21, 100,000 gathered in Tiananmen Square to mourn for Hu. The students refused to leave the Square as the government tried to close it and prevent further demonstrations. On April 24 tens of thousands of students began a class boycott at Beijing universities.

A turning point was reached on April 27 when the  
(continued on page 10)

**Black World**

**S. Africa  
and the  
Absolute**



by Lou Turner

The "changed world" that made its appearance in the 1980s with the counter-revolution in Grenada has disclosed so contradictory an age that today's revolutions barely draw their first breath before they come under the whip of counter-revolution, or worse, succumb to their own ideological retrogression. The Black revolutionary struggles in South Africa against the atrocities of the militarized apartheid state have been exemplary in that they have been ongoing for more than a decade. Nevertheless, they have not been exempt from the contradictions of this "changed world."

Today, the pull of Gorbachevism has sought to impose a new political hegemony on the liberation movements in Southern Africa. The Angola-Namibia "peace accords," negotiated with the collusion of the two super-powers without the participation of the Namibians, signify Gorbachev's synthetic vision of an "integral world," with "peaceful co-existence" of state-capitalist powers and united frontism of opposing class interests in "Third World hot-spots."

In this atmosphere of shifting political alignments we certainly have to be prepared for surprising revelations of the most unexpected alliances. However, what becomes imperative is the need to deepen the dialogue on the relationship of philosophy and revolution. Because we have been grappling with such questions in a recent series of classes, "How to prepare for the 1990s: Marxist-Humanism as a Body of Ideas," this is an opportune moment to begin to discuss what Raya Dunayevskaya called "Africa and the Absolute," in the context of today's liberation struggles in Southern Africa.

Toward that end, the following excerpts of my letter to a South African revolutionary on Dunayevskaya's Letters on Hegel's Absolutes (published in the Novem-

(continued on page 9)

**On the Inside**

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya:  
Dialectics of Organization in Hegel's 'Attitudes to Objectivity' ..... p.4  
Editorial: The real crisis in education: cut-backs, poverty, racism ..... p.11  
Also: Namibia—Africa's last colony p.9; Has Poland's Solidarnosc legitimized the government? p.5.

## Ongoing protests demand abortion rights

**Chicago, Ill.**—As we arrived at Holy Name Cathedral in the loop for a Mother's Day abortion rights rally we became part of a group of 300, which sprouted hand-lettered signs like "No womb for discussion" and "George Bush's mother didn't have a choice." This "Pro-Choice/Pro-Women" rally was sponsored by the Pro-Choice Catholic Women.

There was an array of organizations and individuals represented, from nuns, to the National Organization for Women, to women's health organizations, to rape victims, to Women for Peace. More than one speaker talked of how angry they were to have to fight for the same right over and over again, more than 15 years after *Roe vs. Wade*. Some spoke of the effect a reversal of that decision would have on poor and minority women. Some called for the rebirth of the Women's Liberation Movement. But I wondered on what ground?

Anything short of total freedom will fail in the end. So, in response to the chant, "What do we want? Choice! When do we want it? Now!" I started saying "freedom" in place of "choice."

One of the most memorable testimonials was given by a young Black woman who discussed what she went through in her decision to have an abortion, and how recently she had given her rent money to a poor friend so she could have an abortion.

The other dimension which most excited me was the youth—high school youth. One high school woman talked of what it was like to be born into a generation which had taken abortion for granted, only to have that right threatened. Indeed, in 1973, when the *Roe vs. Wade* decision was handed down, I was 14 years old. All my adult life I have always known a woman's right to abortion.

The question of a woman's right to determine what happens to her body is a fundamental one. It is not surprising that the right-wing has chosen to attack it. But that attack has served to mobilize women and men who are saying "no more!"

—Erica Rae

**Los Angeles, Cal.**—On April 29, I attended a large clinic defense against "Operation Rescue." I became very swept up in the sense of accomplishment there: we kept the clinic open and we outnumbered the anti-abortion, anti-women fanatics by a large margin.

I was impressed by the number of young women who came, determined to wage a battle for full reproductive rights. One young woman had been out



at the curb at dawn to raise her sign to passing cars and had to hide in the crowd to avoid her father who was driving around looking for her. After he drove by, she was right back at the curb with her sign. Many young women expressed just how full the threat to their rights is and had questions about the future, and wanted to read the Marxist-Humanist leaflet I passed out, "How are we fighting for abortion rights?"

I came home, energized from my participation, with so many others, in this action. But I also realized that these actions are far from the totality of the struggle we need against the immense threat not only from the fanatic "Operation Rescue," but from the "mainstream" Bush administration. The continuing dialogue we have begun in the pages of *News & Letters* on the direction ideas and vision of our struggle is more important than ever.

—Ginny Adams

## Women's Organization for Political Prisoners of Israel

*Editor's note: In the May, 1989 N&L, an Israeli woman in the peace movement in Tel Aviv wrote about working with the Women's Organization for Political Prisoners (WOFPP). Below are excerpts from their newsletter.*

**Tel Aviv, Israel**—We are glad to report that we have found a woman lawyer who is willing to visit the detainees in the Russian Compound Detention Center, Jerusalem, regularly to furnish moral support and to fight for their legal rights. The fact the lawyer will record the testimonies in Arabic is important. Moreover, the women and girls will be less likely to feel inhibited in describing sexual abuse to a woman. Also, another lawyer regularly visits the HaSharon Prison. Contributions toward covering the expenses of the lawyers would be most welcome and should be sent to: **Bank Hapoalim, Branch 532, Account 260643, Tel Aviv, Israel.**

GENERAL CONDITIONS in the Russian Compound are still very bad. The detainees are confined all day in

their cell, sometimes without being allowed their daily walk outside. They are deprived of newspapers, books, paper and writing implements, or a radio.

They are continually harassed by their guards. Their food is filthy and inedible. The light is never turned off, making sleep difficult. The picture emerges of systematic use of sexual harassment to intimidate prisoners and elicit confessions, and harassment for its own sake.

In the special interrogation section, the situation is much worse. Detainees are held in solitary confinement for weeks at a time with no change of clothing and no medical treatment whatsoever.

On April 17, WOFPP organized a protest vigil at the Russian Compound. Apparently the publicity about mistreatment of the political prisoners has finally forced the police to initiate an official investigation. It is hoped that continuing public pressure may help produce real improvements.

ON APRIL 12, for the first time, journalists were allowed to visit the special ward in which the women political prisoners are held at HaSharon Prison. Shortly before this, several improvements were instituted. Journalists were told that, at the discretion of the prison manager, prisoners would be allowed to hug their children or parents during visits. In practice, this "right" was not granted even once to any of the prisoners.

Immediately following the journalists' visit, during which the prisoners complained about their food, their canteen allowance was reduced. This means that the amount of their own money which they are allowed to spend on vital supplements to their diet has been cut in half.

The prisoners also complain that on their daily walk they are not allowed to form groups of more than two or three women. On April 18, when trying to discuss the religious aspects of the Ramadan fast, they were rudely dispersed, with a warder kicking and knocking over a pregnant prisoner, knocking over a 70-year-old prisoner and threatening the use of teargas.

IN CONTRAST to the Jewish prisoners, they are not allowed to congregate in order to celebrate the release of a prisoner or for religious feasts. Any handicrafts which they make employing the four colors of the Palestinian flag are confiscated. Authorities refuse to permit the use by the prisoners of about 80% of the painstakingly gathered 3,000-book library. For more than a month, books brought by the families and by the Red Cross have not been passed on to the prisoners.

We would appreciate your support in adding to the public pressure on the authorities regarding the inhuman conditions in the Russian Compound. Please send letters of protest to the new governor of the Russian Compound: **Pakad Menacham Nidam, Governor of Russian Compound Detention Center, Migrash Harussim, Jerusalem, Israel.**

Women's Organization for Political Prisoners can be contacted at **Box 31811, 61318 Tel Aviv, Israel.**

## Mexico women's network

*Editor's note: Below are excerpts from an interview with women from CONAMUP (the Women's Network of the Urban Poor People's Movement) in Mexico City. See April N&L "Mexican women fighting to transform the world!" for their story about the eviction from their feminist center, Cuarto Creciente.*

The women's network arose out of the struggle for necessities of life in the neighborhoods we live in around Mexico City. In many shantytowns on the outskirts of the city there are no services, not even water, no electricity or sewers. Our origin is also in the fact that women's work is not recognized, yet we are the ones who participate most in the struggles. As we have certain needs as women, we began to fight together, and we started to organize ourselves.

Many times when women are with men we are too shy to talk; it just has always been that way. So we began to have separate meetings of women, where we talk about our problems as women, such as the question of violence, of responsibility for the children—men leave us with the whole load—the problems of women's health, etc.

I'm from Felipe Angeles in the north. We learned to struggle as a group of women because we are constantly fighting against eviction. This repression is directly against women because we are the ones at home when the landowner tries to evict us. There is no water or electricity or even houses; we live in cardboard shacks, without bathrooms. The children suffer malnutrition, we lack everything, from schools on down.

We began a women's group to fight for breakfasts, for milk, for tortillas and other basic foodstuffs. When we fight together as a network of women we bring together more than 25 neighborhoods.

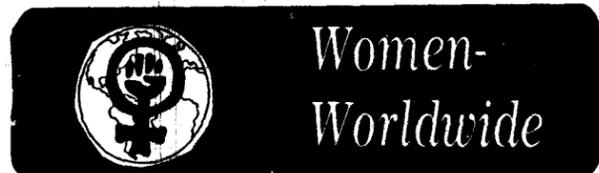
During the 1980s the cost of living has gone up and up, but in organizing ourselves we have been able to force the government to help us out with breakfasts and such. This is what our women's group has done with its demonstrations and marches.

At first, a group forms in the neighborhood. Women were always restrained and all the decisions were made by men—even when the women did the work. In the neighborhood we started a workshop for women, her needs, her problems.

We have a delegate from each neighborhood come to the weekly meetings of the network of women. There was a problem at first in men not letting the women participate because they were used to the women being at home doing the washing and making the dinner. We fought this and explained to the men that the women had to participate, because they are the ones who really know what is needed because they are the ones at home.

Every neighborhood has its own method of treating men who beat their wives. In Campamento in the eastern zone, the women would lock out the man and not let him go in to his wife. In Felipe Angeles what we did was lock the man in a room, if he was drunk, until the next day, with nothing to eat or anything. That way the men's consciousness was raised and they shaped up.

We see the violence we suffer in the home, in the street, in the factories. We are fighting for women to be respected, so we are the ones to decide who we're going to be.



"The only road is revolution!" "We will establish people's power!" shouted 500 leather workers in Istanbul, Turkey, who walked out of their factory, April 8, and staged an illegal march over their employer's refusal to honor an agreement on fringe payments.

—Turkey Newsletter

In Marseilles, France, a group called The Association Against Forced Marriage has been formed to help women who are being kidnapped by their families into forced marriages. The women are mostly immigrants from Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. The Association is made up of supporters of the women from all of the countries involved.

International protest is growing against the Corazon Aquino government's banning of Gabriela, a radical women's group in the Philippines which opposes both the economic and sexual exploitation of women and the presence of U.S. military bases. The group is a coalition of 101 women's organizations with 40,000 members. To protest the banning write: **President Corazon Aquino, Malacanang Palace, Manila, Philippines.** Send a copy of the letter to the support group **Gabriela Network, c/o N. Rosa, 58 W. 36th St., Apt. 4-A, New York, NY 10018.**

## Tandy abandons Korea

After almost two years of violent attempts to destroy the union, the Tandy Corporation (TC) of Korea (producer of products for Radio Shack) shut down its plant in Masan, March 6—a plant which has reaped huge profits off Korean workers' sweat in the 17 years since it opened. Now it leaves its 1,400 predominantly-women workers in the street.

The company has repeatedly used physical violence to suppress union organizing and refused to recognize the union that finally was set up in June, 1988. In July, 1988, 100 male company goons herded 40 women unionists into a hallway and indiscriminately beat them on the head, groin, chest and pelvic areas. Seven were seriously injured and required up to six weeks hospitalization. (See October and December, 1988 N&L.)

While eventually forced to recognize the union, the company refused to participate in collective bargaining and began plans to move their operations to Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia and China.

In April, 1989, 18 union members went to the Korea TC Research Center to protest the plant closing and held President Lee Jung-gu for six days while they occupied his offices. A group of women workers seized Tandy's Seoul office, vowing to ignite paint thinner they spread around the area and commit suicide if the company did not agree to return and negotiate their demands.

About 150 workers are still staging a sit-in rally at the Masan plant, demanding direct negotiations with a Tandy representative to restore factory operations and the release of imprisoned union leader, Kim Jin-ok.

## Support for miners striking to save union

*Morgantown, W.Va.*—Area and national support continues to grow and strengthen for the more than 1,500 Pittston Coal miners in western Virginia and southeast West Virginia as their strike nears the end of its second month.

The strike, which began on April 4, inspired many varied, and some unprecedented, responses. These in-



"Daughters of Mother Jones" occupy company offices.

cluded sympathy community "strikes," wherein everything in town closed for a day; entire high schools closed as all the students left classes to join miners on picket lines; women, calling themselves "daughters of Mother Jones," sat in at the area corporate headquarters; Catholic bishops in the area issued a statement and urged sermons in support of the miners; and over 10,000 trekked over mountain roads to attend a mass rally where United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) union President Richard Trumka spoke along with Jesse Jackson on April 30.

Rather than strike when Pittston refused to accept the national contract negotiated in February 1988 between the UMWA and coal operators, UMWA President Trumka chose to negotiate the differences. Talks continued until April 4 of this year when Pittston, the nation's 13th largest coal producer, moved into high gear to destroy the union by demanding a concessionary contract guaranteed to force a strike.

Pittston's demands included: 1. a cut in wages 2. its own pension plan instead of the one in effect allowing miners to take pension credits with them if they work in several mines 3. reduced health care benefits 4. no job priority rights for laid-off miners. 5. no reinstatement of health care for retirees 6. compulsory Sunday overtime work 7. no clause guaranteeing a union if the company sells or transfers assets or properties.

Pittston, obviously selected to play the same anti-union role as A.T. Massey following the 1984 contract negotiations, pulled out of the national Bituminous Coal Operators Association before last year's contract talks began—the first time it has ever done this.

Hiring the same strike-breaking firm used by Massey

## Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

The *Detroit News* quoted one Mazda worker as saying: "Management keeps asking the union to bend and be flexible, but they are not flexible themselves. Whenever Mazda can't iron something out with the union, they just announce that this is the way it's going to be." And the union did nothing—which is why the workers voted the old leadership out. For example, the UAW let Mazda get away with employing 250 temporary workers who could be called in on short notice to supplement the regular workforce.

The UAW bureaucrats are so worried about New Directions that they poured national organizing and money into the campaigns against Donny Douglas and Jerry Tucker who were running for the posts of regional director in the Detroit and St. Louis areas. UAW staffers were asked to donate \$500 each to this campaign. At one Ford plant in suburban Detroit, the Ford management stopped production—something they never do!—to let UAW President Owen Bieber speak to the workers against Donny Douglas for 45 minutes.

Douglas is now charging vote fraud and will be appealing the election results at the national UAW convention in Anaheim in June. Noriega of Panama could have taken lessons from the leadership of the UAW!

Many rank-and-file workers are split on the question of the current bureaucracy vs. New Directions, and many don't trust either side. After all, if the New Directions just wants to go back to the bureaucratic style of the 1960s and 1970s, instead of the 1980s, that isn't anything new at all.

### IS 'NEW DIRECTIONS' NEW?

A worker in GM's Oklahoma assembly plant told me: "A lot of workers here are confused. Some still hold onto the leadership, but they are discussing it more and more, where a few years ago they seemed to have just quit thinking. Now many workers are saying that they have only themselves they can trust."

I am keeping my eye on the "New Directions" people. How connected will they stay to the rank-and-file workers, the power that creates everything, and what do they see for the workers' future? Are they really new, or just one more version of the old bureaucracy?

in 1984, the Asset Protection Team, Pittston has brought strike-breaking scabs into Virginia that are paid \$250 a day—more than twice the pay of a union miner. The striking miners have practiced mass civil disobedience by laying down on roadways to the mines, and wearing identical camouflage uniforms to thwart police and corporate video tape identification.

Mass arrests have followed, marked by brutality so vicious even Virginia's state attorney general has publicly blasted the behavior of the state police.

Reports that Pittston is planning to bring scabs to its West Virginia mines is being watched. There is no assurance that those miners will be satisfied with civil disobedience. They're used to direct action.

—Andy Phillips

## Danger! Waste plant work

*Whittier, Cal.*—At the plant where I work we recycle waste chemicals. Here you can see what is killing the ozone layer in the atmosphere. One tank is supposedly boiling water off. I know it is not water because I put the "water" in there. I'm polluting the air, the ground and water so I can make a little money, go home and pay my bills and go back to work.

The other day a holding tank with about 2,000 pounds of freon blew up. It felt like an earthquake. Just minutes before, I had my face against the glass from which the water level is checked. If you were in the path of that glass you'd be flattened. The stuff is heavier than air, and there was a white cloud covering the whole area. If it gets on your skin it would freeze you, that is freeze you so bad you'd have third degree burns.

The next night 48 drums were brought in, ten of them were leaking. I was opening the first one and there was so much pressure it blew up. If there had been acid in that drum, good bye Charlie.

Then there is the strainer under one of the tanks that has to be checked periodically. I had just gone down to check out a valve when suddenly it went off and sprayed stuff all over my face. I couldn't see. My skin was burning as I got to the eyewash. After I got a little bit of eyesight I had to run to the front bathroom—a football field away—made a touchdown, washed my face, took my shirt off and put neutralizing solution on my face.

Some tanks have flammable waste pouring out of the bottom all over. We don't know what is going in. It could be PCB, Jimmy Hoffa or anything. Who knows if it will give me cancer. Even the safety data sheet on some of the "good stuff" makes me nervous. More than nervous. Some labels say the chemicals cause irreversible kidney and liver damage, or something to do with your nervous system.

We are doing a lot of talking about it at work after last week's accidents. This was the second time I had a barrel blow up on me. I was mad. I felt more free to talk. At a meeting we just had with the boss, all he wanted to talk about was competition, a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. In other words \$500 at the end of 90 days to the team of workers who don't have an accident. But will we live to win it?

It scares the hell out of me but I've got to live in this damn society. I want everyone to get together and say, Hey boss this is what we're going to do, and stick together. Or you can quit, but what about the next guy who will find the same thing. I want to see the thing done right the first time. I want to be able to live. We got a lot of power over there if we get together and talk about it, come up with answers.

—Chemical worker

### Swift-Eckrich:

## 500,000 pounds a week!

*Chicago, Ill.*—Swift-Eckrich management claims that their new bun-size hot dog machine can package 70,000 pounds of meat per eight-hour shift. By mid-May, after 1½ months, it has yet to do 40,000 pounds. The company appears to continue to take orders and buy meat as though the machine was running. We keep falling farther and farther behind, and working longer hours, Saturdays and Sundays.

The corporate people from Oak Brook (Swift-Eckrich headquarters) have been at the plant "observing the operation." One of them outlined the company's plans: They want 500,000 pounds of bun-size per week during May. (That does not include the other products we process.) If we can do that, they'll add 70,000 pounds per week after Memorial Day. In July we'll start on bun-size sausage.

The message was clear: we have to work harder. And if we don't, we won't have jobs. Four days later the head (the part on the machine that seals the packages) on this brand-new, million-dollar machine broke. The machine was down all day.

The man from Oak Brook phrased his remarks in terms of a partnership: "If we get the meat to you, and you package it and get it out the door on time...That's what we're all here for." Well, I'm not working here because of my deep interest in packaging hot dogs. I'm here to earn a living. I'm tired; my children don't even know what I look like anymore; and I might as well forget about the summer. This is no partnership when the company makes all the decisions and we do all the work.

—Eckrich worker

## New book doesn't touch deep labor questions

by John Marcotte

I have just finished reading *An Injury to All: the Decline of American Unionism* by Kim Moody (Verso, New York, 1988). Moody is the executive director of the group that puts out the leftist labor monthly *Labor Notes*. Moody says, "This book is about the demise of the labor movement that was born in the 1930s and 1940s...The roots of this contemporary decline lie in the struggles of that era and in the decisions and directions taken by the new industrial unions in their infancy—in the abandonment of the early social unionism of the CIO in favor of a modern version of business unionism."

The book is good on what's wrong with the present labor bureaucracy and on tracing some of the history of how it got to be that way since the 1940s. For example, showing the "CIO leaders' willingness to negotiate away shop floor power," Moody points out that in 1948, Emil Mazey of the UAW accepted GM's proposal that wage increases be linked to future increases in productivity, "and it became the pattern for UAW wage settlements for the next 30 years." He does a good number not only on the labor bureaucracy but on the supposed friends of labor in the Democratic Party.

What I really liked was the way the book traces the events of a lot of struggles against concessions in the last ten years: AP Parts, Phelps-Dodge, P-9, Watsonville, and so on. A lot of the facts are here in one place to refresh your memory for rethinking now.

### WHERE'S VISION OF A NEW SOCIETY?

Moody says that the new forms of organization and new tactics created in these struggles will not be enough without a new vision of social unionism: "it requires a vision that allows the millions facing downward mobility to see labor as the carrier of justice." I had to do a lot of thinking about that. Is the vision only of social unionism? Even if that is seen as "schools for workers democracy," as Moody quotes from the militant labor unions in South Africa?

Moody does not have workers speaking for themselves except on tactics and forms of organization, and often those quoted are lower-level reformist bureaucrats. Victor Reuther is a big favorite. Where was he while the UAW was transformed into its opposite? How come Reuther suddenly appears as a hero with no dirty past?

Moody also makes a big category of the socialists (like himself, presumably) who went into industry when the New Left "discovered" workers and are now labor activists. I take it that the balance of the vision, the "theory" part, is to come from these intellectuals and activists, who in Moody's vision will tell workers they now need a labor party and, after that, whatever the next pragmatic step will be.

What I'm getting at is that Moody is evidently a Marxist. At least he says that is his "method of analysis." He also makes a big category of the European and Canadian so-called labor parties like the Canadian New Democratic Party and the British Labour Party. If these are workers' organizations, if that's a step forward for American workers, I'll be damned!

### MOODY LIMITS DISCUSSION

Are the workers too "backwards" to discuss with Moody his full political agenda, and first have to create a third party? What does Moody see as the relation between workers and intellectuals, theory and practice? Does he plan to do the theorizing, while the workers build the organization?

It was in 1871 that Karl Marx pointed to the Parisian workers abolishing alienated wage labor and establishing freely-associated labor in its place. Can we in 1989 afford to leave that vision for later? In 1914 the German workers had their social unions and their mass workers' party. It was supposedly Marxist, and that didn't prevent its transformation into opposite at the first hint of imperialist war. Can we afford not to discuss that?

The problem not addressed in this book is what type of labor can end the division between "thinkers" and "doers"? That is exactly what Marx's Marxism is about. That is exactly what the U.S. coal miners raised in their 1949-1950 strike against Automation, which, incidentally, does not appear in the book.

In limiting the questions to "social unionism" vs. business unionism, "balance of forces" between capital and labor, "collectivist, egalitarian ethic" vs. "individualist ethic," pressure politics within the Democratic Party vs. third party, Moody is not touching the deepest questions raised in the very strikes he ably documents. I mean questions about what kind of labor we do, how we work, the deep questions of our age of Automation.

The dogmatism of the backwardness of the masses that Moody expresses in his own thought is the class barrier. Just as there are only two fundamental classes in society—the working class and the capitalist class—so there are only two fundamental ways of thinking.

Do you have a story to tell about your shop or workplace, your ideas about changing conditions of work? Write or call us at News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren, Chicago IL. 60605, (312) 663-0839.

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

by Raya Dunayevskaya  
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

*Editor's note: In the midst of her work of 1986-87 on "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy," Raya Dunayevskaya undertook a number of re-examinations of Hegel's writings, and her own writings on Hegel. The Letter printed below is on Hegel's "Third Attitude to Objectivity" which was added to the 1827 edition of the Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences. As Dunayevskaya expressed it in this letter to a non-Marxist Hegel scholar: "This addition to the Logic—the Third Attitude to Objectivity—I see in a totally new way." This writing along with Dunayevskaya's new views on the "Idea of Cognition" in both Hegel and Lenin will be included as a new introduction to the edition of Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao to be published by Columbia University Press this year.*

December 8, 1986

Despite the acknowledged gulf between us on the Absolute Method, may I discuss with you (and may I hope for a comment from you?) my latest self-critique on Organization? On that question I also see Hegel in a new way. That is to say, the dialectical relationship of principles (in this case the Christian doctrine) and the organization (the Church) are analyzed as if they were inseparable. All this occurs, not in the context of a philosophy of religion as much as in the context of the great dividing line between himself and all other philosophers that he initiated with the *Phenomenology of Mind*, on the relationship of objectivity/subjectivity, immediacy/mediation, particular/universal, history and the "Eternal." This addition to the *Logic*—the Third Attitude to Objectivity—I see in a totally new way.

I can't hide, of course, that though it's not the Absolute, I'm enamored with that early section of the *Encyclopedia* outline of *Logic*, because it was written after Hegel had already developed Absolute Knowledge, Absolute Idea, Absolute Method.

Here history makes its presence felt, by no accident after the Absolutes both in the *Phenomenology* and in the *Science of Logic*, as well as in anticipation that he is finally developing the *Philosophy of Nature* and the *Philosophy of Mind*. Indeed, that to me is what made possible the very form of compression of those innumerable polemical observations on other philosophers and philosophies into just three attitudes to objectivity.

This time, as we know, a single attitude, the First, embraces everything preceding the modern age. Further emphasis on this compression is evident when Hegel comes to the modern age and includes both empiricism and criticism in the Second Attitude.

MY ATTRACTION TO the Third Attitude was not due to the fact that it was directed against those who placed faith above philosophy—the Intuitionists. (I'm not renewing our old debate, just because I'm an atheist; atheism, to me, is one more form of godliness, without God.) Rather, the attraction for me continued to be the Dialectic. Far from expressing a sequence of never-ending progression, the Hegelian dialectic lets retrogression appear as translucent as progression and indeed makes it very nearly inevitable if one ever tries to escape regression by mere faith.

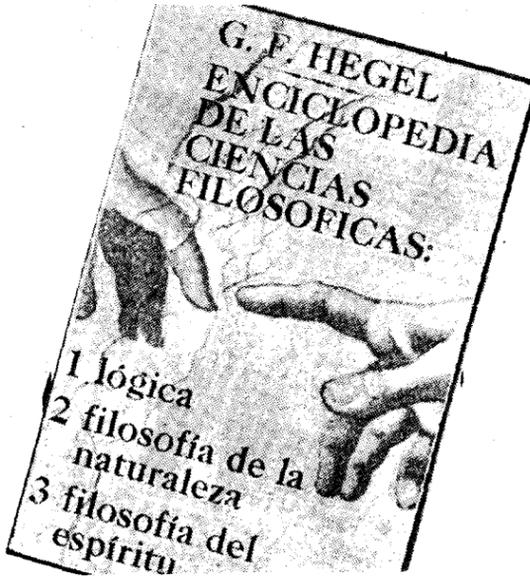
Here again, history enters, this time to let Hegel create varying views of Intuitionism, depending on which historic period is at issue. Intuitionism is "progressive" in the period of Descartes because then empiricism opened the doors wide to science. On the other hand, it became regressive in the period of Jacobi.

It is here that I saw a different concept of Organization when it comes to the Church than in all of Hegel's many oppositions to the clergy's dominance in academia. Do please follow my strange journeys that I identify as the self-determination of the Idea.

The Third Attitude begins (Paragraph 61) with a critique of Kant whose universality was abstract so that Reason appeared hardly more than a conclusion with "the categories...left out of account." Equally wrong, Hegel continues, is the "extreme theory on the opposite side, [which] holds thought to be an act of the particular only, and on that ground declares it incapable of apprehending the Truth."

In praising Descartes, Hegel points not only to the fact that empiricism opened the door to science, but

# Dialectics of Organization in Hegel's 'Attitudes to Objectivity'



Spanish edition of Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences. In the 1827 edition Hegel added the section on Attitudes of Thought To Objectivity.

that Descartes clearly knew that his famous "Cogito ergo sum" [I think, therefore I am] wasn't a syllogism, simply because it had the word "therefore" in it. This becomes important because Hegel's critique could then be directed against the one-sidedness of the Intuitionists, for equating mind to mere consciousness, and thus "what I discover in my consciousness is thus exaggerated into a fact of consciousness of all, and even passed

off for the very nature of mind." (Paragraph 71) That too is by no means the whole of the critique. What excited me most about this attitude to objectivity is the manner in which Hegel brings in Organization.

AS EARLY AS Paragraph 63 Hegel had lashed out against Jacobi's faith, in contrast to Faith: "The two things are radically distinct. Firstly, the Christian faith comprises in it an authority of the Church: but the faith of Jacobi's philosophy has no other authority than that of a personal revelation." As we see, Hegel now has suddenly equated Organization to Principle, Doctrine: "And, secondly, the Christian faith is a copious body of objective truth, a system of knowledge and doctrine: while the scope of the philosophic faith is so utterly indefinite, that, while it has room for the faith of the Christian, it equally admits a belief in the divinity of the Dalai Lama, the ox, or the monkey..."

Hegel proceeds (Paragraph 75) "And to show that, in point of fact, there is a knowledge which advances neither by unmixed immediacy nor by unmixed mediation, we can point to the example of Logic and the whole of philosophy."

In a word, we're back at the Dialectic and it's only after that (Paragraph 76) that Hegel uses the word "reactionary" in relationship to the whole school of Jacobi, that is to the historic period, "The Recent German Philosophy." "Philosophy of course tolerates no mere assertions or conceits, and checks the free play of argumentative see-saw." (Paragraph 77) Freedom and Revolution (which word I "borrowed" from Hegel's very first sentence on "The Recent German Philosophy") will hew out a new path. In this way I see the dialectic flow in the third attitude to objectivity from a critique of the one-sidedness of the Intuitionists to organizational responsibility.

## What is Intuitionism? Dunayevskaya probes a crucial Hegelian category

For some three decades Raya Dunayevskaya has returned to the "Attitudes to Objectivity" section of the *Encyclopedia Logic* (Smaller Logic), particularly the Third Attitude, as speaking to the problematic of today's world. As she expressed it, "I'm enamored with that early section of the *Encyclopedia* outline of *Logic*, because it was written after Hegel had already developed Absolute Knowledge, Absolute Idea, Absolute Method."

In her 1957 *Marxism and Freedom* she discussed The Fetishism of Commodities section of *Capital* in relation to Hegel's Third Attitude to Objectivity:

*The Fetishism of Commodities is the opiate which passes itself off as the mind, the ideology of capitalistic society. This sentence was footnoted as follows: See Hegel on "The Third Attitude to Objectivity": "What I discover in my consciousness is thus exaggerated into a fact of the consciousness of all and even passed off for the very nature of the mind."*

In her "Notes on Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences," Feb. 15, 1961, The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, (microfilm #2834), "Third Attitude of Thought Towards the Objective World":

*To me, this chapter on what Hegel calls "Immediate or Intuitive Knowledge" and which is nearly entirely devoted to Jacobi, is the most important and essentially totally new as distinguished from the manner in which Hegel deals with the other schools of thought in his Larger Logic. The newness comes not from the fact that he does not criticize Jacobi (and Fichte and Schelling), as devastatingly in the Larger Logic, but in the sense that he has made a category out of it by devoting a chapter and by making that chapter occur when, to the ordinary mind, it would have appeared that from Kant he should have gone to his own dialectical philosophy. Hegel is telling us that one doesn't necessarily go directly to a higher stage, but may suddenly face a throw-back to a former stage of philosophy, which thereby is utterly "reactionary." (That's his word, reactionary.)*

*The first critique of Jacobi's philosophy is the analysis that even faith must be proved; otherwise there would be no way to distinguish in anyone's say-so whether it is something as grandiose as Christianity, or as backward as the worshiping of an ox.*

From chapter one "Why Hegel? Why Now?" of *Philosophy and Revolution*, 1973:

*To comprehend fully the movement of "pure thought," we must see why Hegel singled out Jacobi.*

Trace the post-World War II world's struggles in life and in thought for yourself. Take your own journey through the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—**Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of its World Development**. To order the Guide or Microfilm of the Dunayevskaya Collection see ad page 7.

*He did so first in his Observations on Being, and then, more than a decade later, devoted the entire Third Attitude to Objectivity to Jacobi's Intuitionism. Obviously, though in 1812 he had referred to Jacobi's views as "perhaps already forgotten," by 1827 he had decided that such an attitude to objectivity would always recur when, in the process of battling contradiction, the Subject becomes impatient with the seemingly endless stages of negation it must suffer through, and therefore, instead, slides backward into Intuition. Because nothing is more cogent for the impatient ones of our day than the Third Attitude to Objectivity, we will here turn to the Smaller Logic, in which Hegel created no fewer than three chapters devoted to "Attitudes of Thought Towards the Objective World."*

*The Third Attitude to Objectivity, far from signifying any sort of "synthesis," signals a dismemberment. There is a forward movement from the First Attitude, which covers all pre-Kantian thought—simple faith, the old metaphysics, abstract understanding, scholasticism, and dogmatism—to the Second Attitude devoted both to Empiricism and Kantianism. Instead of an uninterrupted forward movement from Empiricism and the Critical Philosophy to the Hegelian Dialectic, Hegel traces a retrogression into Intuition, "the school of Jacobi which rejects all methods." Nothing appears more incomprehensible to Hegel than absence of method. So deep are the roots of Hegelian thought in the objective world that nothing so enrages him as intuition gone "wild."*

From chapter 5 "The Thought of Mao Tse-tung" of *Philosophy and Revolution*, 1973:

*"The Third Attitude to Objectivity" is neither mere mental juggling nor synthesis, much less a dialectical leap forward. Rather, it is a move backward to the separateness of thought and being. It reappeared at a historic time long past the period when the Cartesian "I think, therefore I am" opened new doors to reality. Because the reappearance of that separate oppositeness of subject and object is a backward step in thought as in reality, Hegel called Jacobi's intuitionist philosophy "reactionary."*

*Whatever circumstances and self-development of the dialectic led Hegel to write the chapters on attitudes to objectivity in the second edition of the Encyclopedia, and to single out the "Third Attitude" for detailed analysis, the point is that the modern version of the intuitionist and voluntarist alternative to dialectics has indeed led down a retrogressionist path of primitive accumulation of capital.*

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# Has Solidarnosc legitimized the Polish government?

Lech Walesa, the leader of Solidarity, and Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, Poland's Communist head, had no sooner shaken hands—after the "round table" talks between the government and Solidarity ended with the government's agreement to legalize the union and hold "free" elections in June for a new Parliament—than they joined hands again early in May to try to get thousands of striking copper miners back to work in southwest Poland. Strikes at three coal mines had ended only the week before, when those strikers' demands for more pay were met. Indeed, wildcat strikes had taken place in all sorts of industries all during the talks. (See May N&L for a description of the strike of women textile workers in Lodz.)

Clearly, the Polish workers have no intention of letting the government—and Solidarity—try to solve Poland's economic crisis, and pay off its \$39 billion foreign debt, through imposing ever greater and greater austerity measures on them. They already stand in line for hours for everything their meager pay can buy. Inflation is currently at 80%. Living standards deteriorate daily.

## 'BREAD AND FREEDOM'

Nothing has been able to stop the Polish workers' quest for "bread and freedom" that has characterized the whole East European movement ever since the end of World War II. Thus, the nearly total lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Polish people for the supposed "victories" won at the round table, stands in stark contrast to the spirit of "a world apart" that they had created in 1980-81 with Solidarnosc, as a new form of a genuinely elemental trade union movement which refused to separate economic, social and political demands for freedom. Out of a total labor force of 17 million workers, no less than 10 million had poured out to cast their lives with Solidarnosc. Today Walesa worries whether he will convince five million to simply cast their ballots.

It is not only that there were no celebrations. There have been open student protests as well as the continuing strikes by workers. Hundreds of Polish youth marched in Gdansk to protest Walesa's pledge to back parliamentary elections. (Those elections are to culminate in one more—that one to fill a brand new post for a powerful new president. Few doubt it will be Jaruzelski.) Other youth have marched with a banner proclaiming: "Down with Black and Red dictatorship"—a protest against the Church and State, in which an important issue was the right to abortion.

The contradictions that abound within the struggles now did not begin today. They began at the very height of the movement in 1980-81 with the concept of a "self-limiting revolution," put forth by Solidarity's political theorist Jacek Kuron, in place of what the workers were fighting for—the total uprooting of state-capitalism.

Kuron was one of the earliest of the Polish Communist Party dissident intellectuals and had co-authored an "Open Letter to the Party" in 1966, documenting the exploitation of the workers and showing that the "new class" in power was no different from private capitalism. Though he was instrumental in establishing KOR (Committee for Workers Defense) as a new kind of organization of workers and intellectuals that led to Solidarnosc, he never worked out a new relationship between workers and intellectuals; theory remained the province of intellectuals. Unfortunately his "self-limiting revolution" was never challenged.

## KURON'S 'INSTEAD OF REVOLUTION'

While the round table discussions were in progress Kuron developed that thesis in a new essay he entitled "Instead of Revolution." There are no ambiguities in what Kuron is arguing for: "People accuse us of supporting the authorities, saying if we waited we could enter on a wave of strikes and demonstrations, as though at the head of an armed people. Let's assume such a possibility exists. There have already been dozens of revolutions in the world. There always comes a crisis, the first revolutionaries are swept aside...Our participation in reforming the country is needed by the authorities so changes can occur peacefully, gradually. That way they can control the changes and have a chance that changes will not end in the people storming the



Polish students commemorate a 1968 police crackdown in Warsaw

palace..." Nor is there any ambiguity in this conclusion: "It is not an accident that at many meetings in factories, I talk about the senate, sejm (Polish Parliament) and elections and people ask about indexation (COLA) and price-rises. We have to fight inflation, but above all, we have to fight for a market economy..."

No wonder Kuron was invited to spend May Day in Washington, D.C. in the halls of Congress where he was given an award by congressionally created National Endowment for Democracy.

No wonder, either, that Polish dissidents today are asking whether it was the Government that legalized Solidarnosc or Solidarnosc that is legitimizing the Government.

—Olga Domanski

## Special report from East Europe on Poland's underground press

*Prague, Czechoslovakia*—The Polish underground press is a unique phenomenon incomparable to any other published in similar circumstances, if only because of its vast differences of opinion. Consider the question of how this press saw the negotiations of the "round table" between the state-party representatives and those of Solidarity and independent circles.

The relation to the "round table" represented a kind of boundary line between the post-Solidarity groups and the organizations of "independence." Before the start of

the negotiations, the opinions of both of these currents were characterized by suspicion and distrust of the government propositions. At the same time, cautious forecasts were formulated. Solidarity officials pointed out three forms of a growing radicalism—within the union, in "independence" currents and in the Independent Students Association. There was, first of all, distrust of government proposals; a fragile and slight confidence in Walesa, his experts and negotiators; disputes concerning statutory forms of the legalized Solidarity.

The groupings of the "independence" current put forward the strongest fears as to the usefulness of negotiating with the government. A proclamation of the Political Council of the Liberal-Democratic Party and Executive Committee of Fighting Solidarity, published in *Poznan Liberals Voice*, read: "Even an authentic union pluralism is not the most important thing. It cannot substitute for freedom. It is Solidarity itself that resigned its role of representing society in the fight for freedom, following Dec. 13, 1981."

The proclamation also called on young Poles "not to surrender to the blackmail of not making the discussions more difficult or damaging the emerging agreement. Remember, the flame of freedom, not conciliation, full freedom, not 'union pluralism,' complete freedom, not its tastes and trappings."

A leaflet of the Congress of Anti-Regime Opposition (KOA) reads: "The opposition activists grouped in KOA see the need of political and organizational support of growing social protests, especially of strike actions. In the present situation there are no political or economic rewards that could justify persuading the staffs in resigning their fight for their interests. The round table discussions could only then have our support when they will not be used to restrain the workers' protest."

In an article "To reform or to overthrow?" in *Solidarnosc Walczaca*, K. Morawiecki wrote: "Many misunderstandings emerge because of insinuation, absence of honest declaration on the one or the other side of the divide. It is for this reason I ask if Chairman Walesa, or colleagues Zbigniew Bujak, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, Janusz Onyskiewicz, Messrs. Bronislaw Geremek, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Adam Michnik do wish to overthrow the system or do they wish to reform it? Everyone who serves the public has to answer this question."

The following quote from A. Rokicki's article in *Alternatywa* stands as a kind of summing up of the expectations of the underground currents: "The tragedy of the 'angular table' lies not only in the communists trying to perform another swindle, but also in that Walesa with his consultants are proclaiming all the courtship of the Reds in the name of all of us—in the name of society." —East European correspondent

## Mass demonstrations in the Ukraine

From April 20 mass daily demonstrations have taken place in Lvov in protest at the authorities refusal to register Ivan Drach as a candidate in Lvov for the Congress of Peoples Deputies. Ivan Drach is a popular leading writer and head of the Ukrainian Popular Movement for Restructuring. Leading members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and of the Popular Movement organized the initial protest meetings to support Ivan Drach's election and have promised to gather each day until he is registered (May 14). Twenty thousand people have attended each demonstration.

On April 21 a one hour strike took place at the Lenin factory and "Frezernyj Verstat" factory in support of Drach. On Saturday, April 22, the first secretary of the Lviv Communist Party, Y. Pohrebniak, attended a meeting of 25,000 people to answer questions.

On May 1, those who wanted to form a separate column in support of the Popular Movement, began to gather in a park near the city. There were approximately 20,000 people present. They carried their own placards, blue and yellow flags and portraits of Ivan Drach and T. Shevchenko.

At 9 a.m. the column, which was one kilometer in length, started to move towards the centre of town. The militia had positioned themselves close to the Soviet Army and had blocked the road with trucks. People at the head of the procession carried portraits of T. Shevchenko, Soviet and Soviet Ukrainian flags.

The head of the city militia halted the column and asked the people not to proceed in order to allow other columns of people to pass. He added that once this had been done they would be allowed to continue. Everyone understood it was a ploy so as not to let the demonstrators get to the rostrum.

When the demonstrators saw that the militia had moved several trucks in order to allow another officially sanctioned column to pass, they moved back along Yaroslav Mudryi Street and emerged on to Shevchenko Street. This confused the militia and they mistakenly allowed the Popular Movement column to pass through the militia cordon. When they realized their blunder they began to tear placards and curse the people but were helpless to stop them.

In this way the column reached the opera theatre. This is where the main battle took place. In full view of the rostrum the militia threw themselves on the demonstrators. Thousands of people witnessed this attack.

A mass demonstration took place in Lvov on the evening of May 3. The protestors were not deterred by warnings in the local press that all demonstrations in the city had been banned. An estimated 30,000 people took part making it the largest so far in a series of protests against the way in which the local Party author-

ities have blocked popular candidates from standing in the bye-elections on May 14 to the revamped USSR Supreme Soviet. The blue and yellow Ukrainian national flag was again prominent at this protest. Indeed, the resolution passed by the meeting, among other things, called on the authorities to recognize and restore Ukraine's "national symbols." The protestors voted to boycott the bye-elections unless they were opened to all candidates, and especially the writers Ivan Drach and Roman Ivanychuk. The meeting also expressed its solidarity with the Georgians and observed a minute's silence for the victims of the recent crackdown in Tbilisi.

(Information thanks to Patrick Kane)

## New Iran protests

The unceremonious removal of Ayatollah Muntazari, the ex-heir to Khomeini, in March has been followed by a series of purges in the government and the army, headed by the arch-reactionary faction of the Islamic Republic and Khomeini's son, Ahmad Khomeini.

The speaker of the House, Rafsanjani, also came out as a hawk. He is running for the presidency in July and was known as leader of the "moderates" by the West until a few months ago. He stunned his admirers by openly calling upon Palestinians to kill and execute five American, English or French people for each Palestinian killed in the *intifada*. This was seen as an attempt to undermine Yasir Arafat's peace initiatives in the region, and once again claim the mantle of "anti-imperialism" for a troubled Rafsanjani.

In April thousands of war victims marched against difficult living conditions. In Rasht and Anzali by the Caspian region, historically a center of revolutionary activity in Iran, many came on the streets to demonstrate against the brutal murder of thousands of political prisoners. Several thousand peasants in the province of Khurasan also held a demonstration demanding the distribution of farm lands owned by the religious shrine in the city of Mashhad.

People have devised new creative ways of expressing their anger. Since the Islamic Republican Party banned public funerals for murdered political prisoners, sympathizers have taken to wearing white clothes as a sign of protest. They place bouquets of red roses at the door of grieving families. In the long tradition of Chinese students, college students have started wall newspapers where criticisms of the government are pasted up for all to read. The shortage of electricity, which has resulted in cut off of lights between 6:00 and 9:30 p.m., is used as an opportunity for distributing fliers by dissidents commonly referred to as "Xerox organizations."

## News & Letters

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## PHILOSOPHIC DIALOGUE AND OBJECTIVE CRISES

The 1964 letter printed in the "From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya" column in May under the heading: "Freedom demands the unity of philosophy and revolution," was fascinating to read in 1989, in an issue that had so much on the objective crises we face today. Where Raya wrote, "Marx never forgot his indebtedness to Hegel because it was not a debt to the past but a vital living present expressing as well the pull of the future," I kept thinking that "future" is what faces us today, as we see more failed revolutions and failing revolutionary movements all around us. I kept re-reading Raya's column alongside the Lead on the half-million strong march that was fighting all over again for the abortion rights we thought we had won in 1973. And alongside the article on "Iran in aftermath of war" where you could see the retrogression just since 1983 of a group that once held the promise of a radical and serious center of thought.

Mary Jo Grey  
Chicago

It was by chance that I picked up today my first issue of N&L, the April issue. I was impressed by the mere fact that philosophy occupies such a significant place in a labor newspaper...I defend philosophical materialism, not only against fascist objective idealism, but against the idealism of social democrats, social fascists, and other proponents of radical chic ideologies. I am also suspicious of Hegelianism and devotees of the "young Marx." I have read parts of Raya's main philosophical works and she seems to be an anti-materialist. What is this problem about acknowledging the existence of the material world, of objective reality, anyway? Marxism is not just a social ontology and political philosophy. It is concerned with the material universe as well. Marxism must also be a philosophy of science, not a philosophy of praxis.

Bertrand Zork  
Washington, D.C.

There are a lot of philosophic terms I don't understand. But I understand "absolute negativity" because I have never been able to stand anything in this society.

Retired worker  
California

Hegel, under the impact of the French Revolution, was trying to discover how thought determines objectivity, how the Idea is objective. Without a language to express that, without philosophy, revolutions stop. We don't create revolutions, capitalism does. The talk about revolution as violence, as though the world is not getting more brutal every day, concentrates on avoiding it. We want to make it through to full freedom.

Computer analyst  
Bay Area

I recently read Raya Dunayevskaya's 1986 letter to Adrienne Rich; it spoke directly to me. Up to now I have "accepted" a lot of Marxist-Humanist concepts, without really grappling with them. I'm thinking of concepts such as "the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory," "the creation of a totally new, classless, non-racist, non-sexist society," and "Woman as force and Reason of revolution," etc. Now I see that what I also liked in Marxist-Humanism—that Dunayevskaya doesn't say, "Here is the answer"—is itself a part of the body of ideas. As Dunayevskaya wrote to Rich: "Each revolutionary force does have to concretize the question for what it considers, holds, as the proof that freedom is here and does relate to them. No one can do it for Other." It's not enough for me to sit back and "appreciate" these ideas in a disengaged way. It is necessary to work with them and to answer some questions on my own.

New student of Marxist-Humanism  
Los Angeles

olutionary who did reach deeply into philosophy" was not intended to exclude Gramsci from that category. Gramsci, as well as Pannekok, made a category of workers' councils, but his philosophy was far from being "the old, vulgarized, abysmally narrow, materialistic philosophy of Lenin's 1908 Materialism and Empirio-criticism." I have been looking at Raya's 1977 article, "Gramsci's 'philosophy of praxis,'" which is concerned with defending Gramsci's legacy as revolutionary, against both the Eurocommunists and Chris Harmon. She ends: "...let us return to the study of Gramsci's own writings, as integrality of philosophy and revolution, and to work out so new a relationship of theory to practice that the triangular relationship of class, spontaneity, and organization can first come alive in a successful revolution.

Richard Bunting  
Oxford

The Philippine revolutionary who writes in the May N&L on Dunayevskaya's 1953 letters on Hegel, as illumination of a critique of the "Marxist" party in the Philippines, which subordinates subjectivity to objectivity, seems to me to have understood Dunayevskaya better than the Hegel scholar Arnold Miller who "assumes" that as "a materialist" Dunayevskaya would consider the individual merely "a tool, an instrument for the realization of whatever end the Idea may have in mind." Nothing could be further from Dunayevskaya's views. As she wrote to Marcuse, in the letter printed in the May issue: "I am so Hegelian that I still consider that subject absorbs object, and not object subject..."

Marxist-Humanist revolutionary  
Los Angeles

自由 CHINA  
IN  
REVOLT  
FREEDOM

Nixon's former Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, in his usual arrogant manner, "told it like it is" when he was interviewed on TV the weekend after martial law was declared in China and revealed what the U.S. is really concerned about there. If China has to devote all its time and energy to domestic problems, he said, that would free Russia's hands to a degree that would be worrisome to the U.S. Superpower politics, it is clear, is what dominates all the rulers.

Observer  
Illinois

Students from Northern Illinois University and one representative from the Illinois Students Association, brought a resolution to the May 21 Progressive Student Network membership meeting in the Chicago area, which read: "We the PSN, are in solidarity with the students in China who are struggling for freedom and democracy. We call for the ousting of Deng Xiaoping and call for the PSN to form a committee to begin dialogue with students in China. As students, we especially support the rights of Chinese students for academic freedom and freedom of speech."

Many members of the PSN were opposed to the resolution. They said the Chinese don't know what they want, or that they have a naive view of western capitalism. One PSN member from the University of Illinois at Chicago dared to say: "All they want are VCR's." We got the resolution passed only by removing the line about Deng Xiaoping, and then only by 3 votes.

What does it say about the PSN when you have to struggle to pass a resolution which supports freedom for China?

Julia  
DeKalb, Illinois

A young Chinese student who overheard me talking to another marcher at the picket line in front of the Chinese Embassy here, came over to ask: "Did I hear you say Marxist-Humanism?" He said he had never heard about it in the

## Readers' Views

U.S. but had been present at discussions about it in Beijing. Imagine my response when he then wanted to know more about N&L and asked, "Do you have anything in your paper about Hegel?" It was an exhilarating experience!

Marxist-Humanist  
Chicago

## STATE-CAPITALISM'S LEASH

My country is my ghetto. The legal system of our land is full of totalitarian regulations. "Liberalization" is only a change of the leash society is held by. I have the right to oppose laws I have never agreed to, especially if they mean privileges for 1% and bars for the other 99% of our society.

Acappella  
Poland

The situation in East Europe is developing very rapidly. It seems the Polish workers of Solidarnosc are supporting a Catholic party; the Polish Catholic Church represents the most reactionary wing of the church. It is doubtful that the Yugoslav miners have a five-day strike underground because they are Albanian nationalists. The fact is that these people see the Communist Party as their exploiter and Marxism as the ideology of the Party. Almost any group that is anti-communist will attract the masses at this moment. I don't think the intellectual dissidents have much influence in these countries. If they are known at all they are considered idealists who support a "God that failed."

Margaret Ellingham  
Italy

## WORKERS AS REASON

I liked the trade union discussion from South Africa, in the May N&L. What Mlindelwa Kwelelenti was saying reminded me of Marx's Critique of the Gotha Program. He talked about the need for principled unity; you don't give up your goals and what you stand for, for the sake of "unity." He put in very concrete terms what Marx outlined over 100 years ago.

Worker  
Los Angeles

Teachers in Los Angeles began a district-wide strike today (May 15) for better wages and working conditions, and already the anti-labor propaganda is as thick as mud in the media. These teachers are talking about having adequate money to live and raise families; they are identifying themselves as workers and yet the media implies that striking is something teachers just don't do. They quote a district administrator who says that teachers are not providing a proper role model for future workers. This offends me as a mother who thinks what a child should learn is to stand up for his/her rights to a decent living and a decent future. I support these teachers and so do many students.

A mother  
Los Angeles

Pittston, which is now being struck by the Virginia coal miners, began its moves just after the 1984 contract when it hired its Chief Executive Officer, Paul Douglas, who is known as "the Frank Lorenzo of the coal fields." Dummy subsidiaries were set up, including Pyxis Resource Co., and coal holdings were shifted from unionized divisions to such non-union sub-contractors, a tactic used by many operators, including Carbon Fuel Corp. near Charleston, W. Va., and Consolidation Coal Co., with a non-union property in Green Co. Pennsylvania.

The Pittston strike now ongoing in Appalachia brings to mind the Massey strike of a few years ago. It is worth noting that the violence that flared during the Massey strike resulted in anti-picketing injunctions, and the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) decided to fight the battle in the courts. After four years, Massey is a fragment-

ed company and the UMWA has concessionary contracts, but many miners are unemployed and black-balled, and much bitterness remains. There certainly was no miners' victory there.

Ex-miner  
West Virginia

When you speak of practice as a form of theory, I see the law as a form of practice that has been turned into ideology which then becomes a superimposed ideology. As for the division between thought and work, if my labor in the plant is defined as meaningless, and the intellectual's work as meaningful, I can see we have not yet defined work for ourselves. We have to redefine what work means.

Black worker-intellectual  
Detroit

FREEDOM  
VOICES  
FROM AFRICA

Thank you for the books you have sent us. We received them with great enthusiasm. Books like this help us because in a revolution you have to know its theories, and to understand its theories you need to do research and much reading.

Comrades, the struggle here is not easy. The Gambian women are far behind and it is the duty of our council to see to it that our women are not dominated. When you dig into history you find that those who are true to the struggle will see their efforts living after them. That is why our contact with you is so important to us.

Anti-Apartheid Movement  
Gambia

The situation in Africa is deplorable. After four centuries of slavery and a century of savage colonialism Africa lives today under totalitarian dictatorships as savage as the colonial systems. The concepts of "Right" and "Left" have no practical meaning here because no matter the political ideology all have the same methods of government: one party system, cult of personality, concentration of power in a handful of individuals, exploitation of resources by the multinationals, oppression of the population. Repression is often brutal against anything that seems to threaten the present system. The struggle for human liberation in other countries is ignored by the media which is controlled by the multinationals and the local bourgeoisie...

The political aim of the West (and the Socialist countries don't do any better) is to develop underdevelopment and increase the dependency of the Third World. Is it not possible to find organizations to support the Third World in their efforts to liberate and develop themselves?

Reader  
The Congo

The article, "People of Empondweni" from South Africa (May 1989 N&L), was beautiful. You could have pulled my teeth out when I was reading it and I wouldn't have felt a thing. You almost never see so grassroots an expression of what it is to live in South Africa!

Anti-apartheid activist  
Chicago

I greet you in the name of revolutionary struggle in Azania. I was captivated by a number of articles in N&L, but I do not have a clear-cut knowledge of Marxist-Humanism and would like to have some of your publications, especially Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought. It will be very difficult for me to meet the costs as financing in our country is in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Is there any way you could send me N&L and some of your publications?

Revolutionary student  
South Africa

**WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT**



The March for abortion rights, to me, embodied the reasons for the classes being held on "Marxist-Humanism as a Body of Ideas" that were called "How to prepare for the 1990s." Here is why: the main slogan at the March was "We won't go back." Throughout the 1980s there was resistance to the Reagan/Bush attacks on all the freedom movements, but the ideological pollution of Reaganism affected the thinking of the Left. "How to prepare for the 1990s" requires the long view—a concept of history as summation and perspective. So "We won't go back" is only the first negation. The Women's Liberation Movement must go back—to its high point—and reorganize its thought.

**Woman's Liberationist  
Detroit**

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When you plunge into the movement and test your ideas you find it is a very different situation from 20 years ago. In Mexico what came through was the maturity of the age. Proletarian women were in every sphere of the movement. They are just beginning their discussion of Women's Liberation there at a very high level. Every question is posed at once.

**Anne Jaclard  
New York**

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I liked Terry Moon's article about the march on Washington, especially where she said that abortion isn't accessible to all women now.

If there's one thing I learned about being involved in organizing for the march it's that it's not just about abortion. It's definitely about all human rights. I want to talk about what to do now. I was upset that after the march our group fell apart. I know that I don't just want to be in an abortion rights group; I want to be in a group that discusses Women's Liberation.

I agree with Raya Dunayevskaya's view that philosophy has to be constantly worked out anew for the women's movement to grow. But how do you escape from it being a set doctrine? Isn't every philosophy based on some structure? Having philosophy turn into a set ideology is what worries me.

**Student  
New York University**

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The so-called "pro-life" people avail themselves of women's desperation and grief. The struggle over abortion is in many ways a battle over the minds of women. I feel I've been mentally tortured by the so-called "pro-life" people. Who among us feminists are "baby-killers?" Which of us does not respect life? Which of us mothers does not value children?

**Young mother  
Georgia**

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All the pro-life stuff we keep hearing is not about religion. It's about power, pure and simple. It's about who is going to tell who else what they can and can't do.

**Black male feminist  
Chicago**



Today's Atlanta Journal/Constitution ran an article about local efforts to solve the problem of homelessness by creating Single Room Occupancy (SRO) units. These have been reviled as "flop-houses" in other cities but Georgia envisages SROs comparable to dormitories or European hotels. I have grave doubts they will wind up as anything more than the rundown "hotels" found in many large cities. Why should anyone have to live in a single room because of the low wages or tiny retirement income they have? Employers don't even want to pay the value of labor power anymore.

**Disgusted  
Georgia**

A friend of mine is now in San Quentin prison, and the whole subject of correctional institutions just makes me boil. The latest experiment they're trying here in California is a pilot program to make inmates work to pay compensation to the victim of the crime. The government is attempting to salvage the economy through cheap labor, and exploitation of someone else's oppression and victimization.

**Tomia  
Los Angeles**

I'm not saying that when someone devalues human life and acts on that, that there shouldn't be some kind of repercussion. What I am saying is that the hierarchy in our country is responsible for the messages being put to people to cause them to devalue life.

George Bush's Willie Horton campaign was not simple electioneering propaganda. It is precisely his view and agenda for Black America. Lives in the Black ghettos disintegrate and are blown away while most of white America continues on, oblivious, calling the problem "drugs" and accepting the push for billions of dollars for more prisons. Rich white women go to their fancy clinics for treatment of their addictions, while thousands of addicts in the street find waiting lists of two and three years for any program they might be able to get into, and William Bennett's "war on drugs" gives priority to law enforcement over treatment and education.

**Outraged  
Los Angeles**

**KHOMAINI'S TERROR**

Khomeini's death threat against Salman Rushdie has been followed by terrorist firebombings of bookshops in London, demonstrations of religious bigotry and a racist backlash. Some Labour Party politicians and Black Leaders have disgraced themselves by attacking Rushdie and calling for the Blasphemy Laws to be extended to cover Islam. This is all the more fantastic considering the sections of Satanic Verses set in "Mrs. Torture's" racist Britain.

One black activist told me, "The youth will read this book and recognize

their lives in it. The people stirring it up against Rushdie are those who don't intend to stay here. Those politicians who support these people are wet liberals in the worst sense." The Rushdie Affair is an indication that the Third World War is not going to be confined to the Third World.

**Dave Black  
London, England**

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Khomeini's call for Salman Rushdie's death sparked worldwide outrage but also forced many to confront the extent of the continuing political repression inside Iran. A new and horrific wave of repression swept through Iran after its cease-fire with Iraq. As many as 16,000 political prisoners have been executed. U.S. officials state that this will not impede development of more friendly relations between the U.S. and Iran. We call upon people to join together to condemn the Iranian government's policies and challenge their tacit approval by the U.S. and the other big powers.

**Ad Hoc Committee to Oppose  
Repression in Iran  
P.O. Box 956  
New York, NY 10185**

**LEFTY'S MEMORIAL**

To continue for your readers my report on the purchase of an engine for the fishing boat in Nicaragua, as a Memorial to Lefty Morgan: it is now installed. The occasion for dropping it in was well covered by three TV stations. There were speeches in his honor and a plaque will go with the boat saying the motor was purchased in his honor, ending with "in memory of his solidarity with the people."

Meanwhile, thanks to the free trade agreement, in part, and the general right-wing philosophy which is so prevalent today, working people are increasingly under attack here. The justification is the U.S. demand for "a level playing field" which translates into: "where Canada has better social welfare programs than we have, emasculate them so they are no better than those in the U.S."

**Margaret Morgan  
British Columbia**

**SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS**

**—BOOKS—**

- Marxism and Freedom ...from 1776 until today**  
1989 Columbia University Press edition. New 1980s introduction by author 381 pp.  
by Raya Dunayevskaya ..... \$17.50 per copy
- Philosophy and Revolution from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao**  
1982 edition. New introduction by author 372 pp.  
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- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution** 234 pp.  
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- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future** 294 pp.  
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- The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya.** Contains "Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987," and 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes." 52 pp.  
\$3.00 paperback, \$10.00 hardcover
- Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal**  
1989 Wayne State University Press edition includes Afterword by Raya Dunayevskaya, "Charles Denby 1907-83" 303 pp.  
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## Black/Red View

by John Alan

The conveners of the "African-American Summit" meeting, held April in New Orleans, set for themselves the task of bringing together ideologically diverse Black leaders to write a "Black Agenda" for the year 2000 that would solve the acute social and economic problems now afflicting the masses of Black Americans and, at the same time, make an assessment of the progress made since the convention of the "National Black Political Assembly" held in Gary, Ind. in 1972. This latter task implies that the "African-American Summit" considers itself to be the continuator of that historic Gary convention, held 17 years ago.

There is an element of truth in the claim that the "Summit" is a continuator of the Gary convention, but only in a negative sense. Both conventions characteristically suffered from being a platform to serve the political ambitions of politicians. At the Gary convention it was Charles Diggs and Richard Hatcher, at New Orleans it was Jesse Jackson. But intrinsically they are vastly different conventions in social impact, in spirit and in size.

### Racist 'special' on Black athletes exposed

*Detroit, Mich.*—The April 25 airing of the NBC "Special" on Black athletes was, at the very least, the revenge of Jimmy "The Greek" Snyder, because it said all he had said, and programmed "scientific proof" into the discourse. Two things are crucial to the analysis of this "Special."

First, the importance of the question, "Are Black athletes superior to white athletes?" resides, not in its potential answer, but in its implicit companion question, are whites intellectually superior to Blacks? Tom Brokaw was not asking about the physical prowess of Blacks, but raising the consciousness of those who question the intellectual capacities of Blacks.

The second important part of the question is timing. It is no coincidence that this "Special" aired at a time during an active phase of overt acts of racism on America's college campuses, the rise of the "skinheads" and other white supremacist groups, efforts by the Supreme Court to dismantle civil rights legislation, and heated debates over the NCAA (National Collegiate Athletic Association) Propositions 42 and 48, both obvious attempts to curb Afro-American "dominance" of college sports.

#### RACIST PERCEPTIONS OF SPORTS

NBC was not asking a provocative question; it was suggesting that there are justifications for the legal, social, and economic proscriptions against Afro-Americans. The hidden agenda of the program is that there is a distinct difference between Afro-Americans and whites, and that any success Afro-Americans achieve must be based on their "physical superiority."

There is a pressing need to explain Afro-American success in terms that reflect the national perception, a perception that offers a regurgitation of the "pro-slavery argument" of the 19th century. It's the "Super-Masculine Menial" of Eldridge Cleaver's *Soul on Ice*, living an all-consumptive life as the definition of Afro-American existence. Aberrations must be explained, and the "physical superiority" explanation is most consistent with the American philosophy of racial, social and class control. How else does one explain any success of an "inferior" people when legal restrictions are no longer the prime reason for their "disabilities?"

Finally, the "Special" was notable for the things it neglected to say. The role of the media creates certain images of athletes, both Afro-American and white (e.g., Michael Jordan is "graceful" and Larry Bird is a "thinking man's player" with a work ethic). It is no coincidence that the same adjectives that are used to describe animals (tigers, swans, etc.) are attributed to Afro-Americans and ones that reflect "human" traits are attributed to whites (thinking, intelligence, "coach on the floor," etc.).

#### AMERICA'S TWO SOCIETIES

Physical prowess alone does not explain success or failure. This is determined by very definite mental, emotional, and psychological things like motivation, dedication, planning, perseverance, and a very structured thought process. Magic Johnson and Michael Jordan play the way they do because they think about it and work at it! Success is a pre-calculated proposition that is attained through a definite plan.

The "Special" on the Black athlete was an effort to address the fact that America is made up of two societies, one Black and oppressed, one white and oppressive, and that this fact has come again to be recognized as the prime factor in the American political, social and economic agenda. It attempted to explain to the "average American" why certain things are happening and how he/she should feel about it and react to it.

NBC and Tom Brokaw only presented the suggestive forum through which this might be discussed and the philosophical foundation on which to base the discussion. It was not only the revenge of Jimmy Snyder, but also of John C. Calhoun, George Fitzhugh, and Ronald Reagan.

—Smitty

## African-American Summit on "Black Agenda"

Charles Denby, the late editor of News & Letters, covered the Gary convention and estimated that there were 10,000 delegates and observers. Denby wrote that the "Black Political Assembly" was of the "utmost importance" because so "many Blacks assembled for the expressed purpose of trying to work out the economic, social and political future of Black people."

By contrast the New Orleans "Summit" had only 800 people in attendance, far below the 4,000 that the organizers had expected. This low turnout threatened the Summit's credibility to write the "Black Agenda" for the year 2000.

#### GARY—1972

We have to reject the official reason for the low attendance, which places the blame upon the existence of sharp ideological differences among the Black leadership, i.e., many were opposed either to Jesse Jackson or to Louis Farrakhan. Such ideological differences were present in the Gary convention, which polarized itself in sharp debates between the nationalists and integrationists, between Maoists and Democrats, etc. But these ideological differences, though never resolved, reflected the reasoning and the revolutionary impulses of the mass Black urban revolts that were still vivid in the minds of many of the Gary delegates and observers. Those who revolted rejected the very idea of capitalist politics and called for a new society. Thus the overriding impulse of the Gary convention was the demand for "real change," literally the transformation of the American Society.

The "Black Agenda" that came out of the Gary convention stated: "...we stand on the edge of history with an amazing and frightening choice. We may choose in 1972 to slip back into decadent white politics of American life, or we may move forward, moving relentlessly from Gary to the creation of our own Black life... [T]he crises we face as Black people are the crises of the entire society. They go deep, to the very bone and marrow, to the essential nature of America's economic, political and cultural system. They are the natural end-product of a society built upon the twin foundations of white racism and white capitalism."

#### NEW ORLEANS — 1989

The 1972 Gary "Black Agenda" was not in itself a revolutionary turning point in Black thought as some

### New Peltier appeal

I heard an interview with William Kuntsler, the lawyer for Leonard Peltier in the killing of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Reservation in June, 1975. Peltier is serving a sentence of life in prison. The program was CBS News Magazine, May 6.

Kuntsler talked about evidence that had not been allowed to be given in Peltier's defense. Kuntsler was making an appeal particularly to Congress to get a new trial. The evidence he was able to talk about sounded very convincing that Peltier needed another chance to be heard.

What also came through loud and clear was that as far as South Dakota's prosecuting attorney was concerned, this case was closed. The Attorney General called Peltier a longtime troublemaker and said he got what he deserved. He warned the people on the Pine Ridge Reservation that they could do Peltier and themselves no good by stirring up trouble on Peltier's behalf. What was that if not a threat?

Also there has been an increase recently in arrests for drunkenness and other petty things on the reservation and people there are taking it as a signal not to encourage or support efforts for a new trial.

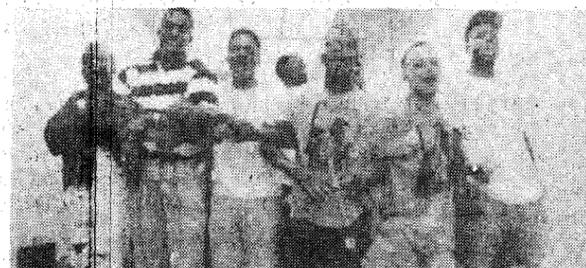
—Shainape Sheapwe

have averred. Nevertheless, it was closer to Black reality than the "African-American Summit" and its passionate embrace of American capitalist politics and its political economy as the pathway and method of solving the unending social and economic crises facing the masses of Black Americans.

Despite the ideological diversity, the resolutions adopted by the New Orleans "Summit" were the conventional Black middle class political aims — stricter accountability for Black elected officials to promote group goals; increase in federal funds for health and education; pooling and investing Black money in corporations; and tougher bargaining with the two major capitalist parties for Black votes.

However, Jesse Jackson managed to give these conventional demands a new twist by calling for the investment of \$80 billion "to revive the predominantly Black urban areas." Within the limits of these spurious "economic solutions" there was not one word of criticism about the fact that Black politics has reached a dead-end in predominantly Black urban centers, and that Jackson and Farrakhan were personally involved in bringing on the Black political crisis in Chicago.

### Black student sit-ins



Michigan State University students occupy Administration Building.

*Detroit, Mich.*—As at Wayne State University, (See May, 1989 N&L) Black students at Ferris State University in Big Rapids and Michigan State University in East Lansing have held sit-ins at campus buildings to protest their schools' inaction on campus racism.

About 80 Black students sat-in at Michigan State University from May 9 through May 17. Racial harassment incidents on campus had prompted a parents' group to write to University President John DiBaggio last winter. Of the 14 demands presented by students, the University agreed to recruit Black students, faculty and staff, create a Black Studies program, increase minority scholarships and "recognize" the Martin Luther King, Jr. holiday.

While the agreement was called a "victory" by student spokesperson Darius Peyton, a scorched wooden 3 foot cross with a gasoline-soaked rag attached was found May 16, about 150 yards from the sit-in. A few days earlier two gay rights activists, who were also organizers of the University's "Cross-Cultural Week," found one of their dorm rooms burned and one of their cars soaked with gasoline.

Students from Wayne and Ferris had attempted to join the protest at Michigan State and were turned away. Spokesperson Jeffrey Robinson said their support was welcome, but "We have to pioneer...we've drawn our own conclusions as to what's necessary."

All schools are now on summer break, so any negotiated gains will remain to be seen come Fall. One Black Wayne State University student said that he thought the University would use the Summer to stall, compromise, and diffuse the agreement.

### Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-87), founder of the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism, became Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees from its founding to 1987. Charles Denby (1907-83), a Black production worker, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper from 1955 to 1983. Dunayevskaya's works *Marxism and Freedom...from 1776 until Today*; *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* spell out the philosophic

ground of Marx's Humanism internationally, as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa. These works challenge post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism.

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

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

**Direct from South Africa  
Freedom Journal**

**Namibia: 'Africa's  
last colony'**

**Johannesburg, South Africa**—Ending South African rule in Namibia is a main dynamic in the country's politics. Members of the country's South African-sponsored Transitional Government of National Unity (TGNU) have the most to lose through implementation of Resolution 435, as the TGNU must be dissolved as part of Pretoria's illegal administration.

Namibia, a country of just a million people, has had the majority of its decisions taken outside its borders by foreigners, especially South Africa. The three-nation agreement of "Principles for a peace settlement in South West Africa," agreeing to the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435, was no exception. Resolution 435 calls for South African withdrawal from the territory, and UN-supervised elections. South Africa, Angola and Cuba signed the agreement and left it to South Africa and Angola to work out the exact date of 435 implementation.

**SOUTH AFRICA'S STRANGLEHOLD**

This accord is the third agreement signed by South Africa in the last ten years undertaking to quit Namibia. All these agreements have been signed and sealed but not followed or complied with by the SADF (South African Defence Force). Not surprisingly, Namibians have responded with caution. "We put little faith in these agreements," said some of them. As the early rounds of the three-way settlement talks took place in London, Brazzaville and Cairo, Namibia was shaken by the most extensive mass opposition to South African rule ever. This included protests by an estimated 40,000 students, and Namibia's biggest ever national strike backed by well over half of the country's 150,000 workers.

Ponhof Secondary School, which lies in heavily populated Ovamboland, a traditional SWAPO (South West Africa Peoples Organisation) strong-hold, is just six kilometers from the Angola border, and is heavily defended by the SADF and the South West African Territory Forces (SWATF) against incursion by guerrillas of SWAPO's military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). Children at the school are brothers and sisters of PLAN fighters, says Ben Ulega, general secretary of the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW). He said further, SADF built their bases alongside the schools, or wherever the people gather, hospitals, clinics or community centres, so the guerrillas will be reluctant to attack and risk killing their brothers and sisters in the cross-fire.

Of Namibia's 40 secondary schools, three have military bases directly alongside them. Ponhof, a boarding school, which before March, 1989 housed 600 pupils, is one of them. Its pock-marked walls and gaping roof bear testimony to the regularity of the cross-fire. Head-mistress Hishidibua Ndeyapo said she has on numerous occasions visited the military base, complained of the attacks to the commanders and asked them urgently to collect unexploded mortar bombs, without success or proper attention. She said that South African soldiers have admitted firing mortars at the school in "error."

In the early hours of March 10, last year, PLAN attacked the South African military base. Half an hour after the attack, mortar fire hit the school, ripping through the girls' dormitory. Fifteen-year-old Albertina Nghikongelwa died instantly, and Victoria Nghikofa died some days later. The bombs came from the direction of the military base.

**'WE WILL BE FREE'**

Believe me, South Africa is a highly militarized socie-

**Protest Bush and Noriega**

**Los Angeles, Cal.**—"Against Noriega, the entire military, the oligarchy and the U.S.," was the call of a rally in front of the Federal Building May 17, to protest Bush's dispatch of more U.S. troops to Panama. Far from believing Bush's statement that the U.S. "supports the Panamanian people," the demonstrators, many of whom were Panamanian, made clear that this latest intervention is squarely against the interests of the Panamanian people.

The Panamanians at the rally said that the people did not vote for the opposition candidates but rather against Noriega. An older Panamanian man said: "Endara (the opposition presidential candidate) and those guys lived in the U.S. They were educated in the U.S. and they will do anything for the Yankee dollar. I remember in 1940 when we did elect a candidate that the people wanted. He won four times, but the U.S. wouldn't let him stay in office. We want our sovereignty!"

The organizers of the demonstration came from the January 9th Committee. "January 9, 1964," explained one of the organizers, "was the night Panamanians rioted when Americans destroyed our flag and hoisted only their own flag. Because of this history we know Bush is just continuing to treat our country as a colony."

Another Panamanian added: "This is all to maintain U.S. control over the Canal, both for direct profit from tariffs and to control the flow of trade and military supplies through it."

Supporting the Panamanians at the rally were a number of North Americans, including Latino and Black activists who expressed solidarity with Panamanian self-determination.

—Wayne Carter

ty. The human cost in its intervention in Angola became public and in part forced the SADF to withdraw from battle. The SADF's inability to capture the Angolan town of Cuito Cuanavale in March, 1988 seemed to arise out of the soldiers it lost and its reluctance to risk further heavy losses. Parents of the dead soldiers denounced the intervention and the secrecy surrounding it.

In the fighting around Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola, from October, 1987, the SWATF lost 300 troops, compared to a Pretoria claim of just 31 casualties. This reportedly led to several mutinies among Black Namibian troops, many of them complaining at having to don UNITA uniforms and fight (armed only with rifles) against the increasingly-sophisticated Angolan forces. The TGNU did not attempt to enforce conscription in the heavily populated north of Ovamboland and Kavango, which accounts for well over half Namibia's population, because, as one potential Black conscript said, "they would be training us for SWAPO."

SWAPO has been backed by an increasingly confident student movement which looked south to the burning townships of the colonial power for an example and direction, and by a labour movement which divided SWAPO's red, blue and green colours among its three industrial unions to win worker support.

"We could not organise without SWAPO colours. The workers are suspicious of anything else," said NUNW education officer Pakleppa. The workers are highly politicised and recognise the link between their poor working conditions and the South Africa presence. SWAPO itself is possibly more rooted in the working class than any other liberation movement on the continent. It was formed in 1957 as the Ovamboland Peoples Congress, specifically to oppose Namibia's contract labour system.

In this system, 50,000 workers from Ovamboland were shipped out every year to work under prison-like discipline in the industrial centres of the south, or in the mines. Older workers recall how SWAPO president Sam Nujoma was smuggled into their compounds nearly 30 years ago to address meetings and organise strikes.

"We may be Africa's last colony," said Thomas Gideon, a third generation SWAPO supporter and one of the 40,000 students boycotting classes, "but by Sept. 29 (the anniversary of Resolution 435) we will be free."

**Black World**

(continued from page 1)

ber, 1988 News & Letters and in The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism) is a contribution to that discussion. (Page references are to the latter text.)

\*\*\*

I never did get a chance to send you our publication of Raya's 1953 philosophic letters. They were quite instrumental in formulating my analysis of the South African/Azanian Student Movement (SAASM) conference. (See "Black World," December, 1988 News & Letters.) While a journalistic treatment didn't allow for a fuller development, I thought I would take the opportunity to develop some of it in a letter to you, inasmuch as Raya's letters on the dialectic of the Hegelian Absolute and organization (the party) in the context of today's liberation movements is of the essence for the South African milieu.

**REVOLT EMERGES OUT OF BLACK MIND**

This is what I mean. Take three dates: 1953, the beginning of Bantu Education; 1976-77, the Soweto Uprising against the use of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in the schools, as well as Biko's death; lastly, 1987-88, and the founding of SAASM, culminating in its first national conference convened around the conception, "Education for Liberation." This very brief recollection is enough to distinguish the freedom struggle in South Africa from nearly any other. It is a distinction which resides in one word — mind, or what the movement has called "consciousness."

Historically, in the 1930s and 1940s francophone African and Caribbean intellectuals had postulated a "Negro humanism" they called negritude; in the 1950s Nkrumah projected the "African personality" as the new redemption. Both espoused African socialism for state ideological purposes. But whereas each developed authentic intellectual responses to colonialism and Western hegemony, neither attained a mass character. Black Consciousness in South Africa did.

However, there is a problematic in the "organizational idea of a unified movement" that has been conserved by a decade of mass struggles. To see what this entails, go to Raya's May 12, 1953 letter.

**THE HIGHEST OPPOSITION WITHIN**

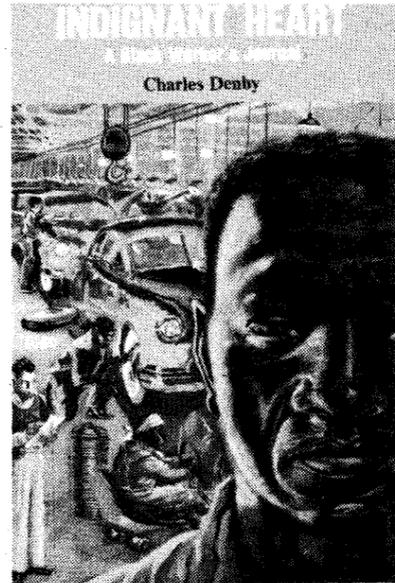
She establishes that "in the dialectic of the Absolute Idea is the dialectic of the party." (p. 23) Furthermore, Hegel articulates this simply as "the identity of the Theoretical and the Practical Idea." Finally, we are faced with the reality that this Idea which is at once of freedom and the party "contains the highest opposition within itself." (p. 25)

Now, there is something I had not noticed before, until South Africa made it explicit for me. In warning that the theoretical and practical Idea are each by themselves one-sided and each "contains the Idea

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**Africa and the Absolute**

itself only as a sought Beyond and an unattained goal" (and in this we can see all the unfinished and truncated revolutions of the epoch), Hegel informs us that each—theory and practice—"consequently is a synthesis of the tendency." It is not only that a "synthesis" of tendencies entails the "highest opposition," but its meaning is that "both contains and does not contain the Idea."

Hegel casts more illumination on this with his conception of Other, which Raya tells us "turns out to be, not the proletariat outside, but the party itself." (p. 25) Hegel states that the "Notion...as person...is, for itself, universality and cognition, and in its Other has its own objectivity for object." (p. 25) It would be simple enough to say that the party, as Other, is the objectivity of the revolutionary subjectivity of the masses. However, I believe more is involved, which brings me to this last formulation of Hegel's:

"The second or negative and mediated determination is at the same time the mediating determination. At first it may be taken as simple determination, but in truth it is a reference or relation; for it is negative—the negative, however of the positive, and includes the latter. It is not therefore the Other of a term to which it is indifferent...it is the Other in itself, the Other of an Other. It thus includes its own Other, and so is contradiction, or the posited dialectic of itself." (p. 26)

I will limit myself to but one point in all this, i.e., not only is it true that the party, or for us, a non-elitist organization, expresses the objectivity of the masses' subjectivity, but this "second or negative and mediated determination" contains the simple determinate negativity of the masses as its internal Other. The key here is Hegel's reference to "relation," because the synthesis of the tendency which could not overcome the fact that the "highest opposition" is contained in the unity, reveals as well the need for a new relation of theory to practice.

This is but the first moment though, the moment of recognition. To me, it represents the moment of Black Consciousness. The second moment is where we are now. It entails the realization that the party, organization, as Other, itself contains an Other, "and so is contradiction, or the posited dialectic of itself." This means that "political differences exist as an expression of the democratic revolutionary process and must be tolerated." Or as you stated, "SAASM has given us time to debate, to challenge our analysis; it has given us time to engage in a critical discourse."

It has, in other words, become possible to debate critically the nature of post-apartheid South Africa within today's liberation movement, and even have that determine the coalescence of political tendencies, because the dialectic of the last decade of mass struggle has opened a window on the South Africa to come.

# Millions in China defy martial law as Party leaders maneuver

(continued from page 1)

students organized a march of 150,000 one day after the *People's Daily* published a virulent threat to crack down on the movement. Most crucially, thousands of workers cheered the march along the route, some joining in, others surrounding groups of soldiers to stop them from halting the march.

On May 4, the 70th anniversary of China's first student movement—the historic May 4 movement of 1919—more than 100,000 workers and students marched, reclaiming this revolutionary holiday from state control. (In 1919, some 3,000 students in Beijing had so reflected the rage of the country by marching against their warlord government's collaboration with the Western powers to give Japan expanded imperialist concessions, that they began a movement of boycotts and strikes that set the direction for modern Chinese history, and led directly to the birth of revolutionary Marxism in China and the Chinese Revolution of 1927.)

As Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in 1987 following a month of student demonstrations in China: "Let's never forget that youth have a very special role in China in the 20th century. Back in the mid-1960s they even thought that they could use the Cultural Revolution as a point of departure, not just for democracy, but, as they put it, for having a real Paris Commune type of government. That is to say, a communal non-state form of government....1968 [is] when youth unfurled an altogether new demand in Sheng Wu-lien's 'Whither China?' manifesto that called China the centerpoint of world revolution precisely because it was the point of greatest world contradiction."\* It is Deng Xiaoping's memory of these youth as well as the youth of the 1957 "Hundred Flowers Campaign,"\*\* which Deng helped to crush, which guide his and Li Peng's actions now.

Deng had in fact written off an earlier generation of youth, the Red Guards, as the "lost generation" too affected by the upheavals of the Cultural Revolution to be moldable. But this new generation, which he has been counting on, has upset his plans for succession. History is alive for both revolution and counter-revolution in China.

\*See Raya Dunayevskaya's "Whither China?" Feb. 21, 1987 *News & Letters*.

\*\* The affinity between the students who spoke out during the Hundred Flowers Campaign, before they were crushed by Mao, and today's Beijing students can be heard from the following quote from Lin Xiling, a 21-year-old student at Beijing University in 1957: "True socialism is highly democratic, the socialism we have here is not democratic. I call this society a socialism sprung from a basis of feudalism." She called it a class system and...arrived at the conclusion that present-day China and Russia are not socialist. She loudly demanded a search for 'true socialism' and advocated using explosive measures to reform the present social system." (*People's Daily*, June 30, 1957, quoted in *Marxism and Freedom*.) Lin served 23 years in prison and exile for those remarks.

## Mexico land seizure

*Editor's note: Colonia Felipe Angeles was created in a land seizure by homeless families in 1983. Thirty-five families live there, in corrugated tin and cardboard shacks with dirt floors, sharing cooperative outhouses, electricity and chickens. We visited Felipe Angeles this Spring and met with several women activists, in their community meeting room, who told us their story:*

There was a meeting in which it was decided to do a land seizure. Companeros who really had no place to live, who often lived in the street, started to form a group. The land seizure was helped by a group of companeros from the Engineering School. Candelario Campos was one of them. He left school for a time to help, training people and explaining the risks to people. For two months people organized in a collective assembly.

The land seizure was July 18, 1983, at four in the afternoon. It wasn't so much started by the people who had been preparing for two months, as it was by the women who arrived with blankets, pieces of plastic and cardboard, or whatever they could find. They had been told not to bring their children but they brought them because they had no place to leave them, and they brought their few belongings.

We set up temporary shelters, and the harassment of the men who went out to work began. The land owner sent goons. They locked the door in the wall around Felipe Angeles, and we all had to climb over it, even the pregnant women.

In the early days of the occupation, the owner frequently tried to bulldoze us away. The children were our principal defense, because then, they were still respecting the rights of children. We would make a barricade of children; they would stand in the way of the machines and climb up on them, and they had to stop the machines. Now they attack even the children.

Soon after the land seizure, Candelario Campos was kidnapped by the quasi-governmental White Brigade, imprisoned and tortured and "disappeared." More than anything else we demand the return of our "disappeared" companero, Candelario Campos Ramirez. The woman who claims to own this land had him kidnapped. Now we don't know if he is in the hands of the military or dead. We've been told nothing about him since Aug. 20, 1983, when he was "disappeared." Each time Aug. 20 approaches the general assembly of our group decides what we will do to try to get him back. We are here because we need a place to live, but if the government would return the companero to us, we would even leave. If they do not return him to us, we will never leave.



Chinese soldiers being given food by demonstrators who had set up a roadblock to stop the troop convoy before it reached Beijing.

## WHITHER CHINA?: THE SINO-SOVIET SUMMIT AND THE U.S. VS. REVOLUTIONARY NEW BEGINNINGS

Although the demonstrations in China seemed to have eclipsed the Sino-Soviet summit, the first in some 20 years, it did not eclipse Gorbachev's drive for a new global realignment. As we wrote in our *Marxist-Humanist Perspectives* in 1985:

"Mikhail Gorbachev, the new player in nuclear global brinkmanship, is about to attempt so new a chapter in the relations between the two nuclear Behemoths as to actually shift Russia's world relations from West to East. (*News & Letters*, August - September, 1985)."

The Sino-Soviet summit did take place. We cannot yet know its results. What we do see are the actions of those rulers both inside and outside China who are "for" the students, that is, who wish to use and limit the movement for their own class-based purposes. We see Communist Party head Zhao Ziyang "opposing" the crackdown against the students, but pleading with them to give up their hunger strike. We see Gorbachev one day calling the students "hot-heads" and later deciding to praise them. And, we see George Bush so anxious not to disturb U.S.-China relations that a U.S. naval squadron called on schedule in Shanghai on the very day that martial law was declared.

The rulers everywhere know that such demonstrations can lead to an uprooting social revolution—a revolution that will challenge each super-power relation, whether Russia-China, U.S.-China or U.S.-Russia. Fear of revolution from below, the need for "stability"—whether imposed by private-capitalist or state-capitalist rule—is paramount. It is what unites all rulers, even enemies.

Thus when there was a Sino-Soviet orbit in the 1950s, Mao Zedong supported Khrushchev's counter-revolu-

tionary suppression of the Hungarian Revolution. And even when there was Sino-Soviet conflict as in 1968 both Brezhnev and Mao understood class rule at home as Czechoslovakia was invaded and the Sheng Wu-lien and other revolutionary youth in China were crushed. Is there any wonder that today George Bush calls for "restraints" for the Chinese students, while Secretary of State Baker says U.S. interests would not be served in seeing "significant instability" in China?

The drive for single-world domination—not freedom for masses whether in China, in the U.S., in Russia, or anywhere on the globe—is what concerns all our super-power rulers.

The creativity of the Chinese masses cannot rely on one or another set of rulers either inside China or outside for creating a vision of a new human society.

There is no doubt much debate is going on right now precisely on this point within China. Each day's mass demonstrations have seen conflicting tendencies within the movement. Some have carried pictures of the Statue of Liberty and thus the movement is claimed to be inspired by Jefferson and Lincoln in America. Others are carrying posters of Gorbachev, and the movement is supposedly one of Russian-style glasnost. And still others carry pictures of Mao, despite his crushing of student movements in the 1950s and 1960s. There are undoubtedly indigenous revolutionary Marxist tendencies as well.

What is crucial are the conditions of life and labor within China, and the search for ideas of freedom which can release the full revolutionary creativity of the Chinese masses for transforming them. As Raya Dunayevskaya noted two years ago in "Whither China?": "What is the determinant is the crises at home on the production lines, the poor living conditions and unemployment of the masses, as well as the restlessness in the 'technologically reorganized' Army, while seeing the emergence of a new kind of profiteer...[I]t is not a question of who will follow Deng, but what will follow any successor."

## China protest in U.S.

*Chicago, Ill.*—Over 3,000 Chinese students from schools across the Midwest, gathered at the Chinese consulate in Chicago on Saturday May 20, to protest mistreatment of their peers in China, and to support the Chinese movement for freedom and democracy.

The students marched to Grant Park when consulate officials forced them away from their building. At the park they sat close to each other to hear speeches by fellow students and to chant such slogans as "Down with dictatorship," "Down with Deng Xiaoping," "Freedom and Democracy."

The students were very friendly to us and translated the speeches, songs and chants. They also engaged us in dialogue about where the Chinese student movement is going. Many said the protesters are trying to decide now, what kind of government they are for. But for now, they want to get rid of the dictator, Deng, and they want the government to stop the violence against the protesters. Students cheered when they heard that the foreign ministry had declared itself independent from the Chinese government and that the state steel industry (the largest industry in China, with over 120,000 workers) had gone on strike.

The protest was inspiring for us non-Chinese students who attended. The crowd was very unified and positive. Students we talked with said the struggle will not end until the dictatorship is overthrown and human rights are respected in China.—Marxist-Humanist participant

## Selected Marxist-Humanist writings on China

### ● "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung"

- A. Communist Counter-Revolution
  - B. The Dialectic of Mao's Thought From the Defeat of the 1925-27 Revolution to the Conquest of Power
  - C. Oriental Despotism, Brainwashing—Or the Economic Compulsion of State-Capitalism
  - D. CAN There Be War Between Russia and China?: The Non-Viability of State-Capitalism
- In Place of a Conclusion: Two Kinds of Subjectivity

—Chapter 17 of *Marxism and Freedom*

This chapter is available in Chinese from *News & Letters* for \$1.

### ● "Cultural Revolution or Maoist Reaction"

—Chapter 18 of *Marxism and Freedom*

*Marxism and Freedom* has just been issued in a new expanded edition from Columbia University Press. See ad on page 7

### ● "The Thought of Mao Tse-tung"

- A. Discontinuities and Continuities
  - 1. The Sino-Soviet Conflict
  - 2. That Crucial Year 1965 and "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," 1966-69

B. From Contradiction to Contradiction to Contradiction

C. Alienation and Revolution

- 1. Hong Kong Interview
- 2. Sheng Wu-lien: The Challenge from the Left

—Chapter 5 of *Philosophy and Revolution*

*Philosophy and Revolution* will be issued in a new expanded edition by Columbia University Press. For more information write *News & Letters*.

### ● "Sexism, Politics and Revolution in Post-Mao China"

I: Chiang Ch'ing, Hua Kuo-feng in *Post-Mao China* (1977)

II: China's "Gang of Four" Trial Charade (1981)

—Chapter 18 of *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*.

To order see ad page 7.

### ● "Two Worlds" and "Theory/Practice" columns in *News & Letters*

"Hegel vs. Mao: From Culture to Philosophy to Revolution" *News & Letters* April, 1969

"Deng revises not so much Mao; as Marx" *News & Letters*, August 1981

"Whither China?" *News & Letters* Feb. 27, 1987

These columns are available from *News & Letters*, \$1 each.

**Editorial**

**True crisis in U.S. education: cutbacks, poverty and racism**

**L.A. teachers' walkout**

*Editor's note: On May 15, teachers in the Los Angeles Unified School District began their first strike in 19 years. Demands included a 21% pay increase over two years and greater teacher authority in school decision. As we go to press the strike has been settled. Below are the comments of one woman teacher, on the picket line:*

**Los Angeles, Cal.**—The issues are pay and power. Being out in such good numbers allows us to express festering complaints, to vent frustration and anger that's been building up all year. Even though our signs say "We need equal say and fair pay," there are many issues that don't make it to the negotiating table.

We're public servants: they expect us to subsidize the state, to live on subsistence salaries. We're trying to say that we're workers and professionals. The two are not mutually exclusive. They want to brainwash us to say because we're professionals we're not workers and we can't be radical. "Act professional." it's a buzzword for "Be subservient," if you ask me. "Worker" is supposed to have a negative connotation, but we have the right to ask for a decent wage.

It's clear the district has the money. They've never had more money in the ten years I've been a teacher. But only 30% of their budget goes to classrooms and teaching—70% is for administration! That's why we're saying, "Chop from the top."

True, we don't contribute to the Gross National Product. We're dealing with human lives. So that doesn't have value in this system.

The students are very supportive of us. None of my students wants to be a teacher. I ask them and they laugh. They know how hard the work is.

We want more teacher-parent-student control, and less administrative control. Administrators are out of touch with the classroom; they're there to manage. But decisions on what curriculum to follow, which books to use, how to spend classroom money: those need to be made by the people directly involved. The district wants to give us a semblance of power, to make us think we have a say-so. But we don't want false promises. We want to get rid of the principal's veto power.

Students should have input into curriculum: what electives they can take, whether they want to discuss gangs or environmental issues or whatever. It's students who can keep the school modern and current.

Last month, thousands of students from the City University of New York (CUNY) and the State University of New York (SUNY) spontaneously demonstrated against a \$200 tuition increase which could have meant an end to college for many students. (See report on this page.)

These activities were preceded by a National Black Students' Action Day on April 21, when thousands of Black students at 25 campuses across the country held marches against racism and for more Black studies programs, Black students' admission, an end to the "dehumanizing gentrification of Black and Latino communities," and for divestment from South Africa.

The wave of student protests which began that day and peaked in New York was continued at the University of California at Berkeley, where 3,000 graduate students struck for living wages and benefits. They cancelled classes and received much support from undergraduate students.

At Rutgers University in New Jersey, hundreds occupied the Dean's office to protest a tuition increase. Fifty were arrested.

**BUSH'S FAKERY ON EDUCATION**

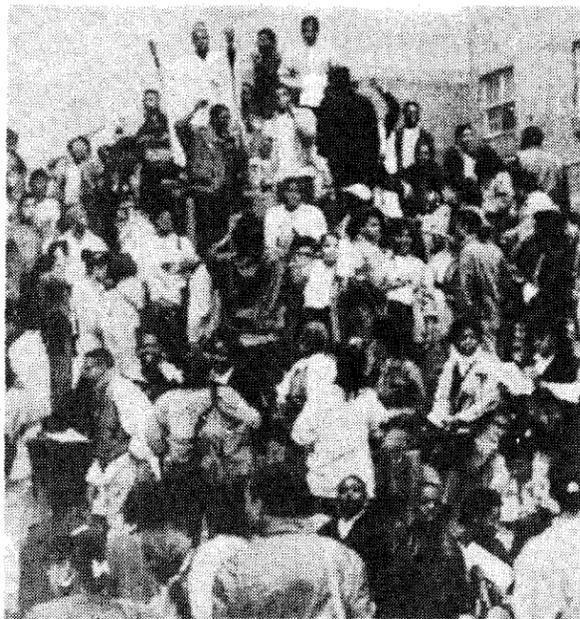
In the face of these continuing protests, nothing is further from the truth than George Bush's claim to be the "education president" who is concerned about students. Not only is his claim merely talk, his actions have shown a complete continuity with the Reagan administration. Since coming into office Bush has encouraged tax breaks for parents who send their children to private schools; he has doubled funds for science and technology research which relates directly to space and military projects. He has tacitly approved the now deferred National Service Act bill, proposed by Democratic senator Sam Nunn, which requires all financial aid and loan applicants to serve in the military or the government for two years before being eligible for financial aid.

The true crisis in education is not Bush's fakery. It is the reality of poverty, segregation and virulent racism in this country's schools and colleges. Today, the exorbitant tuitions at most four-year universities have made it impossible for many youth to consider going to college. Even those who do find their way to college are not assured a "future." They find themselves caught in enormous debts to the government, are forced to pay off their tuition by joining the military, or face a two-tier wage system.

Daily, the racist attacks on Black and minority students on college campuses continue. The enrollment of Black students at universities continues to drop. Black people represent 15% of the American population but only 8% of the college students. That number is dropping steadily, especially among Black men who now represent only 3.5% of college students. (See reports on sit-ins at Wayne State U., Michigan State U. and Ferris State U. on page 8.)

**POVERTY, NEGLECT IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS**

At public elementary and high schools, the majority of students are experiencing poverty, poor health, malnutrition, abuse and neglect. Black public school students receive twice as much corporal punishment and suspension as whites. They are twice as likely to be put in classes for children with learning disabilities. Many



**CUNY students demonstrate against racist tuition hikes.**

Latino students are forced to drop out of school after finishing eighth grade, and are considered "lost." Indeed, in Illinois, one out of ten students drops out of school after eighth grade.

Far from any progress on desegregation in urban school districts, since the mid-1970s there has been more intense segregation. For colleges, segregation has been made easier by the recent Supreme Court decision which ruled that the landmark case, *Brown vs. Board of Education (1954)*, now only applies to federally funded programs. Segregation is legal otherwise.

At the same time, universities have been channelling large parts of their funds into scientific (usually a euphemism for military) research. Washington University in St. Louis, Mo., is shutting down its sociology department. Columbia University in New York is closing down its departments of geography and linguistics. Instead they are emphasizing "advanced scientific research" for which they receive money from many corporations. There is a tremendous pressure on students to enter fields in science and technology which have military connections.

Today, the majority of American youth are suffering through the intellectual and physical poverty of schools. Many find it impossible to go to college. Those who do go to college face cuts in financial aid, virulent racism and a drive to gear education toward militarization; a drive which has been intensified by eight years of Reaganism, and is now being continued by the Bush administration.

The student protests that began last month and spread are sure to continue. They demanded much more than lower tuitions, and questioned this system of education. Now is the time to discuss what kind of education we are for; the kind of education that is about the idea of human freedom.

**N.Y. student sit-ins vs. racist budget cuts**

*"To stay in school, you have to go from job to job to job to earn some money. I'm a student 365 days a year. A bureaucrat has never been here to see what it's like. But he can make a decision that changes your whole life. Everything you've been planning for, building for, for the future, gets blown away in a minute."*

*Governor Cuomo is building more jails in the state, in the city and in your neighborhood. They're even making the artery into a jail. But they don't want to keep us in school. The university reflects a Black, Hispanic and Caribbean identity. If they raise tuition, who can go? They want to deny us knowledge. We are going to be at the level we were 300 or 400 years ago. All these great minds running the system can't resolve crises like these. They can know every square inch of the earth, but they can't figure out how people can live in harmony. What we're about is changes."*

—Black student, Medgar Evers college

**New York, N.Y.**—Campus occupations swept the City University of New York (CUNY) for a week and a half beginning April 24. At first the protests were over a 100-a-year tuition increase. But as the takeovers of administration offices grew from campus to campus, the student strike issues grew as well, all reflecting opposition to the racist and class-oriented nature of the tuition hike stemming from proposed state budget cuts.

It was only hours after a massive march and rally in Lower Manhattan on May 2 that Cuomo vetoed the tuition hike legislation he had a hand in writing. In that heated and militant march, many walking eight miles get there, converged on Cuomo's World Trade Center offices. They danced, chanted and waved banners that had been hand-made in occupied buildings. Then the students marched up to mid-town where Cuomo had re-

located for a press conference to reassert his refusal to meet with the youths who were "occupying property."

The protest wave had begun at City College, where students had seized the administration building. They had glued doors of classrooms shut, effectively stopping classes. Among the demands that emerged during the sit-ins were: No cuts in CUNY services, faculty and staff; a roll-back of the \$770-a-semester tuition increase imposed on international and non-resident students last year; granting of four-year status to Brooklyn's Medgar Evers College; hiring more Third World faculty; more student control over university affairs; expansion of daycare, counseling and healthcare services.

In their strike paper the students saluted the mass demonstrations of the Chinese students, declaring their demands in line with those in China, and as well carried a review of *I Write What I Like*, a book of writings by Steven Biko, founder of the South African Black Consciousness Movement.

A gale of student protests in 1976 couldn't halt the end of free tuition, open admissions and help for disadvantaged students at CUNY. Today the system is 58% minority with more than 60% of CUNY's students being women, many single mothers. "When we came along, they decided to make it harder to get an education," a Black student commented bitterly. A student at Borough of Manhattan Community College said, "I'm graduating in a few weeks, but I'm in the occupation for the principle of it. These cuts are racist cuts." CUNY students come from working families, begin college later than other students, and work to put themselves through school.

Even after the victory, students called off their occupation only after winning amnesty. Their protests were joined by State University students at the Albany and Purchase campuses, also subjected to tuition raises.

**Youth in Revolt**

by Franklin Dmitryev

In the largest civil rights protest ever held at Arizona State University, hundreds of students and faculty held three days of marches and a sit-in in April, winning changes in the campus police department, stiff penalties for racial harassment, and a required ethnic studies class. The protests were sparked by an incident in which white fraternity members attacked four Black students and the campus police arrested and handcuffed two of the Blacks (who were never charged) while a mob of 500 whites chanted racial slurs.

About 200 students, faculty and union members from university campuses in Lima, Peru, held a rally in downtown Lima in April to protest continuing police/army raids on their campuses. Most recently, 500 students were arrested in such raids and campus buildings have been damaged.

Indian students in several cities continued a hunger strike over the Canadian government's new limits on financial aid for Native Canadians in college. In related protests, hundreds have been arrested for occupying Indian Affairs offices in at least five provinces.

Seniors at West High School in Torrance, Cal., found a creative way to protest their school's emphasis on scores on a test used to rank schools. By deliberately making wrong answers on the test and embarrassing the school, they drew attention to the emptiness and bureaucratized priorities of today's education.

**Marxist-Humanist youth groups on campuses**

**Columbia University Marxist-Humanists**  
Earl-Hall, Columbia University  
New York, N.Y. 10051  
**News & Letters Youth Committee**  
Box 84; 21 Washington Place  
New York University  
New York, NY 10003

**Forum for Marxist-Humanist Thought**  
Holmes Student Center  
Northern Illinois University  
DeKalb, IL 60115

**The Marxist-Humanist Forum at Loyola**  
Loyola University of Chicago  
Centennial Forum  
6525 North Sheridan Road  
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## Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

George Bush's dispatch of 2,000 U.S. troops to Panama on May 11, added to the 10,000 already there, has signalled U.S. determination to oust the Panamanian dictator, Gen. Manuel Noriega. U.S. troops will now nearly equal in number those of Panama—15,000.

Coming in the wake of a fraudulent and then "cancelled" election, and the beatings and near murder of several opposition leaders by Noriega's goons in full view of the international press, it would seem to some that the U.S. is backing "democracy" in Panama, just as it says it is. Nothing, however, could be further from the truth. For many other factors predominate, and always have predominated, in U.S. policy toward Panama:

One, if the U.S. is backing "democracy" in Panama by sending troops against its military dictator, why has it not taken any action in nearby Haiti, run by a similar group of drug-running generals?

Two, the U.S. will partially control the Canal Zone until 1999, when, under the current Panama Canal Treaty signed by former President Carter but opposed by the Reaganites, the U.S. has promised to withdraw from the Canal. Will it keep that promise, or is it seeking a way out?

### New Lebanon massacres

Ever since April, a new round of destructive shellings and bombings has wracked the long-suffering population of Lebanon. On May 16, Beirut's leading Sunni Muslim cleric was killed by a massive bomb, while in the weeks preceding, shells had rained down on Christian East Beirut, killing at least 300 people. The people of East Beirut were cut off from the outside world, while hundreds of thousands of West Beirut residents, who could do so, escaped the fighting by fleeing to rural areas.

While Lebanon is not short of its own class, ethnic and religious conflicts, each group—be they Shiite, Sunni, PLO or Christian—is beholden to foreign backing. The latest twist is that Iraq, no longer preoccupied in the war with Iran, has given massive aid, including missiles with a range as far as Damascus, to the Christian militias. These militias, under General Aoun, aspire to take over the whole of Lebanon, and single-handedly drive out Syria.

This is part of Iraq's rivalry with its longtime enemy, Syria, which backs (and actually leads) the Muslim and Druze forces fighting the Christians. Syria's Assad and Iraq's Saddam Hussein are thus playing out their long-burning rivalry over the corpses of the Lebanese.

In the background is the U.S.-Russian rapprochement on the Arab-Israeli question, which has left Russia's rejectionist ally, Assad, sitting in the cold, but eager to spoil any peace initiatives. He also "accidentally" bombed two ships belonging to his Russian allies in April.

### Intifada continues

When the Muslim holiday of Ramadan ended on May 6, thousands of Palestinian Arabs tried to march peacefully to the cemeteries to honor their hundreds of dead in the uprising. Israeli troops attacked from the air with helicopters and from the ground, teargassing thousands, wounding dozens, and killing three. In another massacre in April, five people were killed in an Arab village on the West Bank, something that even the Israeli military now claims was "contrary to regulations."

Arafat's announcement in Paris that the PLO charter's view that Israel had no right to exist was itself "caduc" (null and void), touched off two types of responses. First, Iran's leaders called for the death of Arafat and the assassination of Americans, as well as plane hijackings, something the Palestinians immediately repudiated.

Second, the Israeli government of Yitzhak Shamir hit out on May 15: Since the PLO had spurned its plan for very limited Israeli-supervised "elections," Israel would expel all 60,000 workers from the Gaza strip employed in Israel, effective immediately. Gaza's 700,000 people have also been placed under total 24-hour curfew. At the same time Palestinian youth are being rounded up for the "crime" of continuing their education through underground classes, a system they developed because Israel has kept elementary and high schools, as well as colleges, closed for over 16 months.

### Mauritania-Senegal conflict

The recent ethnic and national conflicts inside Mauritania and Senegal have claimed over 200 lives. First, light-skinned Mauritanian "Moors" killed several Black Senegalese farmers in a dispute over water rights. Then, the Black population of Senegal retaliated by killing over 100 Mauritians, many of them shop owners in the capital, Dakar. Hundreds of thousands of people have fled each country, with nothing but the clothes on their backs.

The roots of this conflict go back into history, a history of Moorish enslavement of Blacks. In fact, this slavery existed legally in Mauritania until very recently. In addition, Moors from Mauritania still to-

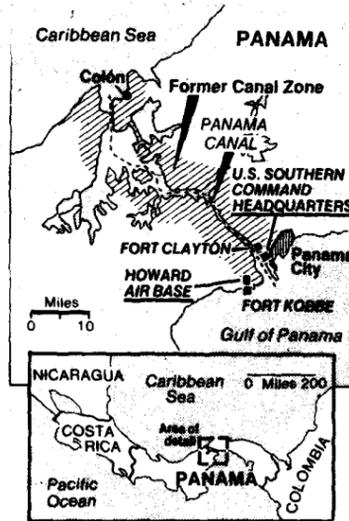
## U.S. protects military interests in Panama

Three, a whole group of U.S. military bases are also located in the Canal Zone, including the U.S. Southern Command Headquarters, out of which much of the contra war against Nicaragua has been run.

Four, the U.S. bases include the notorious Panama Canal Zone School of the Americas, where thousands of Latin American military officers have been "trained" over the years, many of them, including Noriega, turning up later as dictators of their countries. Such training includes techniques of "resistance" to torture,

which just "happens" also to show these officers all of the techniques of torture, including electric shocks, etc.

Five, the U.S. bases include major military "research" facilities on counter-insurgency, i.e. counter-revolution-



ary warfare. All of these are aimed at Third World liberation fighters, especially the Latin American revolutionary movements. An example is the Small Wars Operations Research Directorate (SWORD), one of whose officers told the New York Times that "the Third World War has already started" in Central and South America.

Six, the dominant Panamanian opposition groups at the head of the fight against Gen. Noriega are closely identified both with Washington and with the traditional landowning and business elite, and have only lukewarm support at best among workers and the poor.

Ever since the U.S. under Teddy Roosevelt broke off Panama from Colombia in 1903, in order to build the Canal in such a way that it would be totally U.S.-owned "in perpetuity," Panama has been a semi-colony of the U.S. Many of its leaders have been brutal dictators, like Gen. Noriega, put into power by the U.S. Today U.S. imperialism is looking to replace Noriega with a "cleaner" ruler, one not so openly involved in drug-running and murder. The goal is not democracy, let alone self-determination for Panama, but stability for the Canal and the other U.S. military interests in that land.

This type of imperialistic power politics is what creates the danger of yet another U.S.-instigated military conflict in Central America, where so many thousands have already been killed in the Reagan-Bush era.

day control many of the small shops in Dakar, seemingly symbolizing Moorish economic domination. In fact, both Senegal and Mauritania are ruled by indigenous neo-colonial elites drawn from the majority ethnic groups, who control the state and the military.

Another factor is the drought, especially in Mauritania, which all through the 1980s has driven Moorish herdspeople into Mauritania's cities, where they often can live only due to international food relief. Drought and hunger thus fuel the conflict, as Moors try to head south toward land already occupied by Black Senegalese or Mauritanian farmers. This time the conflict has killed hundreds, and brought the two countries to the brink of war, as their respective leaders fan the flames of racial animosity. If war comes, however, it will be the impoverished Senegalese and Mauritians who will do the fighting and the dying.

### 'Lost' U.S. H-bomb

Recent revelations by U.S. anti-war researchers that the U.S. Navy "lost" an H-bomb off the coast of Okinawa in 1965, without telling anyone of the danger, have outraged public opinion. On May 15, 10,000 people demonstrated against U.S. nuclear weapons in Okinawa. The U.S. of course claims that there is and was no danger, but even the right-wing Japanese government is going through the motions of an independent investigation.

That government, in which corruption is a way of life, has had difficulty coming up with another conservative leader to replace scandal-ridden Prime Minister Takeshita, who would not be equally tainted. As we go to press, the search goes on.

### South Korea crackdown



South Korean police turned out en masse—20,000 in Seoul—to thwart a May day rally by workers pressing for union rights, improved working conditions, and an end to the government of Roh Tae Woo. Police arrested over 2,000 workers and students on the eve of the rally, which Roh had declared "illegal."

The crackdown intensified after six police were killed in a clash with students in Pusan. In nearby Masan, thousands of riot police moved in the next day to halt another anti-government rally by striking workers and students.

So far this year, workers have struck over 425 companies, at least 50 of them owned or operated by U.S. capitalism. To escape labor revolt, a number of U.S. companies have fled South Korea. Pico Electronics and Tandy Corporation closed suddenly in March, cheating the workers of wages and severance pay. (See story, p. 2)

Workers wrested unionization after bitter struggles at IBM and Motorola. It is the first time these multi-nationals have recognized an independent union anywhere in the world. But another U.S. Company, Fairchild Semi-Conductor, announced on May 3 that it would be shutting down its plant.

### West German polarization

Helmut Kohl's increasingly unpopular conservative government has moved in two directions since recent elections put Social Democratic-Green Party coalitions in power in Frankfurt and West Berlin, while at the same time giving neo-Nazi parties an ominous 7% of the vote.

To undercut the moderate Left, Kohl has suddenly come out against "modernizing" 88 NATO short-range Lance nuclear weapons without first negotiating on them with Gorbachev. All of this has shocked Washington, which has acted as if the sky was falling.

But Kohl is responding to deep-seated forces in German society: for example, "only" 80,000 demonstrated for peace in this year's annual Easter marches, but that could easily become 800,000 again if it appears that NATO is escalating the arms race. Other pressures from the Left include those from labor, where over 500,000 turned out for May Day rallies this year, plus 2,000 youthful "Autonomen" fought pitched battles with police in West Berlin on the same day.

Other pressures are from the neo-Nazi right, whose votes are coming from former Christian Democrat ranks. Here Kohl is also giving in, haranguing more and more against "foreigners" and declaring openly that Germany is not a country of immigrants. These tensions boiled over on April 19, Hitler's 100th birthday, when, after threats by neo-Nazi groups, many Turkish parents kept their children out of school that day in Hamburg and West Berlin. At the same time, "Autonomen" and Turkish youth roamed the streets of West Berlin in search of neo-Nazi "skinheads" to beat up.

As German society polarizes between Left and Right, the 1990 elections may prove to be an important test, with many observers expecting an anti-missile Social Democrat-Green coalition to win. This prospect has sent shock waves through NATO.

### Canada cuts benefits

Ontario, Canada—Canada's Employment Minister, Barbara McDougall, announced sweeping changes in the unemployment insurance program last month. The "MuLooney" Conservative government plans to shift the entire \$13 billion cost of the program to worker and their employers.

The basic idea is to make unemployment benefit smaller and harder to get. Too many Canadians are fed up with "McDonald's"-style \$5 or less per hour slave wages, choosing instead to change jobs on a regular basis and exist on unemployment benefits in between. To make it harder to get, they add an additional six weeks to the qualifying period and if you leave your job voluntarily, for just about any reason—look out!

Benefits will be smaller because the government plans to take up to \$1.3 billion in contributions for use in training and retraining programs and shorten the length of time you can collect. The subsidies to employers are generally considered to be a joke, a way for a company to get back a portion of what they have contributed to the plan.

Many companies have used the retraining subsidies to boost ridiculously low wages and then when they run out so does the company—to Mexico or some other haven of even lower wages. Working people in both countries end up being hurt.

The benefit cuts are only the beginning of a widening attack by "MuLooney's" government on all social programs currently in place in Canada. These are the same liars who before and during the election promised not to touch unemployment benefits or any of our social programs.

—Correspondent