Stealing workers' time

by John Marcotte

On my first day at work in uninned freight trucking, I saw a big sticker on the dashboard of the truck that said, "Stealing time are a crime." I didn't know what that meant then. But it turns out that it meant the same thing as "stealing time" in trucking, because you're on the road and the supervisor can't ride with you and breathe down your neck every damn minute. They always suspect you of "stealing their time," no matter how hard you work. And that's all skill taken away from you. They've got bigger trucks, and it's cheaper to lose a departmeit. Some companies put CB radios in the cab so the dispatcher can reach you any time. But you still operate the machine, the machine doesn't operate you, but you still don't want to come to work and still do it only for the paycheck, not because you want to do it. That makes the work even more tedious than it is.

MACHINE TORTURE

In skilled labor, as bad as the job might be, you operate the machine, the machine doesn't operate you, to be the means, to be the control. You still don't want to come to work and still do it only for the paycheck, but time goes faster, there is just a little bit more control and a little bit less satisfaction or pride in some aspect of your activity. This shows us that all class-divided societies are based on the separation of mental and manual labor, on thinking from doing. Capitalism is where this has come to its own and moving it ten blocks away. That's not only people who get water bills get the brochure. Otherers, especially kids who are affected by drinking leaded drinking water, don't get any educational material. The city has just spent $3 million to purge the city's water of lead. Now we're getting ready to deal with the issue of lead in drinking water. We know that the city of Chicago works on political action we have to take to get things done for our community.

On the Inside

—Black Chicago protest stuns City Hall—

The Groote Schuur Minute of May 4, 1990 which was to be made on recommendations to the indemnity and re-lease of political prisoners and which remains unreal-ized to this day, the Pretoria Minute of August 6, 1993 that announced the ANC had suspended the armed struggle; the D.F. Malan Accord of February 12, 1991 in which the ANC agreed not to infiltrate military personnel or material into South Africa, while the government allowed respectively its violence and intimidation against mass demonstrations; the National Peace Ac-cord of September 14, 1993 in which the ANC and Inkatha which have been signed and broken in a way, satisfaction or pride in some aspect of your activity. This shows us that all class-divided societies are built on the separation of mental and manual labor, on thinking from doing. Capitalism is where this has come to its own and moving it ten blocks away. That's not only people who get water bills get the brochure. Otherers, especially kids who are most affected by drinking leaded drinking water, don't get any educational material. The city has just spent $3 million to purge the city's water of lead. Now we're getting ready to deal with the issue of lead in drinking water. We know that the city of Chicago works on political action we have to take to get things done for our community.

We got involved because this and other clinic closings of 21st Century VOTE, one of the organizers of the campaign which was started last August. We are trying to or-ganize a 500-600-member PAC to deal with critical is-sue which was dealt with. Well, this is the kind of po-liteitical action we have to take to get things done for our community.

Now we're getting ready to deal with the issue of lead in drinking water. The city has just spent $3 million on brochures to educate people about the problem, but only people who get water bills get the brochure. Otherers, especially kids who are most affected by drinking leaded drinking water, don't get any educational mate-rial about it in the community.

21st Century VOTE is a grass-roots political organiza-tion which was started last August. We are trying to or-ganize a 500-600-member PAC to deal with critical is-sue facing the Black community, especially by reaching our youth. Most people only have an image of Black youth as gangbangers, drug dealers or involved in crime. We're trying to change that image of our youth. We're also trying to show Black youth that there are alterna-tives to the streets. Youth should be taking responsibili-ty for changing the conditions in their community.

Englewood, where we're located, has been labeled the (continued on page 8)
Rethinking feminist theory

by Laurie Cashdan

While working on a book on "Spontaneous, Consciousness, Organization" for a "workshopclass" held by News and Letters Committees in Chicago, the question of the "women's revolt" crisis came to mind with several recent writings by feminist theorists emerging in the context of this work. I would like to share a few impressions of recent writing and ask questions of News and Letters think about this rethinking.

The questions I have are: the discussion at some recent feminist conferences which may offer a context for these writings. One is whether post- structuralism and post-structural feminisms on universals has so emptied politics of any kind of vision of freedom that it has become hard to think in any alternative. Another is whether a one-sided emphasis on "particularism" (or multicultural feminism) has put the ground of a struggle on the def of politics.

MARCISM AND HUMANISM

Michelle Barrett's article, "Words and Things: Materialism and Theorizing Feminism," in an essay she co-edited, Distalizing Theology: Contemporary Debates, is indicative of this rethinking. Most of it recapitulates developments in post-structuralist feminist theory—developments to which Barrett is sympathetic. Yet in its last paragraph the essay turns to the problem of feminist movements articulating what they are for. Both "classical 'scientific'" Marxism and anti-humanist post-structuralism are described as "having the problem of "stripping" values from politics." It "may well be," she concludes, "that to develop a better account of feminist politics, we need to expand upon what we can do to reconstruct the relation of women to the economy, to re-open in new and imaginative ways the issue of human freedom that it has become hard to think in any alternative.

Margaret Randall's new book, Gathering Rage, takes up the struggle of Central American women in Cuba and Nicaragua and tries to face the failure of the revolutions in both countries to work out new bases to support women's liberation. She asks why AMNSEA (the Sandinista women's organization) became an organizing tool to wed women to the revolution rather than an organization of and for women. She argues that "the 'Leninist conception of the women's movement' was more adequately accepted by the generations of revolutionaries, was one of the major forces impeding a feminist vision of revolution" (96).

She goes, interestingly enough, to Raya Dunayevskaya, in Lettuce Know Her Name, to find a way forward that could avoid the poll to economic determinism. She describes the "socialist movements that practice is that a form of theory and from theory reaching to philosophy" (98). Revolutionary process must respect the subjective experiences that are used—their creativity becomes the basis for revolutionary reorganization.

Jennifer Ring, a politics professor at the University of South Carolina, in her book, Modern Political Theory and its Agenda, offers a context for these writings. One is whether post-structuralism and post-structural feminists have not abandoned the "idea" of freedom that her final pages echo the most relativist of the "feminist" organizations and to Dunayevskaya's "absolute negativity as a new beginning?"

Ring's "minimalist dialectics" needs far more discussion than I can offer here, especially the limitations of the "minimalist dialectical" theory. It is possible that we could identify to say "substance" which could preclude ideas of freedom that her final pages echo the most relativist of the "feminist" organizations and to Dunayevskaya's "absolute negativity as a new beginning?"

More discussion needed

"Hard struggle" between objectivity and subjectivity is the "essence of dialectical method" (124), and that is the problem of whether it passes the point of oppression and appeared but is more crucial a continual self-critique in relationship to one's knowledge about the world and oneself.

What I find fascinating about this is that we are reaching to philosophy" (98). Revolutionary process must respect the subjective experiences that are used—their creativity becomes the basis for revolutionary reorganization.

The way children usually come to work with their parents: a mother and her child at work on a day when child-care fell through.

New York, N.Y.—Growing up in the 1930s and 1940s in an immigrant Italian family I never for one instant thought that women did not work. My mother, my aunt's, cousins, worked in factories, the garment industry, in hotels, industrial laundries, cleaning offices. You could exist no other way. The only people who I thought did not work were the rich. When my mother thought did not work were the rich. When my mother, my aunt's, cousins, worked in factories, the garment industry, in hotels, industrial laundries, cleaning offices. You could exist no other way. The only people who I thought did not work were the rich. When my mother

The Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights (RCAR) is fighting "male-dominated" anti-pro-choice fanatics. Five Nebraskan churches were plastered with posters of bloody fetuses; threatening hate mail for many others and a letter to the supporting a woman's right to choose and that which the protesters added "even if you're mutilated." O'Shanne charged that the real offenders were advertisers who used such disparaging images of women.

The "new" Russia does not bode well for women. Statistics show that 70% of today's unemployed are women while in 1980 women made up more than half of the work force. Said Minister of Labor Gemdey Melkov, "Why should we employ women when men are unem­ployed?" Perhaps the approach is to end the game of the right to abor­tion, as well as prevent women with children under 14 from working more than 35 hours a week.

What the speakers, Meghan Kennedy and Robbie Elgol, emphasized in the presentation on Balkan Women, which has involved the systematic rape and murder of tens of thousands of Bosnian women, is not a civil war, it is not as if the people who live there have always hated each other. There has been such a high rate of intermarriage there and there are many mixed families with Serb mothers, Bosnian fathers, Croatian grandmothers. The project employed by that the self-determination of the Serbs, which has involved the systematic rape and murder of tens of thousands of Bosnian women, is not a civil war, it is not as if the people who live there have always hated each other. There has been such a high rate of intermarriage there and there are many mixed families with Serb mothers, Bosnian fathers, Croatian grandmothers. The project employed by that the self-determination of the Serbs, which has involved the systematic rape and murder of tens of thousands of Bosnian women, is not a civil war, it is not as if the people who live there have always hated each other. There has been such a high rate of intermarriage there and there are many mixed families with Serb mothers, Bosnian fathers, Croatian grandmothers. The project employed by that the self-determination of the Serbs, which has involved the systematic rape and murder of tens of thousands of Bosnian women, is not a civil war, it is not as if the people who live there have always hated each other. There has been such a high rate of intermarriage there and there are many mixed families with Serb mothers, Bosnian fathers, Croatian grandmothers. The project employed by that the self-determination of the Serbs, which has involved the systematic rape and murder of tens of thousands of Bosnian women, is not a civil war, it is not as if the people who live there have always hated each other. There has been such a high rate of intermarriage there and there are many mixed families with Serb mothers, Bosnian fathers, Croatian grandmothers. The project employed by that the self-determination of the Serbs, which has involved the systematic rape and murder of tens of thousands of Bosnian women, is not a civil war, it is not as if the people who live there have always hated each other. There has been such a high rate of intermarriage there and there are many mixed families with Serb mothers, Bosnian fathers, Croatian grandmothers. The project employed by that the self-determination of the Serbs, which has involved the systematic rape and murder of tens of thousands of Bosnian women, is not a civil war, it is not as if the people who live there have always hated each other. There has been such a high rate of intermarriage there and there are many mixed families with Serb mothers, Bosnian fathers, Croatian grandmothers. The project employed by that the self-determination of the Serbs, which has involved the systematic rape and murder of tens of thousands of Bosnian women, is not a civil war, it is not as if the people who live there have always hated each other. There has been such a high rate of intermarriage there and there are many mixed families with Serb mothers, Bosnian fathers, Croatian grandmothers. The project employed by that the self-determination of the Serbs, which has involved the systematic rape and murder of tens of thousands of Bosnian women, is not a civil war, it is not as if the people who live there have always hated each other. There has been such a high rate of intermarriage there and there are many mixed families with Serb mothers, Bosnian fathers, Croatian grandmothers. The project employed by that the self-determination of the Serbs, which has involved the systematic rape and murder of tens of thousands of Bosnian women, is not a civil war, it is not as if the people who live there have always hated each other. There has been such a high rate of intermarriage there and there are many mixed families with Serb mothers, Bosnian fathers, Croatian grandmothers. The project employed by that the self-determination of......
Delta Pride Catfish worker on contract  

Indiana, Miss.—Delta Pride Catfish postponed the implementation of the new management system putting a hold on a contract that was to be signed in the plant to May 13. So a hundred or more of us have been laid off until June 7. And we really don't know if they will be able to get us back in the plant.

The lines that are out are the kill and sorting line and the saw line. The kill line is where all that is still alive in the plant are working real scarce hours, maybe only five hours a day.

Instead they come in the process of working out our contract proposal. We intend to start negotiations in August or September, because our contract is up in October.

Next week we'll be hand-delivering our demands to get their input from all the plants on what they want to see in the contract. And we intend to hold a general membership meeting the second week in June at which we will have people fill out questionnaires on what they want to see in the contract.

Some of the things I want to see in the contract are:

• We should make sure that the company pays us our weekly wages to the last cent after we have worked a full shift the company owes us.

Asian women testify  

Oakland, Calif.—Immigrant seamstresses and others at the Japanese Portland textile mill, which closed unexpectedly last year, owing back wages to workers.

Fu Lee: I worked as a seamstress at Lucky Sewing Co. for two years. All of us worked long hours, ten to 12 hours a day and six to seven a week. We were paid $1.50 per hour, or $62.50 per week. We were working in the skinning department. Those that are still in the plant are working even less.

I leave my eyes hurt from straining under poor lighting. My throat hurt because of the chemical fumes from the fabric dying. Sometimes I would wear surgical masks so I wouldn't get sick, because we had no health insurance. My family to live on. We always worried about our daughter going to college. We just want a decent living.

I wish I could get out of the sweatshop, but I cannot. I wish I could get out of the sweatshop, but I cannot.

(Congruated from page 1)

Workshop Talks  

Prague, Czech Republic.—The Slovak Republic is struggling with economic difficulties more serious than those of previous years. In his final address to the parliament and the national election of May 10, Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, who had been immunized—in a UFW clinic.

Two thousand United Mine Workers members struck mines in Illinois and Indiana on May 19. The strike had been called for the following week. The issue is job security, meaning the possibility that the coal company will not suddenly shut down a mine or close a region, as is common with many mines.

Cesar Chavez never became a typical labor bureaucrat. He came from the ranks of the migrant farm workers and its organizers. He was not interested in the money that he could make, nor in the recognition that he received from the labor movement, nor in the prestige that he gained from his work. He was interested in the struggle for justice and equality. The movement that Chavez led was a high point of the '60s and '70s.

Berkeley, Calif.—Starting on April 22, the teachers of 60% to 80% of the secondary schools in Warsaw went out on strike protesting the cuts in education in Poland's budget. Health care workers in the Mazowsze region started with a two-hour strike on April 27, demanding more money for health care. When the only response they received from the government was an assurance of future negotiations the union declared the Mazowsze region voted to support the strike. All major factories (except Ursus) did work stoppage for several hours. There were also other forms of protest, such as banners draped over entrance gates. The next day the bus drivers struck, bringing their own demands regarding restructuring and layoffs.

Easy European workers face restructuring  

Delta Pride Catfish worker on contract  

Los Angeles, Calif.—We mourn the passing of Cesar Chavez, the National Farm Workers Association, and Farm Workers (UFW) union leaves a void in the struggle for decent working conditions for migrant farm workers. His life was a testament to the struggle for survival and justice.

Cesar Chavez' parents lost their home during the Depression. He had to drop out of school and go to work to support his family. He was expelled from school when he got into a fight with a police officer and a teacher. At age 13, his father was involved in a strike, and even though that strike was lost, those ideas stayed with him.

Cesar Chavez began to organize farm workers in the labor community in the early 1960s. This organizing effort burst on the scene in 1965 when workers in California staged an 80% strike to get better wages and better working conditions, water, toilets in the field, better housing and medical clinics for migrant laborers and their families.

It seems to me that the UFW, led by Chavez, helped spark the modern labor movement. Maxine Lennon, chairwoman of the farm workers organization, said she will not "give" more money for education, health and restructuring, because she doesn't "have" it and the unions can't afford it.

In 1980, 45% of all factories were stuck in the Wulbrycz region. The workers took over the regional government building, demanding a voice in the restructuring process. The union declared the Mazowsze region voted to support the strike. All major factories (except Ursus) did work stoppage for several hours. There were also other forms of protest, such as banners draped over entrance gates. The next day the bus drivers struck, bringing their own demands regarding restructuring and layoffs.

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman, MWS
It is not so much a question of one "replacing" the other. It is a fact that both the second layer and the first can no longer be "interpreters" of third’s desires. First of all the third is itself moving in thought and that does not mean to accept the theoretician’s interpretations. Secondly, and this is the reason why we find it so hard to grow up to leadership responsibility, the theoretician must be creative as the masses themselves. When that framework, leadership responsibility is so constantly expanding a feature, so totally new, so demanding that if one would try to circumscribe it to a formula, the mass leadership is from the first or the last to the third and outside, one would truly be left by the forward thrust of history into its dustbin.

LET’S CONSIDER this from the point of view of Hegel’s Philosophy of Mind. I am sure that Marx thought, but so strong was the historic sense and Actuality that, although he was always aware of it, Practice stood higher than abstract cognition. Now if you take his ideas is where Hegel concretizes form in his psychology ofMind you find both the self having "a mind of his own" and the philosopher’s mind reaching Absolute Knowledge through the organization of thought. In its more organized form in Hegel’s Science of Logic, the dialectic of the Absolute Idea moves its relation to other. There are parts of the Encyclopaedia of Philosophical Sciences, which contains the Science of Logic, abbreviated. But this Smaller Logic has something new the Science of Logic did not have—those three attitudes to objectivity and the third attitude, if you wish, is "reversion" rather than dislocation.

Hegel is saying every time you have overcome empiricism and thinking you are moving to the Absolute, there is someone there who gets impatient and wants to get to it like a bolt out of the blue and he is the real "reactionary" (Hegel’s own word to describe Jacobi). Therefore, let us not stop with Absolute Idea but go to Absolute Idea, which is the dialectical self-movement through all history, and science, freedom is of the essence and this freedom is nothing abstract but human beings being free. So the man who has dehumanized the idea and made the development of consciousness, self-consciousness, reason and the absolute, comes back to the simple individual, who must be free, so free that there is no difference between the individual and the idea, and the idea to one extent and the individual to another extent and he is the Absolute Idea, and he is the real "reactionary" which we look at in any egoism—it is something we expect, anticipate, work for...

The beyond was the next new beginnings established by the 1950s revolts and the breakthrough in theory. You are absolutely right—creating a basis for those greater than us to join us isn’t; more and more as a question of how we are not learning by experience, because we so lack in any egoism—it is something we expect, anticipate, work for...

6. Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi (1743-1819), a German Idealist philosopher of influence criticized by Hegel.

On the historic-philosophic originality of Marxist-Humanism

On the 40th anniversary of the June 17, 1953 East German Revolt, explore "The Beginning of the End of Russian Totalitarianism" in Marxism and Freedom from 1776 until Today by Raya Dunayevskaya

East Germany, 1953


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"The myth that the Russian totalitarian state is invincible was suddenly and strikingly shattered on June 17, 1953. The East German satellite took matters into their own hands on the questions of speed-up. They moved operation, consistently and in an unprecedented manner to undermine the puppet state... Columns of strikers charged the main government buildings and "the truth is: 1) I kept repeating that the great..."}

I and their political consciousness—reflections of them. Now if you look at C.L.R. James, then a co-leader of Correspondence Committees, worked out a serious Lead article for the group’s paper. 7. When Stalin died, Dunayevskaya, then a co-leader of Correspondence Committees, worked out a serious Lead article for the group’s paper.

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We need no parties

We perceive the growth of revolutionary consciousness as transcending non-Marxist organisations or terminology. We do not see any difference between worker and intellectual if we don't recognise the categories. Despite the many attempts and opportunities to change the ideology of these groups, often calling themselves Marxists, many of them have failed utterly. The potential of Marxism to transform or modify the 20th century state or world-changing philosophy, or it is totally misunderstood.

Dunayevskaya in response to your question lies in the Philosophy of Mind, the latter case. The origin of ersatz Marxism occurred

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SPONTANEITY, ORGANIZATION AND PHILOSOPHY

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FOSSIA: QUESTIONS FOR THE NEWS & LETTERS

The Editorial in the May issue was right about U.S. and Saudi policies toward the \textit{freedom movement} in Bosnia. And it was right about the Women's Liberation Movement's insistence on defending the war victims of the \textit{freedom movement} in Bosnia. On reading your Editorial on world order, that's why I was disturbed by the notion that the people never changed. And what does it say about what could happen right here—say, in face of an uprooting of a society. But I still didn't understand what you were calling for at this moment in Bosnia?

New York

Boasman

Europe is basically a racist continent. They have been "ethnically cleansing" since the fall of the Roman Empire. Jews, Gypsies, and now Muslims.

New York City

Boasman

What I appreciated most in the Editorial on Bosnia was the last paragraph which said that the world had changed. But the World War II didn't defeat fascism but that that isn't why that imperialist war was waged. And I completely agree that the only alternative to the barbarism we know within this continent is the people. But I still didn't understand what you were calling for at this moment in Bosnia?

World War II generation

New York

I know that News and Letters Committee and Policy are trying to connect with the Marxism of Marx. If one connects with the Marxism of Marx, one ends up with revolutionary workers. Their movements are the most revolutionary, in the U.S. as much as in China.

Student of China

I was a Yugoslavian all my life and want these nations to co-exist in a federalism, but not under the hegemony of one over others. Bosnia had no choice but to declare independence. I am a Croat, but we are all Bosnians, just as the Danes said to Hitler, "we are all Jews."

New York

Chrestian

I was very glad to see the article on the Delta Algebras Project. Bob Moses was my high school math teacher when he went South with SNCC, and years later I went to law school at U. of Michigan with Dave Dennis. I felt that what they are doing must be very important politically, even if it seems like just "math"—those two people didn't become involved otherwise. Dave Dennis had a thriving law practice in New Orleans, and he decided to move back to Mississippi for this. I hope you have more Mississippi stories in N&L.

LAWYER

Dietrich

The part I like best about the cat-fish workers' story was the way they left their jobs and went to work in another plant and successfully organized it, when the men from the international union couldn't. Those are tough sisters! If you are from Mississippi, you are often described in the North. But the fact is that some of the best achievement, creativity and courage ever seen in this country comes from that state.

Mississippi

Chicago

"YOU CAN'T KILL AN IDEA"

I think N&L may be the only periodical I read in its entirety, and my contact with it has provided an impetus to grow through thought—even while the rest of the past year has been mired in reformist and retrograde actions.

Professor

Claremont, Cal.

Although I might not agree with or even understand everything in every paper, it is a valuable publication because of its truthfulness and loyalty to the general practice of Marxism. I'm fascinated by Marxism but am still very ignorant of it, not having read any of the books you offer. But I think that your support of the working class is so much needed, and your perspective, from the poor and working class around the world, is unique and much appreciated. I am an American decent and know how facts/true reality can be distorted by the press. This release makes me realize how ludicrous terms like "liberal" and "conservative" are. Just writing this I realize how valuable your publication is! Keep on printing! Being both poor and working class, we spend much of our time trying to keep our heads above water, without much extra of anything to dedicate to your (our) cause. But here is my renewal and an extra $10 to help you keep going.

Black welfare mother

Detroit

"THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT"

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WE NEED YOUR HELP TO CONTINUE.

HAY YOU SEND YOUR RESPONSE TO OUR APPEAL?

* * *
How is Black education related to freedom

Black/Red View
by John Alan
This June the National Education Commissioner, Mary Fitzgerald, will take control of the Malcolm X Shabazz High School and the rest of the Newark, NJ. school system. Last spring the Newark Education Board consented to the Latino community's demand that the curriculum of two middle schools be focused on Latino culture and history. Several years ago, American parents compelled Detroit's Board of Education to open three experimental African-centered schools.

What connects these three school districts together is the perceived need that these school systems, the inner cities are failing to educate Black and Latino students. The New Jersey officials have chosen to see this as a management problem, while Black and Latino parents see it as a cultural identity problem. Implicitly, what the New Jersey officials want says it is the crisis in their children's education is related to their own alienated condition as non-whites in the American society.

LEVELS OF THE PROBLEM
Mary G. Bennett, the principal of the Malcolm X Shabazz High School, met with the parents of Shabazz High School, caught the relationship between the remains of the apartheid regime of F.W. de Klerk. It has bargained sometime in March or April of 1994. It has bargained to become the ANC's call for a "constituent assembly," a political gesture that has done more to deny exists what has also met with dismal failure is the South African education. The ANC's call for a "constituent assembly," a political gesture that has done more to deny exists. The ANC's call for a "constituent assembly," a political gesture that has done more to deny exists.

AFROCENTRIC ALTERNATIVE
The question is: can Afrocentric schools, with their emphasis on cultural identity as the motivation to encourage Black youth to concentrate on mathematics and science, offer a valid alternative to the crisis in Black education? Put another way, can these schools, as many other schools, as many parents claim, provide the pathway out of poverty and economically regenerate the declining number of new generations of Black youth on to mathematics and science? First of all, the advocates of Afrocentric education fail to catch the central contradiction in their concept of Black public education, when the object of Afrocentric education becomes science, and not the subjectivity of African "cultural identity," becomes the force of transformation.

There is nothing wrong in encouraging Black youth to study math and science, but to project it as the magic answer, as that which will resolve all problems that Black Americans in a capitalist high-tech society creates an illusion. It fails to understand that the growth of technology reduces the amount of human labor power needed and, at the same time, it creates the demand for permanent unemployment and a constant hunger for capital. Marx called this the general law of capitalist accumulation.

The general law of capitalist accumulation is the true source of African-American poverty and social dislocation in this country, including education. At this moment, we have arrived at a crossroad of African education. It is no longer an issue of integration, but that won't do a lot.

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The dramatic arrest of 50 people in front of the White House on May 18 occurred in response to the WTC incinerator in East Liverpool, Ohio, whatever any illusions that President Clinton's promise of "the most ambitious environmental program in history" meant for anything. It came at the end of a nationwide bus pro­ test-tour and a March all-in-the inside the White House.

Under the federal Environmental Protection Agency illegally issued a permit for the facili­ ty, which will literally burn its way through civilization, and other poisons, and sit in a flood plain just a few hundred yards from numerous homes and a school. After being elected Vice President, Al Gore got around to blocking its entry, but one in office the Clinton-Gore administration has turned a blind eye to. Ferri Sweeney, one of the protest organizers, asked, "Where is the change? There is no difference between Bush and Clinton, just a longer waiting period."

Why is it so impossible for the administra­tion to see that the protest movement is not just as simple as suspending an illegal permit? Part of the answer lies in the rulers' fear before the weakness of the movement?

CAPITALIST PRODUCTION SAPS ECOLOGY

While Clinton-Gore argued during the campaign that a healthy environment is an indispensable basis for a sound economy, their actions in office reflect the Reagan-Bush doctrine that environmental protection is an abstraction, a cost, which must be reduced to the mini­ mum. The drive of capitalist society is towards ever ex­ panding production, to drive down the cost of labor by the barrier to that. Even with "Ozone Man" in office, for every ten million tons of toxic waste that is protected, a hun­ dred more go by the wayside.

The number of environmental problems that just keep growing. The worst of this is the question of the waste. Protests against incinerators are growing not out of the earth. We have yet to counteract that. The protests have now achieved an 18-month freeze on new hazardous-waste incinerators, though not on munitions incinerators, which burn hundreds of tons of waste a day, and the Gates article indicates that a still a prime part of the master plan for dealing with waste.

Ever since the story of Love Canal broke in the 1970s, all of us have been bombarded with the impression that western society is effectively handling its problems with scientific knowledge. But it is clear that the waste really isn't as dangerous, and at the same time tried to use that knowledge to understand the facts. The Gates argument, combined with covering up some sites with dirt.

TOXIC WASTE AND TOXIC RACISM

The Gates article itself is not characterized accurately by the writer of the N&L article what is needed to understand the problems under control. Meanwhile, there are thousands of toxic waste sites across the land, many of them abandoned, which continue to spew poisons. Environmental groups and the Gates article itself are the only obstacles that stand in the way.

The author of the N&L article claims that "Theorists and practitioners in the multicultural movement mean to me. Raymond Barglow object that it is important for us to"

JUNE, 1993

I like much of what I read in N&L, and appreciate the clear commitment to building a better and just society of the future. But the attempt to veer left too far, to become like other left-wing groups, and to believe that we share not only fundamental values but also that the struggles are the same for both races, is self-defeating. It is a serious error, of course, to ignore the many differences between the two races. The facts of history and the experiences of the two races are too different to make the assimilation into a single race meaningful. Of course, there are also differences, but I don't want to understand perspectives other than our own. I don't want to see America from their point of view.

The article I have in mind is "Black/Red View: Logic of Multiculturalism," which appeared in the January-February 1993 issue. The author is quick to point out that there are often good reasons to understand the facts, and that some of his points are well taken. The meanings of multiculturalism are subjective, which is why it is always be understood as being important, however, understanding the reality of differences. These utopian prospects of multiculturalism are directly and clearly related to the conditions above, which, it seems to me, oversimplifies and misrepresents them.

The author refers to recent articles by Gates, Marable, and Asante in The Black Scholar and adds that these "must be the fault of multiculturalism" or for description of the logic of multiculturalism." The problem with this is, first of all, that it is false. Marable does not mean to understand perspectives other than our own. I don't want to see America from their point of view. By comparing the views of black and white people, I am finding the value of diverse cultural traditions, capable of enriching us all—an ideal that is quite in keeping with multiculturalism means to me. Raymond Barglow (Berkeley, Cal.

Editorial

Clinton, environmentalist - not!

Paraguay, the last South American country to at­ tend a Multilateral Environmental Convention, has experienced its first presidential elections May 9 under an ominous cloud of state intervention. Despite repeated messages from President Batista Rodriguez that the elections would be clean and fair, the ruling Colorado Party, in power since 1954, took steps to ensure its victory through fraud and violence. The elections were observed as "performed" by Juan Carlos Wasmosy, a "Colorado" who was not even a paraguayan. Rohner, the effective annual labor-time will, at the end, be determined by companies with­ out taking into account seniority. The companies will determine workers who will take vacations, which will reduce productivity and reduce its cost, the transactional "Argentinian"- capitalism, and the guarding "Argentinian"- capitalism, Menem's "Argentinian"- capitalism, and the guarding "Argentinian"- capitalism, and the guarding "Argentinian"- capitalism, and the guarding "Argentina's anti-labor laws"
Bosnia crisis exposes Achilles heel of western "civilization"

(continued from page 1)

Robert Service, in an essay in the May 13, 1993, issue of the New York Review of Books, argues that the European Union has taken the ground of Serbian aggression, as seen with its response to the Serbian siege of Sarajevo. Instead of breaking the siege, the West has provided more scarce military supplies to the Bosnian Serbs, even as it was publicly expressing its concern. The logic of such a strategy, Service states, is to stoke up narrow nationalism from the top as a way to prevent the kind of international cooperation that might be needed to prevent a serious conflict. The West has also failed to provide economic aid to Bosnia, even though it has done so in other conflict situations.

Those who call for more UN intervention in Bosnia would be well advised to pay closer attention to how the West has handled the Bosnian situation. The West has repeatedly tried to soften the impact of UN sanctions, and has turned a blind eye to Serbian violations of those sanctions. The West has also failed to provide a clear vision of what a political solution to the crisis might look like.

Service argues that the West has failed to provide a clear vision of what a political solution to the crisis might look like. He suggests that the West should be more proactive in promoting a political solution, rather than simply reacting to events.

In conclusion, Service states that the West has failed to provide a clear vision of what a political solution to the crisis might look like. He suggests that the West should be more proactive in promoting a political solution, rather than simply reacting to events. The crisis in Bosnia is a teachable moment for the West, and it should learn from its mistakes in the past.
Youth

by Gerard Emmett

As long as I can remember, I was always dissatisfied with the society I lived in. I was always searching for a better way of life, and I felt a need to change the world around me. I began by reforming small things in my own life, and then I began to see that those changes could have a larger impact.

I believe, although I don't want to be seen as a hero, that every little change we make has the potential to make a big difference. If we all work together, we can create a better world for ourselves and for future generations.

Youth in Revolt

by Tom Parsons

San Francisco, Calif.—On April 25, over 1.1 million gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgendered, and questioning people stormed Washington D.C., marching to the capital demanding equal rights and liberation. I had been ready earlier than my first opportunity to go to a march on Washington. I even spent the last five months planning with the Bay Area Youth Contingent. What really stands out for me is that I think about the march now is how everywhere I went, as far as 1 1/2 hours from my home, there was a sense of solidarity, and it felt totally safe.

However, there were many limitations in the official focus of the march which disheartened me immensely. I could tell the mood of the march was narrowing a few months before the march, and I think that my generation was forming to fight the ban on gays in the military, and I wanted to be part of the movement. I bought 10 shirts and buttons, and I had our own already. I also had my own neighborhood, where for the first time I saw people dancing to disco music, and the banks started to install air conditioners downstairs. As far as I could see, only members of human freedom and the continuing struggle.

I felt totally safe.

Gay/les/bi youth won’t stand for reformism

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German steel strikes test labor movement

Germany in 60 years. Since 1983, eastern German workers have lived under two different forms of totalitarianism, Naziism and then Communist, each of which forbade strikes or even unions independent of state control. The 1983 strikes are also the first major labor battle in the east since German unification.

Much more is at stake here than a simple wage increase. Bernd Thiele, a strike leader in a plant outside Berlin, spoke of three broken promises made to the working people since 1989, with the East German masses toppled Communism. First, he noted, conservative German Chancellor Helmut Kohl promised that “no one needs to fear economic unemployment immediately unified. Second, Kohl and German capitalism, the “plundering” of wages and “capital flight” of eastern German industry would create new jobs.

In Thailand, the deadly fire in world history, and is being compared to the tragedy which was built five years ago with few exits and no alarm. Over 220 workers were injured, and many face a grim and uncertain recovery in hospitals.

Women's liberation, and Marx's "inaction" and failure to take "more initiative" can be found in the book "The Philosophy of Humanism (1989), and have donated new human relations, what Ham first called a new Humanism and in her re-