

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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25¢

Labor history for today



by John Marcotte

It is ten years since the passing of Charles Denby, the Black production worker who was both a columnist—his "Worker's Journal" always appeared on page one—and the editor for News & Letters from its founding in 1955 until his death in 1983. Denby was born and raised in Lowndes County, Ala. and moved north in the 1940s to find work in the Detroit auto plants. His experiences with the United Auto Workers union and various Left tendencies, as well as his perceptions of the movements of the 1950s, '60s and '70s are detailed in his autobiography, *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*.

LOOKING BACK AT THE 1960S

It was surprising to me how a look back at what Denby developed in his autobiography and in a 1969 essay* on the Black caucuses which rose up in the unions in the 1960s casts a very new light on the labor struggles of today. Denby wrote:

"The greatest difference between the new caucuses emerging today [1969] and those that appeared before was that most of us who were in Black opposition groups up to now thought that the most important thing to do was to throw out the leadership, or change the union structure, or something of that nature. The young people today aren't thinking that way. They are thinking in terms of complete change—of revolution."

The wildcat strikes against speedup, working conditions, racism and harassment by foremen were constant. They were against both the company and the union bureaucracy. The workers walked out and stopped production when Martin Luther King was killed and again when Robert F. Kennedy was shot. They were led by Black workers, but with many white workers joining in.

In auto, steel, all heavy industry, the revolt was constant and could not be satisfied with the upgrading of some Black workers or the hiring of Black foremen. Reading Charles Denby, I realized the 1950s, '60s and

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Deep contradictions wracking Russia

Moscow, Russia—To see what is happening in Russia since Communism collapsed and the world fell apart, it's important to look at who is supporting whom. From the media reports it is hard to get the real picture because there are several levels of contradiction in Russian society today.

The first is between the executive power, in the person of Yeltsin, and the legislative branch, which was personified by Khasbulatov and Rutskoi. Ideologically Yeltsin is strictly "market-oriented" and held the U.S. as his model. But the realities of Russia won't allow that, so now he is looking to the history of South Korea's development for his ideal. Deputy Prime Minister Gaidar is set on the same goal to impose the market from above.

Lined up against the market-oriented forces are what have been called the "Red-Brown" forces. These are the pro-Communists and fascists who initiated the bloody uprising against Yeltsin on Sunday, Oct. 3. In Moscow, at Red Square where they hold their meetings and rallies, it was shocking to me to find the old Communist paper, *Pravda*, sold at the same place as copies of *Mein Kampf* and fascist newspapers which display the swastika in the masthead.

They claim it is an old Russian symbol. This, in a land where 20 million Russians died in World War II! In the paper, *Russian Order*, you read that "we must not only fight for the Russian state, we must fight for pure Russian blood in the Russian state." They are to the far right of even Pamyat, for pure nationalism. These are the kind of people who support Khasbulatov's power.

The Russian Orthodox Church also supports parliament. Now that KGB documents are being published we have found that many of the priests in its hierarchy are former KGB agents. It is natural for them to want to return to their former role. The former paramilitary forces also support parliament—mainly Cossacks and Afghanistan War veterans and the special police forces from Latvia.

CENTER VS. LOCAL REGIONS

These are all one contradiction. A more important one, now that parliament as a political power is dead, is the

Somalia, Haiti test U.S.'s 'new world order'



Aristide supporters call for his return to Haiti at protest in Braintree, Mass.

by Lou Turner

Following a week of media frenzy (Oct. 4-9) instigated by film footage showing dead GIs being dragged through the streets of south Mogadishu by young followers of hunted clan leader Gen. Mohamed Aidid, the U.S. globocop found itself faced off by its own thuggish puppet in Port-au-Prince. The USS *Harlan County*, sent to dispatch U.S. military attaches Oct. 16 as part of the Governors Island Accords that were to pave the way for the return of ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide on Oct. 31, was recalled when the attaches of Haiti's ruling military elite rallied dock-side against the landing.

Both the Somalia debacle and the political burlesque staged by the desperate remnants of Duvalierism in Haiti was all the provocation Clinton needed. In typical jin-giist fashion, the Western media made the loss of 18 U.S. troops in Mogadishu the moral equivalent of war (Clinton immediately increased troop levels in Mogadishu from 4,700 to 6,400, with 3,600 marines stationed off-shore), while barely mentioning the killing of 300 and wounding of 700 Somalis, many of them women and



Demonstrator at rally against visit by Boutros-Ghali in Mogadishu.

children, in the botched Oct. 3 assault by the Army's elite Rangers on a council meeting of Aidid's Habergidir clan.

U.S. "humanitarianism" out of the barrel of a gun in Somalia and gunboat "democracy" in Haiti are the political oxymoron that describe the order-mongering impulses of U.S. imperialism today. U.S. foreign policy seems so apparently chaotic in the context of the collapse of the political structures of the post-Cold War world because the rulers themselves haven't the slightest notion what to expect next, or what the shape of their "new world order" is to be.

Nor do the crises in Somalia and Haiti, that have suddenly thrust the Black world into the world spotlight, mean that they won't be shoved into the shadows again. Which is why any examination of the meaning of these developments must be situated in a world-historical context conditioned by two fundamental concerns, one that asks what role is Africa and the Black world being made to play in the order-mongering designs of rulers in search of a "new world order"? Inseparable from this is the need to view world crises from the vantage point of freedom of the masses.

WHY SOMALIA? WHY NOW?

That U.S. foreign policy has shifted from the containment of communism to the containment of chaos is nowhere more evident than in Somalia. The *dramatis personae* in the U.S./UN political drama in Somalia seem particularly hard pressed to learn the script of the "new world order." This is due to the U.S. practicing two foreign policies at the same time, depending on whether the U.S. or the UN is made the scapegoat for the tragedy of errors that have characterized "Operation Restore Hope" from its inception.

First there is UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros- (continued on page 4)

struggle between the center and the local regions. Yeltsin does not now have any power in the local areas; the attempt of the center to consolidate more power is what Yeltsin's parliamentary coup on Sept. 21 was all about. The new tug of war will be with the regions.

A great number of the regional leaders were former Party bosses. Now they are telling their people that the center has always neglected them, that we must "cultivate our rich culture" and pay no attention to any conflicts in the factory conditions or listen to any "agit- (continued on page 5)

L.A. verdict: 2 faces of American 'justice'

by Gene Ford

Los Angeles, Cal.—The final Oct. 20 verdict acquitting Damian Williams and Henry Watson of the most serious charges of attempted murder and malicious mayhem in the Reginald Denny beating case will impact Los Angeles and the nation. Watson, free after 17 months of imprisonment, stands convicted of one misdemeanor for assault. Williams will face sentencing Dec. 17 on four misdemeanor counts of assault, and one felony count of mayhem, which could land him in prison for up to 10 years.

The many not guilty verdicts and reduction of charges in the Williams and Watson trial means that the victorious voice of reason of the Black community has been heard with no help from the so-called "justice system."

The "Reginald Denny beating case" and the Rodney King beating trial have exposed two faces of justice in America, one Black and condemned, the other white and innocent. As the "L.A. 4+ Defense Committee" put it in a "Know the Facts" leaflet: "We believe that the trial of the L.A. 4+ defendants is the most important 'political' trial taking place in the country, because the government prosecutors have, from the very beginning, used this trial to condemn and confuse people's understanding of the L.A. Rebellion. While we reject 'senseless violence' against any people, we support the L.A. Rebellion

because it was a 'just response' by people who have been too long discriminated against and oppressed—economically and politically."

Many have seen the verdicts in the L.A. 4+ case as a partial victory brought about by the demands placed on the system by the Black masses and community organizations like the Free the L.A. 4+ Defense Committee.

The majority of white America is outraged at the verdicts in the Reginald Denny case. The racism is so deep within American society that it brings back the image of the Deep South of Alabama and Mississippi in the 1950s. Then, if a Black man looked a white man or woman in the eye, it was characterized as a threat and punishable by beating or death of the "uppity n----r."

Racist groups like the Klan fear equal justice under the law for Blacks; deep in their hearts many respectable whites fear this "equality" also. For them, the L.A. Rebellion has inflicted a form of extortion on the justice system, as any image of fairness during this trial has been condemned as a compromise to appease the Black community.

I would say that the L.A. Rebellion made a tremendous impact upon the minds of humanity, about the injustice of the American legal system. One Black youth outside the courthouse after the verdicts were read said,

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On the 20th anniversary of *Philosophy and Revolution*

Marxist-Humanism's Original Contribution See pages 6, 7

Woman as Reason

by Terry Moon

The Women's Liberation Movement is compelled to have intense discussions on the genocidal war waged by Serbia on Bosnia. This is not alone because of the unprecedented nature of the rapes and murders being carried out by Serbian soldiers against tens of thousands of mostly Muslim women—Croatian and Bosnian. It is also because these events have fragmented the feminist movement that thought it was united in the Balkans and caused hot disputes in the U.S.

When Communism fell in East Europe, the women's movement in Yugoslavia flowered. With the rise of narrow nationalism and independence of Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia, the feminism that was flowering began to shatter—especially when war broke out.

"Completely new questions appeared" wrote feminists from Belgrade in 1992. "Can a feminist be a nationalist chauvinist? Can a pacifist be a nationalist? Is a weapon an instrument of defense? Should the groups take clear attitudes towards nationalist questions, and therefore the war, and in that way lose some women?"

The same questions are being played out in the U.S. In San Francisco, some U.S. and Balkan women refused to support the tour of two Bosnian women. It was also seen in the heated arguments after the "Mother Courage II" tour that focused on women raped in wars.

Reasons given for not supporting the Bosnian women's tour echo the splintering in the Balkans: Bosnian women demanded a lifting of the arms embargo; they insisted the rapes now reach a deeper level of degeneracy than women experienced in war before; they defend their government. On the other hand, those who critiqued the "Mother Courage II" tour sponsored by MADRE said it obscured the specificity of the rapes; it didn't recognize that nationalism takes different forms.

Why, just when it is most needed, has there been so little mass outcry to stop the murder of the Bosnian people? There are dedicated groups of women working to stop the slaughter and help the victims of the war. But where are the big demonstrations?

This situation reveals that feminism has been unable to meet the challenge that we are facing in this changed world of emerging neo-fascism, on the one hand, and the struggle for a new multi-ethnic society, on the other. That is why there is so much debate. I am not the only one asking, how can it be that the Women's Liberation Movement that was so grounded in freedom that it critiqued the Left's narrow concept of revolution, insisting we would not wait until after a revolution to demand our freedom, could not know how to respond to genocide?

Are we confused about nationalism because it has a dual character? What women have established—from East Timor to El Salvador and from South Africa to the USA—is that when a national struggle is about genocide

Balkan women empowered

Editor's note: Recently two Chicago women who founded the Balkan Women's Empowerment Project visited Zagreb, Croatia, to set up a women's center called "NONA." They report the following:

We arrived in Zagreb with 100 books on topics of vital interest to women, i.e., rape, recovery, women's health, women's rights. These books, and an additional 1,000 are contributions from women throughout the U.S.

The Zagreb-based directors of NONA conceive of the center as a safe and stimulating environment in which women of all backgrounds, especially displaced and refugee women, can work together to improve their lives in these difficult times for the people of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Included in the plans are a library, a database of job and educational opportunities, and an archive on the pre-war, wartime, and post-war experience of women in Croatia.

During our visit we achieved closer relationships with local women's groups that will be supporting and using NONA. Among them are the Zagreb women's group Kareta, and two Bosnian women's organizations in exile, Zene-BiH and BISER. We shot video footage of Zagreb and interviewed Bosnian and Croatian women. We plan to create a documentary to promote the center. We are also beginning to outline plans for a similar project in Zenica in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Wisconsin conference confronts barriers

Kenosha, Wis.—The 18th Annual University of Wisconsin System Women's Studies Conference—titled "How Women Make Change: The Impact of Feminism", held at University of Wisconsin-Parkside Oct. 7-9—blossomed into a two-day, two-way dialogue among 250 women from the generally distant worlds of feminist academia and grassroots organizing.

It was remarkable how many participants were involved with ongoing projects about domestic violence, sexual harassment, and other issues, on and off campus. While women of color remained a small minority, the conference planners had invited several Black women involved in community groups in Chicago to participate.

The keynote address by Nikki Giovanni, the noted African American poet, was paired with a "Community Reaction Panel" which emphasized the urgency of issues she discussed, from health care to Somalia. She critiqued Hillary Clinton's health care plan and underlined the crisis poor Americans face by sharing a memo she had received at Virginia Tech about a student who will have to drop out of school because he has tuberculosis.

Feminism faces nationalism's dual nature

and land grabbing we oppose it; when it is about freedom, women not only fight for it, we deepen it.

That was clear in the statement of the National Black Feminist Organization in 1973: "We will remind the Black Liberation Movement that there can't be liberation for half a race." At the 1993 UN human rights conference 20 years later, Rana Nashashibi, a Palestinian, emphasized that "Palestinian women and children were above all victims of violence in the home." That doesn't mean she doesn't support the Intifada—she's a leader of it—it means she wants total freedom.

Concerns over Muslim fundamentalism is one reason some U.S. and Balkan feminists have refused to support the Bosnian struggle. But most Bosnian Muslims are not fundamentalists. Their struggle is to preserve the multi-ethnic way of life that for centuries marked their society. The first shots fired in Sarajevo were at Serb, Croat and Muslim Slavs—200,000 strong—shouting, "We want to live together!" Aida, one of the Bosnian women on tour, said, "There is no one of us who has not members of another group in the circle of her family."

The international Women's Liberation Movement was the first and most vocal group to protest the rape/murders and genocide. Would we have not only sustained our solidarity but deepened it if we saw how really new—new in the sense of a beacon for the future—was what the Bosnian people are fighting to maintain?

When the Women's Liberation Movement arose we made a contribution to how deep and total a revolution must be because we demanded it mean our freedom too. Our vision of the future included totally new human relations—especially between women and men—a new world. The Bosnian people are fighting for that kind of unique contribution to "new human relations." Don't we want to fight for that idea of freedom too?

WomanViews

Sister: Namibia is an international women's newsjournal full of political analysis, book reviews, poetry, and essays, published by the "Sister Collective." Articles cover Namibia, South Africa, other countries in Africa, Asian women's struggles, and women in Bosnia. It is published in Oshiwambo, Afrikaans (to reach "coloured" women) and English. The July/August 1993 issue takes up child support, rape, Black South African novelist Besie Head. It has poetry on abortion rights and an article on Alexandra Kollontai's writings on women's liberation and socialism. The magazine seeks links with women's liberation groups and individuals. Write to Sister Collective, P.O. Box 40092, Windhoek, Namibia. —Diane Lee

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To rediscover the energy and commitment that brought us to feminism, read the new Russian feminist magazine, *Women and Earth*. Editor Tatyana Mamonova, a founder of Russian feminism, states that the magazine was begun to reawaken Russian women's feminism, long suppressed, and to educate women in the West about feminism in the CIS.

The report on the *Independent Women's Fora* in Russia was of special interest. Hundreds of women grappled with challenging questions including the need to exorcise the Soviet-perpetrated stereotype that feminine virtue equals self-sacrifice and submission. Write: 70 Terry Road, Hartford, CT 06105 —Eileen

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Mother Jones' publication of Karen Lehrman's article "Off Course" enraged me. Lehrman, author of work on "postideological feminism," maligns women's studies for dragging down the academy by rewarding students who share personal experiences of oppression. She attacks "the degree to which politics has infected women's studies scholarship," derides such politics as "ideology" and quotes someone calling it "fundamentalism."

She champions right-wing students who feel intimidated in class and attacks multiculturalism as dogma. Mother Jones promises a response by Susan Faludi, author of *Backlash*. But why print this attack—disguised in words like "postideological?" Mainstream media have rushed to hail Lehrman's essay in this "left-wing magazine" (see *Cleveland Plain Dealer* 9/18/93). —L.C.



Latina writes of freedom

Los Angeles, Cal.—I usually call myself a Latina lesbian, although I was born in Mexico and raised here in a Chicano environment. Expressing national identity is about creating a sense of community. But there's a tendency in the RAZA movement to reject people who don't take on the labels "Chicano" or "Mexicano."

When I first came to the U.S., Chicanos put me down for not knowing English. I didn't identify with Chicanos until I experienced how it feels to be a minority within a country, which had not been the case in Mexico. Since then my life has differed from the life of a Mexicana in Mexico and been more like the life of a Chicana.

The sexism and homophobia I encounter in the Chicano-Mexicano movement has also kept me from becoming totally involved. How can Chicano men cry oppression without looking at their own behavior? Many of us in gay communities here differentiate ourselves by associating on a broader level culturally and identifying as Latino gays and lesbians. As an oppressed group Latinos as a whole need to respect and take in our differences.

The term "feminism" has been used so many ways. Some feminists take the ground of conservatives who discount them with accusations of lesbianism by responding, "But I'm married." Some discount race and class. In Mexico women call themselves feminists, but they may be of a higher class than women of the masses and may not fully represent their needs.

I had the experience of living in a commune of lesbians of color, I worked with other women for our basic survival and learned how capable I am when men aren't there to do the plumbing and cut the wood, when men's criteria don't enter into the picture. It became clear how the division of labor by sex is wrong, how our limitations are in great part imposed on us.

When women work together they begin to find words to challenge men and women who disregard women's thoughts and experiences. This to me is "Women as Reason." It involves taking responsibility and risking ramifications such as the disruption of homes.

For lesbians, "coming out" means we have to define ourselves more fully than by our sexual orientations. We have to take responsibility for our love for women and our consciousness of women's experiences by developing behaviors that do not reflect the power structures we often see in straight couples. It isn't easy.

Lesbians need their own space together. But I don't see "private enclaves" as truly productive in terms of social change, a freedom movement. Both straight and lesbian women have something to offer a freedom movement due to their particular experiences. But for that to happen dialogues have to take place. We need to listen to one another, ask questions and find new ways to define our different and shared experiences as women. Maybe we still have a lot to learn. —Lupe

Women Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

An 81-member coalition of women's groups formed Sept. 24, to make its "voice heard over that of the anti-choice, extreme right." The group has launched a grassroots campaign to ensure that abortion services are included in Clinton's health care reform plan. Currently, the proposed plan does not mention abortion.

The rise of Muslim fundamentalism in Nigeria is endangering "unescorted" women's lives, especially in Lagos. Women's groups have decried a proposed anti-prostitution law which would impose on prostitutes five-year jail sentences, high fines and beatings. Male vigilantes have already begun to stone women walking alone in the streets.

More than one million women public service workers have united to form UNISON, one of the largest unions in Europe. Inez McCormack, UNISON leader in Northern Ireland, says the union "will be a power...to reshape society for all women...a power used to challenge this government's attack on our public services... (from) the 90-year-old who has lost home help hours... (to) the closure of a major hospital or school." —Information from *Women's News*, Irish feminist magazine

Delta Pride issues: time and money

Indianola, Miss.—We have been in negotiations with Delta Pride Catfish for over six weeks, and we haven't even gotten to the economic issues yet. The new management team that the company hired after the 1990 strike was supposed to be more reasonable, but they have been fighting us over everything. They keep saying that the company is in financial trouble, so we should back off our demands.

There are still several points where there is no agreement on non-economic issues. The most important issues are about time. One is start-up time and finishing time. The way it is now, you never know when you start work what time you will finish. You never know for sure what time you will start the next day until the day before. You can't plan your life; they are taking all of your time. We asked for weekly schedules. They said no. They

aren't the ones who have to arrange child care.

Then there is the way they can send you from one department to another. They have been abusing a clause in the contract that was intended to help out in emergencies. You can work from 8 a.m. to 7 p.m. doing hard and dirty work on the kill line, and then they tell you to go to another department like freezer and stay until 9:30. We want the right to say yes or no, if we have already worked our eight hours.

Then there's time for funeral leave. We asked for three days off, but they refused even one day. They came in with figures showing how much one day would cost them, but the figures were based on each worker having one member of their immediate family die each year. It insults our intelligence.

Now we are finally going to discuss wages and benefits. They say we have to help the company grow, but I've been here 11 years getting measly pay while the company grew. Now we need to grow. This contract has to end Mississippi poverty wages. It is our third contract, and we still have workers with eight years seniority making \$5.15 an hour on jobs that leave you in pain at the end of every day. How can this be called living?

Every Thursday night we have a meeting at the union hall to report on negotiations, and 200 workers come, sometimes a lot more than that. We are ready to fight, even though we have been working short weeks since last Spring. No one has money; it's hardest on the kids.

The company is still trying new tricks in the middle of negotiations. First they closed the Sunflower plant. Then they closed down the night shift at the Belzoni plant. The latest is that they "fired" four supervisors and three clericals at the main (Indianola) plant and tried to bring them back in the freezer department as "inventory clerks," but not in the union. They will try anything to keep from paying our people what we deserve.

I feel like so many others at Delta Pride. I will never lay down and take anything anymore. The 1990 strike gave me a feeling in my heart to fight for people as long as I live. No matter what happens, I will always have this.

—Sarah White

We still need all the support we can get. To get in touch with us, write: UFCW Local 1529, 218 Second Street, Indianola, MS 38761.

Boycott Green Giant!

Los Angeles, Cal.—My name is Yolanda Navara, and I was fired by Green Giant Foods in Watsonville, Cal., after working for them for 20 years. Green Giant moved their canning operations to Mexico.

It was a slap in the face to be fired. The company made promises to retrain us and find us new jobs. Just as the promises of Clinton and Bush are lies, so were the company's NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) won't help any workers. All I got for retraining was a permanently damaged wrist and no job.

I was born in Mexico and came to the U.S. as a teenager. Both my husband and I were fired by Green Giant. We almost lost our home. My husband is picking strawberries for \$5 per hour, and I have had to take a job for barely minimum wage and have reinjured my wrist.

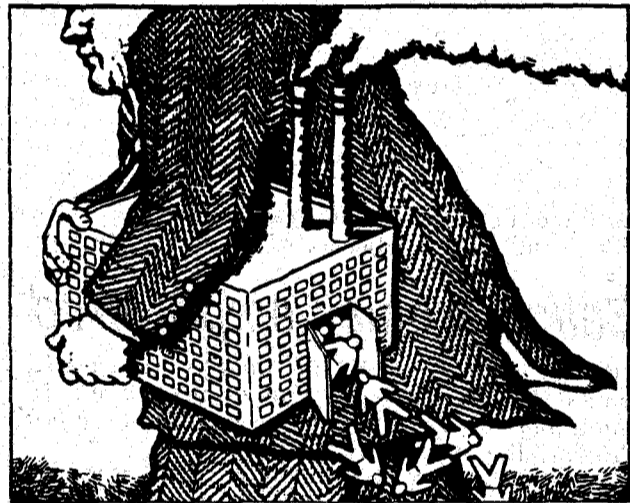
I helped organize the union at Green Giant (Teamsters Local 912), where we won decent wages, working conditions and medical benefits. Then I had to fight them to boycott Green Giant. The union refused. They still had some workers in Watsonville, although within one year all work will be shipped to Mexico.

On a recent trip to Mexico I met with the Green Giant workers and found there had been no improvements in their lives and working conditions, which are deplorable. Their wages are \$4 to \$6 per day. Some have been fired for trying to organize a union. They have no running water and no health insurance.

The Mexican government supposedly requires all foreign companies to file statements as to the worth of their Mexican company. If the company closes, it must put up that money to help the workers. Green Giant claims the worth of their Mexican company is \$300.

I have become involved with fighting the injustices to workers who will be affected by the Free Trade Agreement. I am working to restore human rights and stop anti-immigrant laws put into place in California by Gov. Wilson. I also took part in a successful action at my children's school, where the district stopped providing school buses, forcing the children to walk three miles. After a boycott of the school, the buses were restored.

Join our boycott. The address is: **Trabajadores Desplazados, Boycott Pillsbury-Green Giant, 434 Main Street, #222, Watsonville, CA 95076.**



UAW hooked on concessions

Detroit, Mich.—"I've never seen a UAW (United Auto Workers) contract that didn't have a bunch of fish hooks in it," declared a retired Chrysler worker. "This contract's no different. You hear a lot about wages and fringe benefits, but little or nothing about concessions that make work on the production line a living hell."

The recently negotiated UAW contracts call for a 3% wage increase the first year, 3% lump sum payments the following two years, \$600 holiday bonuses, maintaining health care and layoff benefits, and a pension raise.

The concessions include two-tier entry level wage cuts and a cost-of-living (COLA) diversion. In the last contract, new workers began at 85% of the starting wage with 18 months to reach full pay. Now new workers will begin at 70% of the hourly rate and reach full payment after three years. The COLA diversion takes money from cost-of-living payments and applies them to corporate health care expenses. It amounts to \$22 a month now and goes up to \$52 by the end of the contract, or an estimated \$1,750 that each worker will lose.

Much more significant are the concessions hidden in phrases that have to do with Modern Operating Agreements, the name given to those aspects that deal with team concept and other accommodations to speedup.

Management knows that the workers have a well of creativity and innovation in relation to their work. This has been reflected during model changeovers, when management instructed bosses to leave the workers alone until they worked out the bugs in the process. It is also seen in the "suggestion box" program, wherein they have paid millions of dollars for worker suggestions.

As a consequence of concessions agreed to by the union bureaucracy, management has broadened its attempt to tap into the workers' creativity. Following the signing of the recent contract, for example, all of the salaried and hourly workers producing the Ford Mustang, some 2200 employees, attended a three-day seminar in Detroit. The seminar focused on the principles of team concept. The failures at many plants where the team concept has been put into effect shows that workers quickly see through these schemes and move to eliminate them.

—Andy Phillips

Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

'70s were marked by tremendous labor struggles, of wildcats against the inhumanity of production and against the labor bureaucrats, who were the very ones ordering the workers back to work and picking off the militant workers to be fired by the company!

If this history is "forgotten" by or bothersome to labor leaders, it is not forgotten by the leaders of General Motors, Ford and Chrysler. When capitalism shut down Detroit, moved all the factories away and created the "rust belt" in America, it was never just "economics," competition with Japan. It was the capitalists reacting to that unending, growing revolt of the Black, urban American proletariat—who were inspiring more and more white workers, as you see in Denby's account.

Doesn't the Black struggle still inspire us in ways we may not even be conscious of? The Caterpillar workers' slogan, "No contract, no peace!" is inspired by the "No justice, no peace!" of the Black struggles of the 1980s and today.

Denby's view of the labor revolt of the 1960s and '70s also sheds light on who the so-called "underclass" is. Far from being "welfare bums," they are part of the working class, that part rejected by capitalism for being too rebellious.

DOING AWAY WITH WORKERS

Look at how the owners of Delta Pride Catfish in Mississippi (see News & Letters, May 1993) responded to those Black workers' union struggle by investing millions of dollars in automated machinery that was supposed to do away with them! It didn't work—this time. Look at how the growers responded to the farm workers' union by developing machines to pick the vegetables.

Just as in Detroit, automation and plant closings are never just a response to the "cost" of labor, but above all to the rebellion of the laborers, who are then thrown into permanent unemployment. Capitalism wants to do away with us. But as Marx showed, capitalism is stuck, because only living human labor can enrich it. And the unemployed have no intention of sitting idly by, as the Los Angeles rebellion shows.

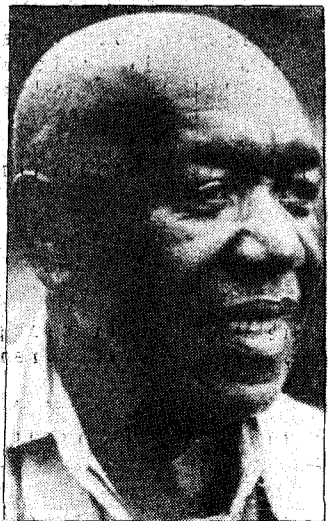
The rulers have not forgotten why they abandoned Detroit and how white labor was beginning to move, too. That is precisely why the videotape of Reginald Denny being beaten was broadcast over and over to give out the message that the rebellion was not a working-class revolt of Blacks, Latinos and some whites, but some kind of anti-white Black riot. I am glad Denny seems to be bucking efforts to use him that way, like when he embraced the mothers of those accused of attacking him.

What I want to see is: can we find ways for our struggle as employed labor to join up with the struggles of this unemployed labor which capitalism has thrown out before that becomes the future of all of us?

* "Black Caucuses in the Unions" is available as the appendix to *American Civilization on Trial*. To order that pamphlet and *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, see the literature ad on page 9.

"I consider my life story as part of the worldwide struggle for freedom."

**INDIGNANT
HEART
A Black
Worker's
Journal**



by Charles Denby

To order, see literature ad on page 9.

Is union solidarity dead?

New York, N.Y.—Union solidarity died at the New York Post Sept. 30, done in by anti-labor bankruptcy laws and a ruthless media baron who fired 287 striking workers demanding job security. The Post unit of the Newspaper Guild struck Sept. 27, hoping to force Rupert Murdoch to offer decent contract terms prior to his planned Oct. 1 purchase of the bankrupt newspaper.

Murdoch demanded the four-month right to fire any Guild member he wanted and pay just eight weeks severance. At the Post, severance is considered the pension, and some members, who had put in more than 40 years, were entitled to more than \$90,000 under the collective bargaining agreement. But under bankruptcy law, labor contracts can be ignored.

The Guild strike was successful at first. The pressmen led other production workers, defied their leaders and refused to cross the Guild picket lines. The Tuesday edition, the second fattest of the week, did not publish. Then Murdoch shut production and announced he was pulling out of the deal to buy the paper. He had tried this bluff before, in July when he demanded—and got—\$6 million in givebacks from the production unions.

The drivers, pressmen and others thought they saw more than 500 jobs vanishing. After two days, they promised to cross the Guild lines. The presses rolled Sept. 30 for the fat Friday edition; Murdoch formally bought the Post Oct. 1 and fired all Guild members. We were forced to reapply for jobs that some had held for decades. As of Oct. 17, only a handful had been rehired.

Murdoch perfected a strategy pioneered by Daily News owner Mort Zuckerman, who also used bankruptcy laws and an anti-labor federal court to gut some labor contracts at the rival tabloid. More than 170 Guild members at the News also lost their jobs in a one-day firing, but Zuckerman had the decency to pay the contractual severance or offer slightly more generous buyouts. Murdoch got his bloodletting on the cheap. We were left with nothing.

—Newspaper Guild member

South Kearny, N.J.—Union solidarity is not dead. Liquor salesmen are on strike at all the New Jersey distributors except one, which has a me-too contract. Their picket lines are being honored—despite scabs being brought in—by the drivers and warehousemen, who are in two different unions with different contract dates.

Strikers said: "The minute we went on strike, the company had these strikebreaking ninjas up from North Carolina, wearing black jump suits, ski masks and videotaping everything we do, and they bring in scab drivers and warehousemen. The trucks go out with scabs, and management rides with them. We follow in our cars and ask the liquor stores not to buy. We're pretty successful with the mom-and-pop stores, not so much the big chains."

The Daily News has a printing plant in the same industrial park as one distributor. Their bitter strike last year was the first time the New York area saw those ninjas. Pickets said, "The News drivers bring us coffee and donuts and a bundle of papers every day. They've been great."

—Strike supporter

Somalia, Haiti test U.S.'s 'new world order'

(continued from page 1)

Ghali, who had, as deputy prime minister of Egypt in charge of the Horn of Africa, been involved in the intricate clan politics of Somalia in the final days of the dictatorship of Siad Barre. Secondly, Gen. Aidid's relationship to special U.S. Envoy Robert Oakley dates back to that same period when Oakley was U.S. ambassador for the Bush administration. Special UN envoy, retired Admiral Jonathan Howe, in charge of "nation building" (whatever that is), was deputy national security adviser to Bush. The hunt for Aidid has become the admiral's "white whale." The chorus of criticism from former Bush administration officials that Clinton foreign policy lacks an "intellectual framework" is thus more than a little hypocritical given that Clinton's foreign policy is a continuation of Bush's, even down to using the same officials.

"Beneath the rhetoric of using the UN to promote democracy and resolve the deep-rooted conflicts of the post-colonial world," writes James Ridgeway in the *Village Voice* (10-19-93), "Clinton's foreign policy has subtly carried on the Republican efforts to recast the organization as a sort of broker for the free market of the New World Order" ("Guns and Butter: Somalia and Haiti Explode the Myth of Humanitarian Relief," p. 20).

The communism to chaos shift in U.S. containment strategy is what makes crisis-ridden Africa the focus of U.S. foreign policy at the present moment. The new imperialist economism that belies that shift was exposed by Francis Kornegay in *Africa Report* (Jan.-Feb. 1993). He said "those regions of the world that may appear peripheral from a short-term geopolitical/strategic perspective, in 21st century geo-economic terms, may turn out to be anything but, given the growing preoccupation with expanding opportunities for U.S. trade and investment in an economically competitive global market" ("U.S. Policy: Africa in the New World Order," p. 15).

However, boosters of the "new world order" like Kornegay fool themselves when they suggest that "a new UN-centered world order" represents the shape of things to come. The only thing that kind of illusion reveals is how quickly the U.S. moves to disabuse anyone, especially Boutros-Ghali, of the notion that any power other than the U.S. will determine the new political structure of the world. Clinton demonstrated that immediately in the wake of the Oct. 3 Rangers debacle when he unilaterally increased U.S. military presence in Somalia and announced, without the concurrence of the UN, that the U.S. would be pulling out of Somalia by March 31.

Unlike the Balkans, where U.S. unilateralism is checked by European interests and political structures, there are no such barriers to U.S. imperialism in Africa. The arbitrariness of U.S. intervention into and withdrawal from Black and Third World nations is, nevertheless, still determined by 1) its old Cold War impulse to indiscriminately use force, and 2) its responsiveness to initiatives from any quarter that might challenge its imperial right to set the political agenda.

The incessant exercise of U.S. military force in its surrogate wars in the Third World with Russia during the Cold War has exhausted its credibility as any kind of deterrent to the authoritarian state powers the U.S. bolstered and which now challenge its "strategic interests." Thus, the answer to the question that so many commentators have posed—what does the U.S. do in a "unipolar" world?—is as obvious as it is perverse: U.S. imperialism has gone to war with itself, that is, it is in violent conflict with its own past imperialist policies. In Haiti, it risks coming into armed conflict with an army it created. In Somalia, Blackhawk gunships are shot down by grenade launchers supplied to Somalia's former dictator for the purpose of repressing the very people into whose hands these same U.S. armaments have fallen. In Haiti, however, the social consciousness that emerged with the 1986 revolution has not been extinguished in the U.S.'s 'new world order.'

CLASS STRUGGLE IN HAITI

"I did not invent class struggle, no more than Karl Marx did," wrote Father Aristide when he was expelled from his position in the Catholic Church in Haiti. "Perhaps that is possible if one never leaves the squares of the Vatican or the heights of Petionville [Port-au-Prince's wealthy suburb]. But who can avoid encountering class struggle in the heart of Port-au-Prince? It is not a subject of controversy, but a fact, a given."

It is that class struggle that Clinton is afraid of intervening in and inadvertently turning the tide towards the masses. So evident is this that Aristide's prime minister, businessman Robert Malval observed that the Haitian military and its Duvalierist supporters "want to have an intervention because they think they can get away with playing a double card: they'll play the ultra-nationalists while at the same time they will benefit from American protection."

Haiti's bourgeoisie remembers the period of *dechoukaj* (uprooting) when the Haitian masses in 1986 overthrew Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier and attacked the regimes ecclesiastical supporters in the Catholic Church. As symbol of the 1986 revolution, the U.S. has never trusted Aristide to refrain from retaliating against the coup plotters that drove him from office in Sept. 1991. His forced amnesty of the coup plotters and his agreement in the Governors Island Accords to "professionalize" a military that the U.S. created do not in themselves constitute the central determinant in the Haitian crisis, though. Nor does the recent agreement by Aristide's negotiators and the military that he accept Duvalierists in major government posts.

On the contrary, it is the machete-edged class consciousness of the Haitian masses that remains the key to the Haitian question. And to the depths of their reactionary class instincts the bourgeoisie in the U.S. and Haiti recognize that fact. That is what is behind the resurrection of the old CIA attempted character assassination of Aristide as "mentally unstable."

So heightened is the class consciousness of the Haitian masses, that the imposition of multilateral U.S./UN forces "must somehow accomplish two broad and very complicated tasks," writes Mark Danner in the *New York Review of Books* (11-4-93): "they must help reduce the political violence that Haitian soldiers and their civilian associates are now inflicting on Aristide's supporters; and they must somehow protect the men who have wielded power during the last two years—particularly the 'ti soldats,' or 'little soldiers': the enlisted men—from the retribution of Aristide's followers." Of course, the U.S. is expected to do a better job of carrying out the latter than the former task.

Thus, the confusion of the Left over intervention in Haiti misses the central point once the crisis is not viewed from the vantage point of freedom of the masses, namely, that the U.S. has no desire to intervene in any but the most limited way. The deployment of U.S. military attaches is in order to bolster Haiti's standing army as a force against the popular rebellion that originally led to Aristide's election.

That form of limited intervention is proportional to the neo-imperialist outcome the U.S. seeks in Haiti. For as Danner concluded, "It is likely that only the clear threat of international—which is to say, American—armed intervention in Haiti could have forced Haitian officers and their well-to-do backers to accept both Aristide's return and punishment for staging the coup against him; but the Americans, for their part, showed themselves distinctly unwilling to undertake such an intervention."

DIFFERENCE AND IDENTITY

Following Clinton's announcement of U.S. military withdrawal from Somalia by March 31, Gen. Aidid's arch-rival Gen. Mohamed Mahdi cynically recognized what the Left has yet to. With reckless disregard for his own clan, Mahdi mobilized a march into the clan territory of Aidid in an unsuccessful effort to precipitate a U.S. military response against Aidid. Because timing is everything in playing the imperialist card, and Mahdi's was woefully off, the result was a violent clash of Somali clansmen that left 10 dead and 45 wounded.

Timing too is everything in Haiti. And the high risk gamble Haiti's military elite took in fomenting a demonstration of attaches to oppose the disembarking of U.S. military attaches at Port-au-Prince only elevated the Haitian "thugocracy" to new heights in the game of international power politics. Beneath this wink-and-nod charade and apparent fiasco in U.S. foreign policy, however, is the text of a more calculating political script, one that would play out in Haiti the way it didn't in Somalia. For had Clinton pressed ahead with the landing of U.S. military attaches on Oct. 11, precipitating the conflagration that Mahdi had prayed in vain for in south Mogadishu, the inevitable escalation of U.S. military presence in Haiti would have dealt a serious blow to Aristide's foes, and effectively paved the way for his return on Oct. 31. Although everyone knows this, no one is willing to admit it, otherwise, the game of keeping the Haitian masses on the sidelines while the rulers decide their fate would run afoul.

Thus, it is in their very difference that the identity between Somalia and Haiti exists. For whether in Haiti or Somalia, the ground the rulers want to avoid playing on, at all costs, is the one determined by the freedom struggles of the masses. If Jean-Bertrand Aristide continues to avoid that ground, he may become the first victim of this new form of U.S. imperialism with a phony human face.

It was in Africa of a quite different time that another such courageous leader, the African nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba became the victim of the 1960 Congo crisis, when Kennedy's "moral rearmament" and United Nations "peace-keeping," under the cover of an "African solution" (in which Ghana's Nkrumah played a conspicuous role) conspired to destroy a revolutionary movement and install the present dictatorship of Mobutu.

—October 27, 1993

Clinton's anemic health care plan

President Clinton's health care plan proposes to insure that U.S. citizens will have health insurance on a permanent basis, will not face exclusions for pre-existing conditions, and will not have their health insurance tied to a particular job and the decisions of employers. However, Clinton's plan does not challenge in any fundamental way the practice of treating health care as a commodity in the market place, one which has created a two-tier medical care system, in which the health of the poor, of minorities, is in constant jeopardy.

HEALTH CARE AS A COMMODITY

Decent medical care, instead of being a human right, will remain a commodity in the hands of health insurance conglomerates, drug manufacturers, health maintenance organizations (HMOs) and medical technology companies. In the era of Reagan-Bush we witnessed the most vulgar manifestation of health care as a commodity.

Editorial

ty. Despite the Clinton plan potentially curbing some of these abuses, the premise remains the same: health care should be a profit making industry. First, the insurance companies will be "regulated" but allowed to make their profits. Secondly, profits for HMOs will grow under the Clinton proposals, while the incentive will be to spend the least amount on each patient.

What is driving Clinton's health care reform is not so much the lack of health care for the uninsured and underinsured, but the skyrocketing costs that many businesses face, which many have been forcing their workers to pay for.

As long as health care remains a commodity, as it will under the Clinton plan, there can be no other choice than treating the patient as a commodity, one to "fix" at the lowest possible cost, or discard as too expensive to "repair." Undocumented workers and their dependents will not even have access to Clinton's health care plan.

Not only patients, but health care workers as well, are treated as commodities. The health care technician, the nurse, the doctor—all stand to be measured in terms of output, "efficiency," number of patients treated, time spent with patients, etc. Health care workers are discussing the layoffs that will occur in hospitals where only the very sick will stay. They are concerned about the quality of patient care and their own exhaustion if fewer workers will be treating sicker patients.

TWO-TIER HEALTH CARE

Under the Clinton health plan, access to hospitals and medical specialists has the potential to be decided not so much on the basis of medical need, but on the cost for treatment. Those with a standard health plan may find access limited; those with more expensive plans will have easier access.

In fact, we already live in a two-tier health care system. We have all kinds of new high-tech medicine coming to the fore: sophisticated diagnostic machines, new drug treatments, micro-surgery techniques, the possibility of gene therapy as treatment for inborn diseases. And yet by all measures these new discoveries are reaching only a relatively small, economically privileged sector of the population.

Study upon study has shown that socioeconomic status is perhaps the most powerful determinant of health in the United States. A recent study in *The New England Journal of Medicine* has shown that in 1986, Americans with a yearly income of less than \$9,000 had a death rate three to seven times higher than those with a yearly income of \$25,000 or more. The gap in mortality between the relatively advantaged and the disadvantaged is larger than the gap of many other well-known risk factors, including smoking.

A study in New York City showed that the group with the lowest incomes was approximately four times as likely to be hospitalized as the highest-income group—a disparity not accounted for by increased incidences of trauma or substance abuse. The difference was particularly striking for certain medical illnesses amenable to treatment outside the hospital, including asthma and diabetes. The poor were nearly eight times as likely to be hospitalized for these illnesses as were those with high incomes, and had more severe conditions at the time of hospitalization.

The poorer health of Black Americans is not a reflection of race, as new studies on coronary disease and life expectancy have shown; socioeconomic status is the prime cause. A recent study of medical care in the inner city has shown that lack of primary care physicians to treat the urban poor has led to hospital emergency rooms as the only alternative.

Science by itself cannot solve these most human problems of society. Something is terribly wrong if all our knowledge, all our science concerning human survival does not become available, does not benefit our entire population, indeed all of humanity. In fact science, by manifesting in health care the widening socioeconomic gap in society, reveals to us in one more way Karl Marx' prescient expression: "To have one basis for science and another for life, is a priori a lie."

We cannot forge the kind of deep change needed in our health care system without recognizing the connection between that system and our social system, a system that we must transform, root and branch.

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Contradictions wracking Russia

(continued from page 1)

tors." In the end these local leaders will have to produce something material, but for now the disintegration has started. If Yeltsin doesn't suppress it this year or next it will be too late for him. I don't know how he can do it except with police force.

There is, however, a third point of contradiction that is the most important one, although many have not yet recognized it. It is the basic contradiction in real life—between those who possess power in material terms, and those who don't possess that kind of power—the factory workers and the general population. Most of them pay no attention to political events.

Many of the Russian workers did support Yeltsin during the attempted coup against Gorbachev in August 1991. I was on the Square in front of the White House when Yeltsin stood on the tank. All the people stood there under the flag and wept. It was too emotional to

grassroots level—that first attracted me. I discovered that you need not be one of the nomenklatura to be a Marxist, that you could be a Marxist and believe in the people. If the critical situation continues in Russia there may be a chance for a second October and maybe even a second negation.

—Nikolai Zelinski

1. **Philosophy and Revolution** has just appeared in Russian translation in Russia. For how to order, write *News & Letters* at 59 E. Van Buren, Suite 707, Chicago, IL 60605.

View from Prague

Prague, Czech Republic—Undoubtedly Russia has to confront many years of a painful economic, social and political transformation. While Yeltsin's victory over his adversaries seems for the time being a guarantee that the present chaotic system will be developing towards a market economy, it also seems to indicate that the road ahead may not be without surprise turns. Even if the real power were to lie not in Yeltsin's hands and be more with the generals, they need him very much as a front man towards the West. This does not mean Yeltsin would be powerless.

However, as important as is the question of whom the power rests with, it is only one part of Russia's complex problem and of its development. What are the driving forces of Russian society? How far are its "new passions and forces" discernible? These are the questions of paramount importance.

Russia's political scene is not limited to St. Petersburg and Moscow in spite of all appearances. It is, however, if measured by Western standards, only primordial, being born out of chaos. After the fall of the Communist Party (CP), there are only two relatively stable structures which encompass the whole country: the bureaucracy and the army. By bureaucracy I mean the state administration which is, of course, strengthened by other "bureaucracies"—that of the trade unions, for example, as well as remnants of the CP. Since the composition of the "soviets" (councils of every level) may change considerably after the elections, the state administration emerges as the only "dependable" force that survives any regime.

The official trade unions are in a state of decay and may be losing much of their power. New, independent unions that will better serve the immediate interests of the workers will probably emerge, as happened with the miners. All we can do for some time is to watch the developments to try to understand them.

—Stephen Steiger

Urgent appeal

Under the pretext of suppressing "fascist elements" hundreds of democratic activists were arrested in Moscow during the Oct. 4 crisis. Leaders of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions, the new Party of Labor, and the Moscow City Council were rounded up and brutally beaten. Among them were Boris Kagarlitsky, Vladimir Kondratov, Alexander Segal and Alexander Kalinin. Thanks to an immediate flood of protests from American and European friends, these non-violent democratic activists were eventually released. However, every day brings new reports of continued attacks on democratic newspapers, political parties and independent trade union organizations. There is an urgent need for international protest and support from trade unionists, academics and human rights activists.

For information on how you can help, write to: **Richard Greeman, Department of International Languages and Culture, University of Hartford, West Hartford, Connecticut 06117.**

U.S./U.N. and Neo-Duvalierist repression

The assassination of Guy Malary, Minister of Justice in Haiti, and two of his aides, followed a three-month escalation of political violence by the nation's military leaders that by the middle of October has claimed more than a hundred lives. Malary was serving in the "consensus" government of Robert Malval, in anticipation of Jean-Bertrand Aristide's return as President.

The abrupt pull-out of UN personnel followed both the killing of Malary and the failure by the U.S. to land troops at Port-au-Prince. Bill Clinton declared that the "vital U.S. interests" at stake to be the protection of American shores from refugees asserting their right to flee. Haiti was braced for the landing of some 218 military personnel, as part of a force to include 600 U.S. troops and 567 police monitors. They were stopped by armed intimidation at the docks by hundreds of plainclothes "attaches," operating under the direction of Chief of Police Lt. Col. Joseph Michel Francois.

The UN plan required enormous concessions from Aristide, especially the acceptance of a multi-national force and an amnesty, signed by Aristide on October 4, for all political crimes during the period from the coup to the Accords. Those Accords required the departure of Army Commander Raoul Cedras, and the transfer of Lt. Col. Francois, who was the prime force behind the September 1991 coup, and who is widely known to be the strongman of the regime.

The cause of the UN Mission's early demise was not any "surprise" change of heart by military officers, but had everything to do with the UN's primal urge to supplant the resistance that the Haitian people have offered the military throughout the last two years. The resistance of the lavalassiens (after lavalas for "flood," meaning supporters of Aristide) had up until September in-

Iranian masses under siege

Tehran, Iran—Sixty million hostages: that is the life condition of the people in Iran. Masses are under siege by a government ruling with an iron fist and fruitless ideology with no human rights in sight. One cannot even voice democracy, since that is considered an insult to "Islamic" self-interpreted rules.

On a recent visit, that is the reality I saw. Life is a mere struggle for necessities, and an un-nourished mass is evident. The population has increased from 34 million before 1979 to 60 million today—in part because of Ayatollah Khomeini's push for an increase in the people, to have an army of 20 million to spread Islam. This army of children, which translated into "meat for mines" during the Iran-Iraq war, is underfed—over one child in three is malnourished, according to a recent economic report. And the government, in an agricultural forecast, is projecting famine within two years!

Many people sleep in bus stations and mosques, and while travelling I noticed how children would stare at the few people having a meal on the road stops. Workers are hired without any protective contract, since business has access to a whole army of unemployed labor. People are not certain of the future. In talks I had with many parents, I heard expressed over and over a fear of a dark and uncertain future for their children—even among the high-income families.

Nor are these conditions the only visible agony of the masses. Under the baking summer heat, women are forced to don the hejab, covering their body from forehead to toe. This rule is enforced by the feared Komiteh members, Pasdaran, who arrest women if they do not obey this rule. Punishment ranges from 40 lashes to monetary charges. Women are charged 8,000 Rials for each manicured fingernail covered by a glove, if they are caught. There have also been incidents of rape and murder of these imprisoned women; this happened to one of my relatives.

And that is not the end of repressing women in Iran. Looked upon as second-rate human beings, they are banned from attaining proper education and are actually prohibited from studying such subjects as mechanical and electrical engineering. A woman can only travel with her father or husband; a single woman is looked upon as a prostitute.

This situation forces many young women into marriage. Within three weeks of my stay in Iran, I was approached and told of three different women who would be ready to marry me. This is just short of selling women in the bazaars of this nation. Due to economic hardship, prostitution is making a comeback in Iran, often under the guise of "religious marriage," called Sigheh, whereby a woman becomes an Islamic wife for as short a time as one hour!

But men, too, are not spared from the atrocity of this government. They are harassed in the streets by the Pasdaran for even not walking properly! Many people prefer not to step outside, for fear of being picked on by a Pasdar, even in remote areas away from cities. People keep a watch for these "guardians," who in reality are unprincipled opportunists with access to more food and illegal liquors and all the perks that a fascist government gives to its thugs to protect it.

Meanwhile, Western nations and multinational corporations are using this opportunity to squeeze the last drop of resources out of Iran, which now is indebted for some \$20 billion.

Both under Islamic fundamentalism, and in the capitalist so-called "market economy" that is presented as the "democratic alternative" to the religious hard-liners, human beings suffer. That suffering will continue until a humanistic alternative is worked out in the minds of the masses.

—Iranian revolutionary



This cartoon comes from *Strike*, a Russian newspaper which identifies itself in its masthead as "The paper of the permanent workers' striking committee." The letters on the arm in the cartoon stand for "Vorkuta Workers Striking Committee." The man facing the fist is identified as the boss, the chief director of the mine. The words above the arm ask the question: "Are you trying to play tricks on us?!"

describe. But most of the people do not yet recognize their own interests, that they will eventually be the ones who will have to dictate the terms of power. For now, we don't have any such third force which could make a stand against the regional powers, against parliament and against Yeltsin.

SEARCH FOR THIRD WAY

That does not mean there are not small groups, some with as many as several thousands, and many are nationwide. Boris Kagarlitsky's group calls itself the Party of Labor. Another which is oriented to the trade unions and is pro-Trotskyist publishes a paper called *Strike*. It has a circulation of 10,000 and gets its financial support from the coal miners, but it is too undemocratic, I believe, to have broad support among the working people.

I don't belong to any party. So far, for me, the views I have read in Raya Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution* have answered, not all, but many of my questions. It was combining the two words, Marxism and Humanism—and the concept of self-organization on the

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cluded open-air demonstrations and church meetings at which the mass and student organizations were represented.

The UN mission was founded on a complete reliance upon the existing Haitian armed forces to "discourage civil unrest." While it included construction projects (roads, wells and new army barracks), the aim was to professionalize the army and create "a new police force."

UN modernization projects have been presided over by Boutros Boutros-Ghali, whose supreme contempt for politics conducted in places without air-conditioning was evident in his open disdain for Aristide, to whom in referring to the Accords he snapped, "Just sign it, don't examine it."

By contrast with the armed mob at the docks, popular organizations had announced their opposition to the international force well in advance. On August 6 the Papaye Peasants Movement declared its fierce opposition to "all forms of occupation of the country," including the occupation of Haiti by the Haitian military. While confirming its support for Aristide, the statement denounced the Governors Island Accords, saying "national reconciliation is not possible as long as repression lasts."

A statement by fifteen popular organizations was broadcast on Radio Metropole, also denouncing the intervention. While demanding Aristide's immediate and unconditional return, they condemned the decision "to send a multinational force into the country under the fallacious pretext of assuring President Aristide's security."

Whether or not the character of the intervention was the necessary result of Aristide's embrace of foreign governments to mediate a resolution, the clear result is division among Haitians abroad over what role international organizations should play.

—Cal Brown

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

Editor's note: This month marks the 20th anniversary of the publication of one of the most important works of Marxist-Humanism—Raya Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution, from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao*. As part of our effort to stimulate new discussion on the meaning of this work for today, we are here publishing, for the first time anywhere, excerpts of Dunayevskaya's speech of April 18, 1976, which she entitled, "Our Original Contribution to the Dialectic of the Absolute Idea as New Beginning: In Theory, and Leadership, and Practice." Because it so explicitly projects the unique contribution of Marxist-Humanism as against all other post-Marx Marxists, we plan to publish a special section of discussion on this document in our next issue. You are welcome to contribute to this ongoing process of dialogue and discussion. The full document can be found in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, microfilm #5622.

I. We have to begin with what is new in our contribution, because we have been so anxious to stress we are a continuity from Marx and Lenin (and we certainly are), and we've been so anxious to stress that we couldn't possibly have been without Marx and Lenin (which again, we couldn't have been), that we have underplayed what is absolutely new, not just in relationship to a lot of nobodies who call themselves Marxists, but in relationship to our founders themselves. And because we have over-emphasized their contribution, without which we couldn't possibly have been, it is necessary to then think backwards right now.

No one was greater than Marx. No one needs to be convinced of that fact. However, when it comes to the Absolute Idea, it isn't only that the young Marx got so thoroughly disgusted with Absolutes by the time he discovered his new continent of thought, that he said that's the end of that, I'll return to it some other time.¹ It is that when he did return—and in his greatest work he did—it was already as practice, and not as something that would help us grasp it by having a foundation.

For example, at the height of *Capital*, we see him breaking up the Absolute Idea by speaking about the general absolute law of capitalist accumulation. But its opposite was always taken to be only the unemployed army—and not the absolutely, totally opposite which we take it to be now. Marx only mentioned it as "the new passions and new forces for the reconstruction of society." The negation of the negation at that point certainly wasn't spelled out.²

Lenin certainly paid a lot more attention to Absolute Idea. We have that chapter commented on more than any other chapter in Hegel's *Science of Logic*. But he, too, had to concentrate, as all of us have to concentrate, on what is concrete for our age. What was concrete for his age was, as we know, the transformation into opposite. But he threw out the last half of the last paragraph of Absolute Idea and said, that doesn't make any difference. It did make a difference, and my *Letters to the Absolute Idea* of 1953 spend something like 12 pages arguing against him for leaving out that last half a paragraph.

EVEN MORE IMPORTANT, Chapter 1 of *Capital* was always in Lenin's mind as he was reading. We have

1. This is a reference to the conclusion of Marx's 1844 "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic" in his *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*.

2. This is a reference to Marx's discussion of "The Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation" in chapter 32 of *Capital*, Vol. I. See Marx's *Capital*, Vol. I (New York: Vintage, 1975), p. 929.

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stressed that Lenin says Universal, Particular, Individual was exactly what Marx had in mind when he wrote *Capital*. But Lenin never says anything about fetishism. When he was referring to Universal, Particular and Individual, he was referring to the section just before the fetishism of commodities, when Marx explains how we came from barter to sales to money to capital.

In other words, the fetishism of commodities, as the dead labor sucking the living labor, and as the fact that you not only were exploited, but you actually had become an appendage to a machine—that was not concrete for Lenin. In fact, at one point—even though it wasn't at the stage where he was working with the Absolute Idea—he was "taken in," so to speak, by the Taylor system.³ He wondered whether that was just capitalistic, or whether it could be used if you had soviets and you saw that it wasn't exploitative, and so forth.

So that whether we take our very founders, Marx and Lenin, or any of the Hegelian Marxists: Lukács when he was at his best, Marcuse when he was at his best, Adorno when he was at his best, the East Europeans when they were at their best—in an actual revolution—no one, no one, had formulated or even given us any indication that if you are going to break your head over Absolute Idea, it would be as a new beginning. That's our original contribution.

It isn't only that we did this great thing by saying Absolute isn't absolute in the ordinary sense of the word—it's the unity of theory and practice; Absolute isn't absolute in the bourgeois sense of the word—it's the question of the unity of the material and the ideal. But who ever said Absolute was a new beginning? None but us. And if we don't understand that original contribution—that we have to begin with the totality—then we won't know what a new beginning is. A new beginning could just be that we discovered the four forces of revolution. We're certainly very proud of that—but that isn't all we're saying.

In fact, I would say that if there's anything we do understand, it's the movement from practice. We certainly have that imbedded in our being. We do understand that part of the Absolute. We do not understand the other part, Absolute Idea as second negativity. And until we do understand it, we will not be able to project. Therefore we must return to Chapter 1 of *Philosophy and Revolution*, and read it with altogether new eyes. It is not just that we're challenging, or threatening, or saying something that sounds great and philosophic, but all the ramifications of that.

Hegel died in 1831. He was the greatest philosopher that ever lived. It is now 1976, and it was 1953 when I broke through on the three last syllogisms in the *Philosophy of Mind*. I never bothered to look up the philosophic scholars. I was sure they had dealt with it in their bourgeois way. I found out that nobody in the world had done it. It was then I found out that Hegel himself hadn't put them in until 1830, the year before he died. He had left it at Paragraph #574 in 1817. I think the first time I saw anything written about it was in the 1960s and that was a whole decade after I developed it.

Paragraph #574 says "this is a summation of what I did, and what I did explains my conclusions, Absolute Idea." So why did he suddenly decide to add three paragraphs? To say "a summation" evidently didn't satisfy him the year before he died. In the first of the three, Paragraph #575, Logic, Nature, Mind (the three volumes of the *Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences*) are not simply the names of what Hegel wrote. Nature, the center part, is not just the second book. The center part, the middle, contains the whole; it looks both forward and backward, and therefore, that is really the key point.

MARX SAID THAT ANY PROLETARIAN could have told Hegel that he should have begun with material things first. Everyone says it's a good thing Lenin didn't know that's what Marx said, because he wouldn't have dared say, "isn't that great that Hegel goes from Logic to Nature—he's extending a hand to historical materialism. Therefore, that chapter is the most central. The most ideal is really the most practical—terrific and magnificent!"

I came to this part and said, if it turns both backward and forward, it isn't just the remembrance of things past, but he's also seeing the future imbedded in there. That means there must be a movement from practice to theory that's itself a form of theory. This was on May 20, 1953. There hadn't yet been the June 17th revolt. Everybody thought I was crazy—all this worry about what Stalin's death meant and that it wasn't going to stand still. It is the period from March to June when Stalin died and when the East German revolt broke out that we're concerned with—these few months. When I broke through on the Absolute Idea, May 12 and 20, it was in anticipation of what was actually occurring.⁴

In the next paragraph, #576, Nature becomes first, Mind becomes second, and Logic is the end. So now Mind

3. The "Taylor system" refers to the system of scientific management based on time-motion studies, developed around the turn of the century by Frederick Taylor. In another context Lenin referred to the Taylor system as "man's enslavement by the machine." See Lenin's *Collected Works*, Vol. 20 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964), pp. 152-54.

4. Dunayevskaya's "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes" of May 12 and 20, 1953 are available in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* (Chicago: News and Letters, 1989).

On the 20th anniversary of the publication of

Marxist-Humanism's origin

is the middle, the mediation, the center, the greatness from which the whole flows. What did that mean to us in the Johnson-Forest Tendency? I said it meant we had to dig deeper into philosophy; we couldn't stop with state-capitalism. We must see that this was new—this movement from practice and this movement from theory are a unity.

Paragraph #577 is even crazier than #575 and #576 were. Hegel has lived all his life on Logic, but when he comes to #577, instead of turning it to let Logic now become the center, Hegel just throws it out altogether. He says what we're dealing with is Self-Thinking Idea. In the whole thing, he has one single tiny sentence on eter-

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nity after the Self-Thinking Idea which has thrown out, replaced, Logic.

Now if that's what it means—and Hegel throws out his Logic—what could be greater? He says the Self-Thinking Idea is the self-bringing forth of liberty. That's when we already have it, the revolution is here, and everything is ready for not putting things off for the day after. It's right here and you better go do it and think it and everybody be part of the dialectic.

What do we mean by the cogency of dialectics of negativity for our period of mass revolutions? What do we mean by Absolute Idea as new beginning? When we keep stressing, correctly, that it's a unity of theory and practice, we do not know the double negation as being within each one... I have stated many, many times that second negativity is not just when you come to the Absolute Idea, but that you experience second negativity at every single stage—and since everybody's always saying, "Don't give your first reaction, wait for second negativity," you would think we certainly understand second negativity. But until it becomes concrete, we don't.

THERE IS ONE THING that I want to include here, in relationship to Sartre and Fanon on the question of Particular. We've always talked against the fixed Particular, nationalized property=socialism. But Universal, Particular and Individual are the three main categories of the Doctrine of the Notion. Particular is your first negation of the Universal when it's abstract, and Individual is the total concretization when it's Individualism which lets nothing interfere with its Universalism, that is, Freedom.

The idea is that when it's not fixed, Particular is the way to get to the second negativity; there is no other way to get to it. And what Fanon expressed so passionately was that he did not mean that Negroes are not a Particular. He meant that Negritude is the Particular which is Universal. That is what he meant by "national consciousness that is not nationalism but is a form of internationalism." He certainly did some very beautiful things on the difference between national consciousness that makes you proud of the heritage or makes you realize that this is a contribution, and nationalism which he absolutely rejected because he was a total internationalist and revolutionary.

...The fixed Particular is absolutely wrong and will kill you. But when it's not fixed, when it's a stage in the development of the concretization, that is the only way to get to second negativity.

What I'm trying to stress here now are certain stages in Chapter 1, which must be grasped as concrete. You have to say to yourself: if Absolute Idea means new beginnings, it means that in talking to such and such a

Philosophy and Revolution

Contribution: Absolute Idea as new beginning

son, I have to present the whole of philosophy and Marxist-Humanism. It is not enough to say, "we agree with you on the question of welfare or whatever." The question of welfare or whatever becomes a way not only of learning something from them, but of them having an awful lot to learn from you, because they get a entirely new interpretation of the problem that had been bothering them.

* * * * *

II. We would have leaped very much ahead if we knew it, and therefore did not take "philosophy, not philosopher" to mean, "good, I don't have to depend on Raya somebody; isn't that great, I can be myself." If in-

don't even mention the woman's name who is the head of the PRP-BR that you support? I'm sure I'll find more to disagree about with her than you will. But you don't even mention her name. You don't pay any attention to the fact that she, at least, posed the question of a new relationship of theory to practice.

Their answer—as if it were a point of gossip—was that Tony Cliff is the biggest male chauvinist you ever saw. As if it were nothing that the biggest leader in your organization is the biggest male chauvinist! (I said I guess I didn't know it because I was so busy fighting them on philosophy and state-capitalism I never even realized there was anything else involved.)

We can't allow them at any point to use something like that as if it were just a point of gossip. We have to say that politicalization to us means that whether we take up Portugal or whether we take some other question in which no woman question is involved (though I don't know how many questions are possible that don't involve the women), what we have to raise is: what is the movement from practice to theory that we insist is itself a form of theory? What is the significance that the head of PRP-BR is a woman? And how can a leader so full of vanguardism and leadership, leadership, leadership, fail to note that simple fact? Isn't that a deliberate, conscious, inevitable result of not seeing what arose from the movement from practice?

UNTIL WE ASK those kinds of questions in a concrete proletarian and political way, we will constantly fall into the trap that "they are better organizers," and if only we popularized our philosophy, we could win them over philosophically too. They order their people into the factories and they go in. But what is the end of all these numbers that they achieved, while we only had two or three? They have a lot of caucuses with the unions.

Whatever the line is on a concrete thing... nobody goes back to the original Marx or the original Lenin, much less the original of what do you think is making the contribution for your own age. There is nothing more important for us at this Convention than to see that we have a philosophic nucleus.

* * * * *

III. We can't think that we are meeting that task by just saying, we recognize that it's not Substance but Subject. We certainly do know how to listen to the proletariat but that is not the whole task... I really do think that our comrades are better than anybody in the world on knowing how to listen, on taking down and not trying to editorialize what we listen to. But Subject isn't all there is to subjectivity, in a universal sense, because subjectivity in the universal sense includes the theory. It cannot be complete until you're just as good in taking down that self-determination of the Idea as you are at taking down the Subject talking....

* * * * *

The reason we don't have a philosophic nucleus is because we have not brought out the originality of our contribution. Until we do appreciate the originality of what we present, we cannot really bring out how great Marx is, or how great Lenin is, even though we have brought something new. The perfect example of that is Lenin and "lower and deeper." Do you know how many millions of times that man must have read that in Marx? But it was never presented as if it were original.

BEFORE HE RETURNED TO HEGEL, Lenin's interpretation of lower and deeper, to the extent to which he had repeated it at all, was—this is the latest thing we do. It did not mean to him a break: a total and complete and absolute break with trade unions and with

7. The "PRP-BR" refers to the Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat/Revolutionary Brigades, an independent Left organization in Portugal during that country's revolution in 1974-75. This group, headed by Isabel do Carmo, raised the perspective of *apartidarismo* (anti-partyism) for the first time within the Marxist movement. For a discussion of the Portuguese revolution and the role of the PRP-BR within it, see Raya Dunayevskaya's *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1985), pp. 127-34.

every thing they were so proud of doing in the Second International. Marx had told them, once the Paris Commune appeared, that the British proletariat, as great as it was and as much as it had helped establish the First International, was good for nothing. Those he chose for lower and deeper were the unskilled workers, the Irish workers.

Until something becomes concrete for you because you have made such a great contribution yourself, you can't bring it out in the other person. Lenin couldn't have brought that out as the greatest thing in Marx as long as he was busy telling the workers they should have unions; they should also have political parties; they should appreciate the intellectuals that would bring socialism to them. The greatness of Lenin being ready to break with himself was what made him understand Marx in a way he never understood him before, and what made him write that you better know the whole of the *Science of Logic*, every single word of it, or you don't understand Chapter 1 of *Capital*.

If we appreciate how great our contribution is, we really can make it clear to the people we talk with. We're not taking away from Marx by giving ourselves credit for our original contribution. We are showing that we in our age saw this and, therefore, first appreciated Marx. When Marx said, accumulation of capital on the one hand and the unemployed army on the other, he also said new passions and new forces. The "new passions and new forces" in Chapter 9 of *Philosophy and Revolu-*

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to order, see *lit ad*, p. 9

tion is something that has been in Marx since 1867 and nobody saw it until we took it out this late in the game. That's what they must see. That's what I mean by not having a philosophic nucleus.

The greatest shock to Lenin when he became ill was that he didn't have anyone to leave his mantle to. It was too late.

* * * * *

We have to tackle the question of the Particular as the way to the real mediation, because I think that's what everybody is grappling with and it's very, very important to get it. That's why I want to develop this fetishism in relation to Lenin. For Lenin not to understand the fetishism of commodities is fantastic, because Lenin was always in economics. He was far above Luxemburg. She was in a very technologically developed country, and was already seeing imperialism. Because she hadn't seen the fetishism of commodities, Luxemburg was wanting to fight imperialism and being very conscious on that. But on the other hand, everyone failed on the fetishism of commodities, including Adorno. The point is that it is impossible to see fetishism until 1) it is very, very highly developed, and 2) until you appreciate that these new passions and new forces are the only ones that will really rip it out.

You have to know Chapter 1 of *Philosophy and Revolution* awfully well, and be able to work it out yourself, because you never know what to do concretely until it comes because each concrete thing brings out a million new developments. If we work at this Convention to be proud of ourselves and to work out what was absolutely new that wasn't there, we will also be able to explain Marx and Lenin. At this point, the philosophic nucleus is our answer, our problem, our task....

Revolution

From Marx to Mao

Raya Dunayevskaya attempted to save Marx from interpretations which, in the name of systems established through political revolutions, strict the revolutionary significance of the philosophy behind his theory... early in this century, Lukacs and Korsch had proposed a similar, Hegelian reading. Yet a notable difference separates Raya Dunayevskaya's from those earlier positions. Their interpretation had limited the revolutionary impact of Hegel's philosophy to the socio-political order. Dunayevskaya aims at a total liberation of the human person—not only from the ills of a capitalist society but also from the equally oppressive State capitalism of established communist governments. She assumes within her theory of class struggle issues as diverse as feminism, black liberation, and even the new nationalism of third world countries. The theory turned into praxis in a movement that came to be named 'Marxist Humanism.'—Louis Dupre

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lead you recognized what the historic and organizational responsibility means if you are going to be the philosopher and the philosopher, we would have a very different situation than what we do...⁵

LET'S BREAK down the question of politicalization. When we have to answer to state-capitalists, and they're J.L.R. James' kind of people, it's easy. We say he couldn't work out the Absolute Idea; he refused Marxist-Humanism—and state-capitalism without Marxist-Humanism is simply abstract. But one of our discussions on state-capitalism in California was with ISers,⁶ and they think that the only reason they reject philosophy is because they want a short cut to revolution, and they think they are better organizers than we are, and therefore, they can make it. They think they can show us how to popularize our Absolute Idea.

It's not only that we have plenty better examples about popularization than they do, from Engels down, and nobody can shine Engels' shoes. But the point is that unless we can present the totality of our philosophy in our politicalization, then the ISers can say, I agree with you absolutely—the problem is state-capitalism—which, in fact, means 1) they have reduced philosophy to economics, and 2) they refuse to grapple with philosophy "in and of itself," as if it is sufficient just to have it "in the back of one's head."

So the question keeps going back to the same thing: what would the transition point of politicalization in our form mean? On what level would we argue with other tendencies, which I'm certainly very much in favor of doing.

Take the IS position on Portugal. On the one hand, it seems we have gotten closer to them because we have, in a sense, critically supported PRP-BR.⁷ In the discussion I had with the IS people who wanted to talk to me, I said: isn't it a fact that you guys are so crazy about the party to lead that you certainly appreciate what a party is, you certainly appreciate what a leader is, and yet you

5. In her introductory remarks to this presentation, Dunayevskaya said, "Because the originality of our philosophic contribution is not fully grasped, the whole discussion on 'philosophy, not philosopher' is misunderstood, so that the historic responsibility each one must work out is totally neglected. We have yet to develop what I call a nucleus of philosophic leadership." Space considerations prevent us from reproducing her introductory comments in full.

6. "ISers" refers to the International Socialists, an independent Left organization in the U.S. in the 1970s, many of whose members were of a Trotskyist persuasion. The leader of the British International Socialists—now known as the Socialist Workers Party—is Tony Cliff.

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POLITICALIZATION AND PHILOSOPHY VS. THE 'NEW WORLD ORDER' IN SOMALIA, BOSNIA, HAITI

I have been thinking about the category of "politicalization," as Raya Dunayevskaya discusses it in the 1987 essay you reprinted in the Bosnia pamphlet. She speaks of the meaning of politicalization "in Marx's new continent of thought as the uprooting of the capitalist state, its withering away, so that new humanist forms like the Paris Commune, 1871, can emerge." In 1993, more than ever, if you practice "politicalization" separate from philosophy, it separates you from reality and revolution. You just end up choosing one side or another of the existing superstructure—which has a lot to do with why so much of the Left is now falling apart.

Iranian Marxist-Humanist
Los Angeles

I like the coverage of San Francisco's crackdown on the homeless in the October N&L. You might find interesting that the editor of "S.F. Bay Guardian" made a parallel between Mayor Jordan's fanaticism and the U.S. role in Somalia, suggesting that the city's plan "to cope with homelessness by first arresting and then helping the downtrodden" was "bomb 'em and feed 'em, San Francisco style."

Oakland resident
California

A Black woman friend of mine who works with a community organization on Chicago's South Side told me a story which really brought home what Somalia means to many African Americans. She came home from work recently to find a Marine recruiter in her living room. When she demanded to know what he was doing there he informed her that her eldest son—who had just graduated from college—had just agreed to sign up for the Marines. Apart from her rage at the recruiter's invasion of her family, she is now terrified that her son could be sent to Somalia where he could be killed fighting other Black people.

Feminist
Chicago

The "grassroots" organizing to bring U.S. troops home from Somalia draws a parallel to the anti-war movement during U.S. involvement in Vietnam. But the push for "U.S. out of Somalia" (and out of Haiti, and never to Bosnia) is not coming from those who have a critique of American militarism and imperialism, but from a right-wing populist isolationism, which is also racist and building up an anti-immigrant hysteria. The majority of the Left cannot deal with complex situations like Haiti (where, after years of propping up fascism, the U.S. government is, for the moment, "supporting" democracy) or Bosnia (where U.S. imperialism is not "the enemy"), and so is largely silent on these intense global crises. But handing the banner of anti-interventionism over to the right wing only weakens any movement that might now be developing right here at home.

Revolutionary anti-interventionist
Los Angeles

Not knowing Mihailo Markovic personally, I have no explanation for his transformation from a Marxist dissident in former Yugoslavia to a major supporter of the current regime in Serbia. He may be satisfied now living at the "top," which of course is a question of character, not of philosophy. Seen from the outside it cannot be understood, for otherwise a philosopher of his calibre should very clearly see the nature of Milosevic's regime—the more so as the members of the Praxis group had revealed the roots of Yugoslav "socialism." But the "interests" of human beings are often what turns the scales and are— from the point of view of anybody else — "irrational." This is how I see it.

Correspondent
Prague, The Czech Republic

We see outbreaks of protest and rebellion, and the impact of the L.A. rebellion last year is still being felt. But domestic consciousness lags behind the international solidarity needed. There is no viable opposition to the U.S./UN "New World Order," no effective consciousness about the situation in Bosnia, Somalia, Russia or anywhere else. Liberal-

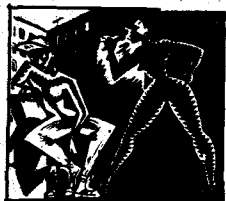
type loyal opposition seems the most we see. There is also too much complicity with the inhumanity being perpetrated against immigrants and undocumented workers here. Opposition based on humanism is a viable position in today's world, but obviously much work needs to be done.

D.A.
North Carolina

In the world today, "order" is put up as an icon, as the only alternative to "chaos," which is defined negatively. But who benefits from this "order"? At my college campus now, a security officer can stop you any time and ask you to show your ID—we have a pass card system in place at the Claremont Colleges!

I've been involved in planning a Women's Action Coalition (WAC) protest action against the right-wing Christian group "Focus on the Family," and have been thinking about the pull of fundamentalism, which appeals to a sense of "order." The rulers get away with their sloganeering, and we cannot ourselves respond just with sound bites. The Left cannot work a way out of the current crises until it grasps that there are deep philosophic questions facing us now.

Radical feminist
Pomona, Cal.



CONTRADICTIONARY VOICES ON RAP

I found "The contradictory voices of hip hop," in the October issue offensive in its unnecessary repetition of the insulting words most rappers use to refer to women. I don't think Robert Delaney realizes what it means to a woman to constantly be assaulted by these words rapped out of passing boom boxes. The rappers he holds up as the "flip side" of mainstream rap misogyny are a tiny minority. When Delaney says that "Raya Dunayevskaya refers to Black masses as vanguard," is he saying rap is revolutionary? Dunayevskaya saw Black masses as vanguard when they put "American civilization on trial," as they have done throughout U.S. history. Whatever revolutionary potential Delaney thinks rap has is neutralized so long as it aligns itself with the most virulent women-hating ever to be expressed in public.

Women's Liberationist
Chicago

I liked that a young Black man was willing to write seriously about the attitudes to women in hip hop music, and did it in relation to themes of Black nationalism in hip hop, because I think what is at stake, in part, is how African-American youth—men and women—define liberation. He made it clear that there is more than one voice within hip hop itself: the brutal, misogynist voice, but also the Nation of Islam woman on a pedestal voice, and the voices of the women rappers themselves. It makes me angry that people who attack rap often only hear the first voice, because that just adds to the way Black women's ideas are always getting ignored. I would like to see a future article specifically on the women rappers.

Student of Black history
Chicago

As a Black woman who is familiar with some music by women rappers and one who especially likes the work of Queen Latifah, I was angered to see an article printed in *News & Letters* by Robert Delaney, "The contradictory voices of hip hop." What I find objectionable is Delaney's unconscionable projection of misogynist language against women which exists within a lot of rap music. Although I am not for any kind of "censorship," I must say that I do have the same reaction to the words Delaney used as I would if the word "n-----" had appeared on paper!

Diane Lee
Chicago

Readers' Views



WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Some 400 passionate, angry women, and a small number of male allies, marched through the streets of downtown Long Beach on Saturday night Oct. 2, chanting with rage at the endless epidemic of male violence against women, and with determination to realize women's collective power: "We have the power. We have the right: The streets are ours—Take back the night!"

Prior to the march and rally, the coalition of mainly white women planning the event had had many internal disputes, centering primarily around issues of whether or not to allow male participation, and how and to what extent to reach out to communities of women of color. These questions were never fully resolved, and continue to need further discussion within the feminist community.

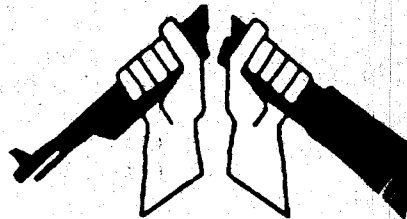
Take-Back-the-Nighter
Long Beach, Cal.

Mayor Jordan's task force here on welfare fraud, led by Joan Bennett, is harassing poor women and extorting money from them. One woman was threatened with arrest if she didn't sign a statement that she didn't report wages. Since she has children at home, and was worried only about getting back to them, she signed. The "investigation" accused her of owing \$18,000. They "prove" this by talking to neighbors, who are threatened with being investigated if they refuse to corroborate the charges. She has her phone tapped, etc. She said: "I have to fight this. I have four kids I have to teach that you do not just submit to harassment." To get more information, or send words of support, please write to Women's Action Coalition, The Women's Building, Box 25, 3543 18th Street, San Francisco, CA 94110.

WAC member
San Francisco

Your publication is one of the most uncompromising and comprehensive analyses of the times we live in. I work at the only women's magazine in Namibia, *Sister Namibia Collective*. We're in the process of building up a resource center and N&L is a great asset. We congratulate you on your work.

Sister Namibia
PO Box 60100, Katutura
Windhoek, Namibia



WRL CALENDAR

The War Resisters League annual Peace Calendar is a 5½ x 8½ desk calendar, spiral bound. This year it has 128 pages featuring vegetarian recipes, complete with a recipe index. They cost only \$12, including the postage and can be ordered from WRL, 339 Lafayette St., NYC 10012. Your readers probably know that the WRL has been around for 70 years, helps military resisters and counters military recruitment.

War Resister
New York

WHAT KIND OF EDUCATION?

Most youth get their information from school or TV so they don't know what's really happening in the world. The capitalist media doesn't tell even half of the truth. We have to keep that in mind when we talk with youth. We should also stop calling all people under 18 "high school youth." I used to get mad about that when I was still in jr. high. And what about the unemployed youth? And why should we limit our lives just to education and the oppression we get in school? We need more articles about the juvenile justice system, and youth sui-

cide, and racism, and sexual harassment. Youth want to know what is going on and why.

Youthful freedom fighter
San Francisco

In school, we don't learn how capitalist ideas permeate our education. It tells you a lot that University of California is cutting down on liberal arts and human studies. They only want to teach us how to get ahead. The schools are just factories producing labor for the market. N&L should get out to the schools to reach students because that's where the ideas of capitalism begin.

Youth
San Francisco

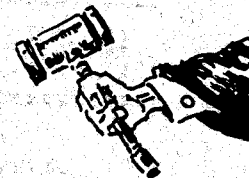
Governor Engler pushed a plan through the Michigan legislature to eliminate all property tax revenues for school funding which, in the name of achieving more equitable spending for schools, permits only the richest districts to levy any future property tax to raise revenue above what the state will provide. His much-promoted concept of "schools of choice" means that a private entity (a church, a business, an individual) can set up a "charter school" and get the state-mandated per-pupil amount for each student. With transportation not funded, inner city and rural students have no real choice, and the concept of educational equity is lost in the shuffle. To Black Detroit, the "two-tier" character of American capitalism keeps appearing in new forms. It will take a profound and ongoing revolution to uproot it.

White mother
Detroit

Education is needed not only in the ghetto, but mostly for the politicians and media. The violence waged against the young people—with no food, no job, no recognition—it just can't continue.

Black woman activist
North Carolina

TWO TRIALS: DETROIT AND L.A.



It's about time we had a verdict like we finally got in L.A. Blacks and Latinos have put up with racism for a long time. That's why the rebellion happened. If you haven't experienced what we have, you can't know what it's like.

Latino elder
Los Angeles

The defense attorney put it in a nutshell when he said that the media and the government had demonized Damian Williams. He said, "I knew I had to humanize him so the jury would know what April 29, 1992, meant to young Black men in South Central L.A." I believe him that "no pre-meditated intent was ever there, only rage at the system."

Court watcher
Los Angeles

Twenty-five years after the Kerner Commission Report on urban unrest warned, "We are moving toward two societies, one white and one Black," the Oct. 12 sentencing of the Detroit police officers convicted last month of murdering Malice Green evoked sharply different reactions from Blacks and whites. Black Detroiters (and whites from the neighborhood where Officers Budzyn and Nevers brutalized citizens for so many years) felt the sentences of eight and 12 years were too light. Whites who had supported the convictions are now saying "the officers were just doing their job" in the face of a local media blitz whipping up sympathy for the families of the officers. Rallies and petitions in support of the officers have proliferated in the suburbs that ring Detroit. With no riot erupting whites evidently have lost interest in seeing justice done.

S. Van Gelder
Detroit

ISRAEL/PALESTINE — STRUGGLE FOR AN IDEA

The way I understand what is happening now with Israel/Palestine is that it is a struggle for an idea—an idea embodied in a piece of land, the right to self-determination, to be recognized as a human being. The reality of the idea of freedom is often manipulated and controlled by the ruling powers, but the people want to have their say.

The collapse of the USSR opened up the Middle East, in that the PLO lost that support, and they also lost money after the defeat of Iraq. They had become a pawn in the game played by the rulers, who are no longer there for them. Islamic fundamentalism is, as well, a very powerful danger in the Middle East, and the whole world, today. It is very reactionary, and does not stand for the freedom of the masses. The Lead article in Oct. N&L was right to ask whether the voices from below will find a way to be heard and develop.

Black revolutionary
Los Angeles

Even though I enjoyed reading the Lead article of the October issue of N&L and recommended it to a lot of people, I have one critique. The article talks about two main factors behind the Israel-PLO agreement but not a word about the collapse of the USSR and its implications, especially the end of the Cold War. We cannot see the role of the U.S. in the peace agreement as just because of its weakness within.

Iranian revolutionary
Los Angeles

Continuing our debate with other "Leftist tendencies," we were shocked to learn that the SWP/ISO limits the whole Palestinian problem to a question of "position-taking." Blatantly distorting Lenin's *Theses on the National and Colonial Questions*, they claim that the revolutionary Left must back or "critically" support the bourgeois "nationalist" (Islamic fundamentalist) movements, for instance, Hamas and the Islamic Holy War in the occupied territories, on the grounds that the struggle is against imperialism. They ignore the ne-

cessity of grouping the proletarian and working masses of the oppressed and oppressing nations (in this case, the Palestinian and Israeli workers) to overthrow not only imperialism, but also, and primarily, capitalism, a condition without which, in Lenin's words, "the abolition of national oppression and inequality is impossible." The bankruptcy of the Left is in their lack of a revolutionary philosophy (Marx's Marxism) that takes as ground the struggle of the working masses, i.e., humanity.

Sin Mas and Carlos Varela
New York

Kevin A. Barry's Lead on the PLO-Israeli agreement (Oct. 1993 N&L) was excellent, but I could not find the two footnotes that were indicated in the text. The first came at the end of the paragraph on the "50 years of Left and nationalist politics in the Arab world" and Iran's use of "the ideology of Israel as enemy number one, even if they later made secret deals with the Israeli military." The second came right after the last sentence of the article, which had quoted Marx on "Time is the room of human development."

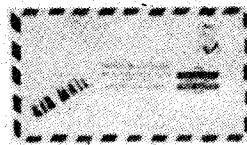
Puzzled
Chicago

Editor's Note: We apologize for the two footnotes dropped in the printshop. The first read: On these issues, see the pamphlet *Selections from Raya Dunayevskaya's Writings on the Middle East*, News & Letters, 1990. The second read: See his *Value, Price and Profit*, in Marx & Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 142 (1985).

OVERHEARD

Overheard: "Clinton promised he'd be a new kind of Democrat. Well, he certainly is. He's a Republican."

Correspondent
California



'FIXING' THE POSTAL SERVICE

Postmaster General Marvin Runyon has put thousands of postal workers out of jobs. Lest anyone think this is about improving the agency's bottom line, his real interests came out in a recent interview with a trade magazine. "The USPS is probably number seven or eight in the Fortune 500 companies. Look at the salaries our competitors pay. We've got to fix that." He doesn't mean paying the workers more. Bemoaning the mere \$148,000 he's allowed to pay his top execs, he wants to increase their pay to "around \$600,000!"

Jan Kollwitz
Chicago

FREEDOM AND HEGEL'S ABSOLUTES

Raya Dunayevskaya often discusses Hegel's concept of "individualism purified of all that interferes with its universalism, i.e., freedom itself." To me that means freedom must be comprehensive, embracing all human beings everywhere. Marx correctly observed that "a nation that oppresses another cannot itself be free." We can add that an individual who oppresses another, or who fails to oppose the oppression of others, cannot find freedom, either. Human freedom is an end in itself.

R. Bunting
Oxford

In his book review of Ofelia Shutte's *Cultural Identity and Social Liberation in Latin America* (Oct. N&L) Eugene Walker questioned the Left's attitude toward Hegel: "Latin American philosophers shy away from continuing with Hegel's dialectic into his Absolutes, which many view as a form of totalization which leaves no room for alterity, the marginalized of the underdeveloped world." Intellectuals who completely ignore Hegel seem to have the same view. You can see this time and

again when the subject is indigenous peoples. The conclusion always seems to be, what role can Native Americans possibly play in a post-capitalist society? (No room for alterity.) Those who originated the concept of "La Raza" had in mind a "future race" that was mestizo, it just swallows up the Zapotec, Quiche, etc. This has always been the prevailing view in the Left: that indigenous communities must acculturate, modernize, that they have a lot of catching up to do rather than having a lot to teach us about how to get free. If Hegel's Absolutes can help answer how "the marginalized of the underdeveloped world" gets to freedom, as Walker argues, it will have to prove itself in part by responding to what indigenous consciousness has to say.

Mitch Weerth
Bay Area

PHILOSOPHY AND LANGUAGE

I don't think that criticisms of the use of philosophic language in N&L should be taken to mean the critics assume the masses are backward. People view Hegel as a mystic because they fail to see "transcendence as an objective movement," not because of his use of language. This shouldn't become an excuse to become vague or obscurantist.

A. A.
New York

I agree that the nation and the world are facing a fundamental crisis. We need a mass Marxist party to deal with it. But *News & Letters* is way over the head of "Joe 6-pack" theoretically, and he's the one who has to make the revolution. N&L is valuable for news that doesn't appear elsewhere, but so far I don't see much mass appeal, and the emphasis on abstract theory turns off the "average working stiff."

M.S.
Eugene, Oregon

You ask for comments about N&L. My only comment is that you should publish more frequently! Here's my renewal.

Reader
Morgantown, W.Va.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

The following is a select list of publications available from *News & Letters*. A full list of our publications is available in our 15-page "Marxist-Humanist Literature Catalogue," available from N&L for 50 cents.

—BOOKS—

by Raya Dunayevskaya

- Marxism and Freedom ...from 1776 until today**
1989 edition. New introduction by author
.....\$17.50 per copy
- Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao**
1989 edition. New introduction by author
.....\$14.95 per copy
- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**
1991 edition. New introduction by author. Forward by Adrienne Rich.
.....\$12.95 per copy
- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future**
.....\$15.95 per copy
- The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism: selected writings.**
.....\$8.50 per copy
- The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya.**
"Presentation on *Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987*," and 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes."
.....\$3.00 paperback, \$10.00 hardcover

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Indignant Heart:

A Black Worker's Journal
1989 edition includes Afterword by Raya Dunayevskaya, "Charles Denby 1907-83"
by Charles Denby.....\$14.95 per copy

—PAMPHLETS—

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard**
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions"
by Charles Denby.....\$2 per copy
- Bosnia-Herzegovina: Achilles Heel of Western "Civilization"**
.....\$1 per copy
- Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis**
Contains Introduction, "Today's Epigones Who Try to Truncate Marx's Capital," and Chapters 5 through 8 of "Marxism and Freedom"
by Raya Dunayevskaya.....\$2 per copy
- The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.**
by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya\$2 per copy
- 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments**
by Raya Dunayevskaya.....\$1.50 per copy
- The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World Since World War II**
Includes "Introduction/Overview—Marxist-Humanism: A Half Century of Its World Development," and "Retrospective/Perspective: Thirty Years of News & Letters."
by Raya Dunayevskaya.....\$2 per copy
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First English translation.....\$2 per copy

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by Raya Dunayevskaya.....\$1.25 per copy
- Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought**
by Lou Turner and John Alan.....\$3 per copy
- Selections from Raya Dunayevskaya's Writings on the Middle East**
.....\$2.50 per copy
- Working Women for Freedom**
by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes\$1 per copy
- Dos ensayos por Raya Dunayevskaya**
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- The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development**
A 15,000-page microfilm collection on 8 reels
.....\$160
- Guide to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development.**
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Black/Red View

by John Alan

Congressman Ron Dellums' endorsement of President Clinton's decision to send more U.S. troops to Somalia hardly caused a ripple of political opposition among his "Left-liberal" constituency in the Berkeley/Oakland area. There have been no protest meetings at the Berkeley campus of the University of California; no critical editorials in the counter-cultural press condemning Dellums for his capitulation to the imperial incursion of U.S. capitalism in the Horn of Africa.

This uncharacteristic non-critical attitude can mean several things. The most likely is: Dellums' constituency has rushed forward, like himself, to embrace Clinton's "new liberalism" and that Dellums, after more than 20 years as an incumbent Congressman, has essentially become a faceless person in the establishment, unrelated to the reality and consciousness of a new generation of African Americans now living in a world of poverty and isolation.

Dellums has accepted Clinton's claim that the "United States erred in Somalia" when it waged a military manhunt for the clan leader Mohamed Farah Aidid, which resulted in the killing of many Somali women and children. In Congressman Dellums' own words, the President's changed policy is a move toward how to "learn to wage peace...in the context of multiculturalism."

Dellums' embrace of "multiculturalism" is certainly not a move to dethrone U.S. imperialism as a world power. He said: "A great nation admits when it makes a mistake and a great nation doesn't have to prove who's boss...in a few square blocks of Mogadishu" (*Oakland Tribune*, Oct. 8, 1993).

The tone of this statement conveys a feeling of arrogance about the alleged integrity of U.S. foreign policy in the post Cold War period. Dellums wouldn't have uttered this statement when he was the Left-liberal Berkeley councilman selected by Robert Scheer's April Coalition of liberals, radicals, university students and Black militants to run against the mainstream Democratic incumbent, Jeffy Cohelan.

In 1974 when Dellums ran for his third term he denounced the "corrupt and expedient politicians" who dominated the political process in Congress. "The issue," he said, "has come down to me in very simple

L.A. verdict

(continued from page 1)

"This justice system dates back to slavery. No, before slavery: it is high time to throw this system out." A Latino man was carrying a sign which stated that "Rebellion is justified."

In the Rodney King case Koon and Powell received less than the minimum sentence of 2½ years in prison for violating King's civil rights. "By law" these convictions required a minimum of four years imprisonment.

The police on the beat, who beat and beat and beat, are just doing their job to retain law and above all else, to retain order at the bottom, so that the "law-abiding" citizens at the top can sleep at night without fear.

The video-taped beating of Reginald Denny, a white trucker, by Black youth put fear in the heart of American society. A fear of the future. What the trial of Damian Williams and Henry Watson represents to the world at large is the L.A. Rebellion, which was an explosion which shook the world justice system to its very foundation. In other words, if the system has not worked for the Black masses for 200 years, then today, April 29, 1992, we will hold court in the streets. We will implement our own form of justice and law to show you our own dissatisfaction and hate for your system of injustice.

Historically I don't think that this trial can be seen in any other light, because this rebellion itself was on trial, not only Williams or Watson. Only the fear of the next rebellion could have changed the fate of these two young men. Many others face prison or are incarcerated today under riot-related charges. This case is only the high profile tip of the iceberg.

The invented charges against the two, from premeditated attempted murder to aggravated mayhem to assisting a premeditated attempted murder were not brought on by the act of beating Denny alone. The fact that Denny is white and the defendants are Black is enough in America 1993 to condemn any Black youth to life imprisonment, a living death behind prison walls.

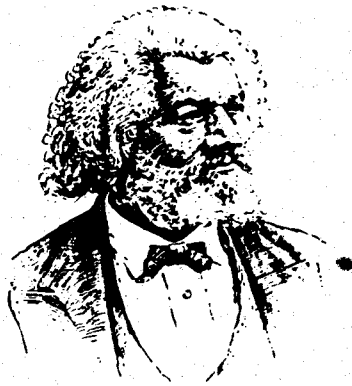
Many have compared the L.A. 4+ case to the trial of the cops who beat Rodney King. The charges of assault against the cops were the minimum of charges, while the maximum of charges against Williams and Watson were filed. Add to that the one-half-million-dollar bail placed on the defendants, while the cops were seen as no threat to society and allowed out with the minimum bail allowed. The unfairness of the two cases is obvious. But you must look at the two worlds which exist in American society and how strongly the division of the color line which exists within the "justice" system in particular reflects the whole of society, one Black and condemned, the other white and accepted, by law.

These two cases are different. What's right by law is the upside down view from the top, which doesn't see or hear the masses at the bottom, unless it's an act like the beating of Denny at the corner of Florence and Normandie. The L.A. Rebellion is not a moral issue of what is right by law or what is wrong. The violent acts that took place during the rebellion have historically placed American civilization on trial by the Black masses who in one way or another have condemned this system to death, so that we, the people, may live.

Dellums repeats an historic tragedy

terms: Can one continue to operate within the frame of the body politic from a position of principle, or must we always compromise ourselves in order to survive politically?"

In the seventies, Dellums presented himself as an outsider, a "movement" politician combatting the evils of an entrenched, corrupt political system engaged in an imperial war in Vietnam while ignoring conditions of racism and poverty at home. Today, Dellums, as the Chairman of the House of Representatives Armed Services Committee, in conjunction with his colleagues in the Black Congressional Caucus, are acting as "insiders" helping to shape Clinton's domestic and foreign policy



Frederick Douglass

agenda.

As "insiders," these African-American politicians have in actuality formed an alliance with the Clinton administration, behind the back of the African-American masses to attempt to resolve the ongoing crisis at the core of U.S. capitalism, i.e., the declining rate of capital accumulation. The political manifestations of this crisis appear in the forms of the controversy over the North American Free Trade Agreement, health care, welfare reform, the new crime bill and in such social issues as racism and poverty.

Even if some of the political aspects of this crisis are resolved, poverty, unemployment and its racist manifestations are bound to remain, because they are the "social products" of the very process of capital accumulation itself. At the same time, the economic crisis has revealed the poverty of thought now existing among the African-American leaders and intellectuals. They have no alternative to offer to the African-American masses other

Morrison wins Nobel

For African-American women, Toni Morrison's winning the Nobel Prize in Literature is something to celebrate. Morrison is the first African American woman ever to receive this award. In a telephone interview Morrison said, "This is a palpable tremor of delight for me." With this palpable tremor, we too are delighted.

Born as Chole Anthony Wofford in the steel town of Lorain, Ohio, 62 years ago, to the world she is known as Toni Morrison. Morrison is author-poet, a monumental talent whose works include *The Bluest Eye* (1970), *Sula* (1973), *Song of Solomon* (1977), *Tar Baby* (1981), the world-acclaimed *Beloved* (1987), her most recent novel, *Jazz* (1992), and collected essays. Videos of Morrison's interviews and speeches are also riveting.

Alice Walker eloquently stated, "No one writes more beautifully than Toni Morrison. She has consistently explored issues of true complexity and terror and love in the lives of African Americans. Harsh criticism has not dissuaded her. Prizes have not trapped her. She is a writer who well deserves this honor." —Diane Lee

Indians respond to earthquake tragedy

It was the day the gods had forsaken them. On Sept. 30, the last day of a celebration honoring Lord Ganesh, the elephant-headed god of wisdom and prosperity, the biggest earthquake to hit the Indian subcontinent in 58 years killed thousands of Maharashtrian villagers. The Indian government estimates the death toll at 12,000; local officials and relief workers maintain that up to 50,000 people were killed, thousands injured and 150,000 left homeless.

While the bustling industrialized cities of Maharashtra, such as Bombay, remain virtually unscathed, the rural villages of the southeastern area of the state lie decimated in piles of mud, rubble and ashes—the air polluted with the stench of rotting corpses and mass cremations. In fully 35 villages closest to the epicenter, entire families and entire communities were wiped out as people, unwarned, slept through the night.

The village of Khillari, one of the closest to the epicenter and one of the hardest hit, experienced 170 mild tremors in the past four years yet the response of the government was minimal at best. An "expert" team of seismologists and geologists had reassured everyone that no great danger was imminent.

The tragedy of this human and cultural destruction does not so much come from the fickle tyranny of natural powers; the tragedy lies in the fact that this destruction was preventable. The earthquake is not like other natural disasters because it is rarely itself the immediate cause of death.

In India, as in other "underdeveloped" countries, the

than the existing capitalist society.

Dellums and his colleagues in the Congressional Black Caucus also seem to be oblivious to the fact that they're repeating a tragic period in American history as they attempt to politically bind the historic struggle of African Americans against a racist society to the policies of a capitalist party. Frederick Douglass made that mistake in the post-Reconstruction period when he embraced the politics of the Republican Party as a shield against the forces of reaction and racism and found himself embroiled in an attempt to secure an American naval base at Mole St. Nicolas, Haiti. The role played by Douglass in this failed attempt to carry out the American "manifest destiny" in the Caribbean was to plague him the rest of his life, and he was a far greater person than any member of the present Congressional Black Caucus.

Milwaukee organizes

Milwaukee, Wis.—The city of Milwaukee has historically had an abysmal record in regards to civil rights and racial equality. Indeed, as of 1989, Milwaukee had the second highest unemployment rate for Blacks, 20.1%, while the white unemployment rate fell well below the national average at 3.8%. A University of Chicago study, headed by Douglass Massey, deemed Milwaukee one of five cities where segregation is so bad it is termed "hypersegregation."

The struggle for Milwaukee's poor, Black and Latino communities, and much of the tension surrounding these historical manifestations, was brought to a head when a Milwaukee police officer shot and killed an unarmed Black man, Leonard Young, as he stepped out of his car on Sept. 27. The white officer allegedly had mistaken a cassette tape for a gun and fatally shot Young.

A protest was held on Saturday, Oct. 9 at the 5th District police station on the corner of Locust St. and Martin Luther King Dr. During the rally a police car overturned, and three Black men were arrested.

The president of the Black Student Union at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Bernell Ross, said that the protest was held to get "justice for a Black man." He said that it's "appalling" that the city is going to attempt to bring felony charges against the three men involved with the protest while the "murderer" (the cop) has not been reprimanded. In fact, the city of Milwaukee has gone on record claiming that the officer did the right thing.

The implications of these events are obviously not unique to Milwaukee. One need only look to the Los Angeles uprising of 1992. Seen in context with the L.A. uprising, the lenient sentencing of the officers involved with Rodney King, the killing of a Black motorist in Detroit and the like treatment of the officers responsible for that, this latest outrage gives testament to the need for a meaningful response from the Left.

The Black community has taken the leadership role in pointing out and in organizing against the injustice. On Saturday, Oct. 16, a meeting was held at Ebenezer Baptist Church to create a "United Black Front" to deal with the problems facing African Americans in Milwaukee. Thus, the Milwaukee Black Community Union was established in order to "deal with the issues in the way we prioritized them, not according to any other pre-supposing governing body," said one of the organizers of the group.

When asked about the lack of political activism in the Black community, the organizer said, "It's been a long time coming," stressing further that he sees, "a new emergence of attitudes in people and a new level of consciousness." One of the goals of the group is to organize 10,000 people in Milwaukee to deal with problems of unemployment, violence, education and poverty. According to Mr. Ross, "If a system does not work for us we are going to have to find some alternatives."

—Matt S.

mud and masonry houses, designed to shelter the people from nature, turned into death chambers during the earthquake. People were buried under tons of heavy masonry and rubble.

This made relief efforts, conducted amidst the heavy monsoons that swept through the villages the day after the earthquake, particularly difficult. Now, weeks later, aftershocks have driven people out of their houses and villages to sleep in the rain-drenched but open fields. Humanity in this case finds refuge in Nature from its own alienation from Nature.

It is a tragedy that it takes a disaster of such proportions to recall the latent Humanism of our world. In a country torn apart by communalist tensions and violence, the earthquake sent a simple but sobering message: that Hindus and Muslims alike, both living on shaky ground in poorly built housing, died. While right-wing parties such as the Bharatiya Janata Party are attempting to exploit this human tragedy for their own purposes, relief volunteers of all ages, creeds and castes poured into the hardest struck areas to lend their fellow human beings a hand.

In fact, when the army, deployed by Narsimharao as part of his massive relief effort, finally got there, they had to send people away because there were too many helping hands. Thus while the earthquake wreaked havoc, we have witnessed what Rosa Luxemburg called "a resurrection" of humanism on the ruins of human culture.

—Maya Jhansi

Crisis and dissent grip Chicago schools

Chicago, Ill.—Throughout the month of October students and teachers have dissented against the on-going crisis in education through walkouts, demonstrations, and work stayaways.

Despite the fact that on Oct. 21 the rank-and-file membership of the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) voted 15,000 to 9,000 to accept a concessionary contract, the crisis in the public schools is not over. The agreement has to be approved in the state legislature, which has to work out a bailout plan to resolve the schools' remaining budget deficit. The Republicans, who control the Senate, are threatening to stonewall because they do not think the contract goes far enough in eliminating teachers' seniority rights, or in forcing other "productivity improvements."

Throughout the crisis the Republicans, led by the white suburban racist Senate President James "Pate" Phillip, have been attempting to use the situation to break the teachers' union and to impose a voucher system that would pay middle-class families to abandon the public schools and send their kids to private schools.

Even if the budgetary problems are resolved the crisis for students will continue because the quality of education continues its downward spiral. At Shurz High School on the north side, where 22 teaching positions have been eliminated, over 400 students walked out of school on Oct. 8 in protest of increased class sizes and longer class times. In the confrontation with police that followed, seven students were arrested.

On Oct. 12, over 5,000 Black youth marched on City Hall for a second time in a month carrying signs saying "No Education, No Vote," and demanding an end to the School Finance Authority (SFA) having financial oversight over the School Board. A state law, that applies to Chicago only, requires the SFA to shut down the schools if the board cannot balance the budget. The protesters also created a stir in the State of Illinois Building across the street by blocking off the escalators.

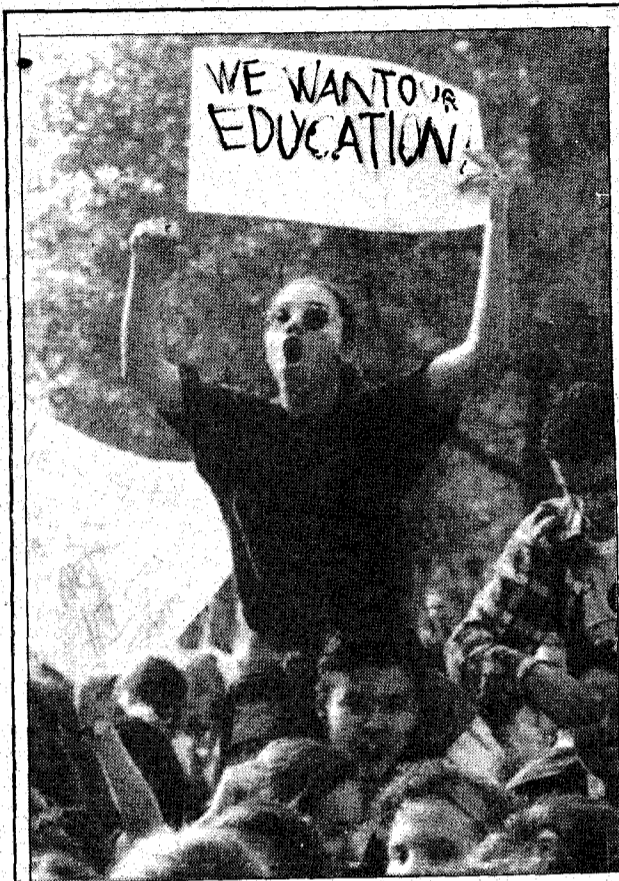
Rank-and-file teachers have also taken action to express their discontent. On Oct. 6, 25 teachers at Lakeview High School took the day off without pay and picketed in front of the school. Even after CTU leadership reached its tentative agreement with the board, 40 out of 70 of the teachers at Julian High School managed to shut down their school on Oct. 18 by calling in sick. They were protesting 18 teachers losing their jobs at

the school.

In an informal discussion in the faculty lounge of an elementary school on the west side, the teachers present all expressed outrage at school Superintendent Argie Johnson's demand that all the absent teachers produce doctors' notices or face a reprimand and loss of a day's pay. "What I'd like to see," one woman said, "is for all of us across the whole city to call in sick on the same day to show our support for those teachers."

This sentiment is not rare these days in a system where, for example, 32 staff positions are being chopped at Von Steuben High School, and 50% of the seniors at Kelyvn Park High School will not have the credits to graduate.

—Jim Guthrie



Over 400 Schurz High School students walk out to protest increased class sizes and the possibility that the schools could be shut down.

Paper carriers protest anti-youth layoffs

San Francisco, Cal.—On Oct. 4, hundreds of youth and union workers rallied against the firing of youth carriers by the San Francisco Newspaper Agency, which publishes the Chronicle and the Examiner. Over 300 youth had already been pink slipped as the agency began the process of laying off 917 carriers.

The demonstration was attended by Black and Latino youth from the Hunter's Point and Mission neighborhoods. These youth rely on their income from delivering papers to help support their families. The agency is terminating the youth carrier program so that they can hire part-time contractors. These contractors will have no benefits or job security and will be paid less than minimum wage.

Andy Cirkelis from Teamsters Local 921 said, "I believe this action is anti-youth because it cancels a long standing, one-of-a-kind program providing job training and salaries to over 900 primarily minority and low-income youth, while making a mockery of the newspaper's loudly proclaimed commitment to young people."

The youth are very angry that the agency cares more about profits than about human lives. One 14-year-old woman said, "They always print big headlines about how bad youth crime is, but then they fire us. How are we supposed to make money without training, without diplomas? My mom depends on the money I bring home to support me and my brothers. Now what will we do?"

—Participant

Black and Latino youth agree: jail the cops

Los Angeles, Cal.—Sept. 14, Jefferson High School had its first "Button Day" for the L.A.4+ [the four Black youth charged in the beating of Reginald Denny, plus others charged during the rebellion]. Despite confiscations by school police and teachers, dozens of students wore their "Jail the Cops/Free the L.A.4+" buttons (in English and Spanish) to classes.

This show of multinational unity was particularly moving at Jefferson High which is predominantly Latino. When students first started wearing the buttons, they were sent home by the principal. Then the school switched tactics and gave supporters of the L.A.4+ a chance to speak up in class. The plan of the school officials was to pit Latinos against Blacks because some Latinos were among those attacked at Florence and Normandie [at the beginning of the L.A. rebellion on April 29, 1992]. Teachers said the rebellion was just "senseless violence."

But this plan backfired when students of all nationalities united around "Jail the Cops." Virtually every student or their parents has been harassed by the cops.

—Reprinted from LAA+ Trial Update

Don't worry, be angry!

Bay Area, Cal.—I was on the bus, just rappin' and rapping out. This lady came up to me. She goes, "Why are you so angry? What have you got to be angry about? Can't you just be happy?"

I said to her, "Lady, what have I got to be happy about?" It's true too.

Adults, they think we live this carefree life, just hanging out with no worries. That's bullshit! We got plenty of problems. I got a lot to be angry about.

I get angry that we're so poor that my mom can't afford a better place. I get angry that my landlord won't do anything about the rats in our apartment. I get angry that no matter how hard I work on my assignments, my teacher gives higher grades to the rich kids cause theirs are typed.

So what's she saying? I got plenty to be angry about.

—Fifteen year old boy

San Francisco tries to drive out poor people

San Francisco, Cal.—On Oct. 6 Mayor Frank Jordan expanded his campaign against San Francisco's poor to cover the entire city, instead of just the tourist areas. On the first day 646 people were arrested throughout the city. Also on that same day 350 people converged on the Civic Center Plaza chanting, "We're here, we're poor, we'll kick Jordan out the door!" Demonstrations continued at Jordan's house throughout the night.

Since August when Jordan's "Matrix" program began trying to drive poor and hungry people away from San Francisco, members of Food Not Bombs have been arrested continuously for distributing bagels and soup to homeless youth and families in the Civic Center Plaza. This multi-departmental crackdown on the city's poor is called "Operation Quality of Life," and its purpose is to make San Francisco more attractive to tourists.

Matrix involves giving out \$76 tickets to homeless people for spitting, sleeping in public, eating in public, panhandling, or offering to help tourists with public transportation and directions. Obviously people who don't have enough money to eat or get shelter aren't going to have \$76 just lying around, so they end up in jail.

One woman told me police threatened to take her to jail for napping in a public park. The cops put handcuffs on both her and her three-year-old son, and even though it was 90 degrees out the cops put them in a patrol car and turned the heater on. When she was finally released from the car an hour later, with the threat that next time her son would be taken away, all of her possessions were missing and the police claimed they didn't know what happened to them.

Life story exposes Mao

Jung Chang, *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991), 524 pp.

This tremendously moving work by Jung Chang begins with the story of her grandmother literally escaping from the servitude of concubinage—on her tiny, painfully bound feet—in 1932. It continues through her mother's idealistic participation as a student in the underground movement that became the Chinese Revolution and her parents' leadership during and after the Revolution, through the reeling backward of the revolution in the 1950s and '60s, as her parents painfully faced Mao's shocking disregard for humanity and Jung Chang herself came of age.

Both of her parents were brutally beaten, tortured and imprisoned during the Cultural Revolution. Her father was never rehabilitated and was eventually driven to his death through the withholding of medical care because he had dared to critique Mao openly. Jung Chang's careful tracing of her family's tragic story from the perspectives of three generations of young women offers such an important critique of Mao's thought and practice that *Wild Swans* takes on great significance as a theoretical and historical work.

Jung Chang confronts the attempt to force women into a near-total return to the old ideology and reality of women's bondage and sexuality in China. She describes a 1975 experience in which she was criticized for smiling with her mouth open and failing to lower her eyelids: "My Communist parents...had regarded the restrictions on women as precisely the sort of thing a Communist revolution should put an end to. But now oppression of women joined hands with political repression, and served resentment and petty jealousy."

Equally poignant are her insights into Mao especially during the "Great Leap Forward" in 1958 when Mao announced, "Everybody, Make Steel!" and insisted on insane production quotas. The chaos and gross lying about production which ensued across the country reflected Mao's ignorance about running an economy, and resulted in starvation in even the most fertile parts of China.

Mao, she writes, showed "an almost metaphysical disregard for reality, which might have been interesting in a poet, but in a political leader with absolute power was quite another matter. One of its main components was a deep-seated contempt for human life." "The whole nation slid into doublespeak," she writes a few pages later. "Words became divorced from reality, responsibility, and people's real thoughts."

And of Mao's ability during the Cultural Revolution to create conflict so destructive that it engulfed nearly the entire country, beginning with the youth, Jung Chang writes the following: "I knew he was considered a philosopher, and I tried to think what his 'philosophy' really was. It seemed to me that its central principle was the need—or the desire?—for perpetual conflict. The core of his thinking seemed to be that human struggles were the motivating force of history, and that in order to make history, 'class enemies' had to be continuously created en masse." Since Mao was able to mobilize resentment by "getting people to hate each other," he had no need for an equivalent of the KGB, writes Jung Chang.

Although Jung Chang turns to the West and its political and personal freedoms in her Epilogue without facing the perpetual economic, social and political crises endemic to capitalism here, the questions that emerge in this story about philosophy, revolution, women's liberation and their relation to humanity, are challenging indeed.

It would lend further power to the work were she to ground her critique of Mao as philosopher of contradiction in a critique of his Chinese "socialism" as a facade for his driving China on the basis of sheer will to state-capitalism. Even so, one can't help but sense from the book that Mao's perpetual conflict was for anything but genuine freedom, and surely anything other than what Marx called "revolution-in-permanence."

—Laurie Cashdan

Homeless activists agree the crackdown is not limited to homeless adults. "It's sad to see cops harassing kids at the cable car turnaround. If those kids don't bring home money, then their families don't eat," said a 44-year-old homeless man from the Coalition on Homelessness. Many children, some as young as six or seven, beg tourists for food and spare change. These children come from the nearby Tenderloin, a neighborhood where families of ten or 15 members live in one-room, broken down, roach-infested apartments.

I spoke to Joey, a nine-year-old, who immigrated to the U.S. five years ago from Laos. "Mostly," he said, "I tell the tourists how to use the cable car ticket machines and how to get to BART or MUNI [the subway and bus systems]." For this Joey gets a quarter, a nickel, or sometimes nothing. The money goes to pay for doctor bills for his little sister or for food and school supplies.

Jordan's latest tactic to change San Francisco's reputation of tolerance is to steal shopping carts from homeless people in the Civic Center. He claims that missing carts cost stores "millions" of dollars. Some chain stores, however, give away carts when the wheels get bent, the child's seat breaks or when the store buys new sets. Many people have reported donated carts being stolen from them by the police.

The shopping cart plan caused enough hubbub in the alternative press that Jordan offered to give everybody duffle bags. Anybody who's ever been homeless, however, is smart enough to know heavy duffle bags are hard to keep track of, don't hold enough and have to be carried.

—Lynn

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

On Oct. 8, at the request of African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela, the United Nations General Assembly lifted three decades of economic, cultural and political sanctions against the South African regime. Mandela's call to end the sanctions came after it was agreed that South Africa-wide elections will be held on April 27, 1994, elections in which the Black majority (74% of the population) will for the first time be able to vote. A week later, on Oct. 15, another international accolade greeted South Africa: the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize jointly to Mandela and F.W. de Klerk, the leader of the apartheid state.

At this point, however, the 1994 vote is but a distant promise, while the reality on the ground is one of continued repression of the Black masses. That is why even bourgeois liberals were rather restrained in their praise of the Peace Prize award.

Inside South Africa itself, few recognized Black leaders with the exception of Bishop Desmond Tutu praised the award of the Peace Prize. General Bantu Holomisa of the Black enclave, the Transkei, caught the mood of many angry Blacks when he contrasted the awarding of the prize to a South African army raid across the border

Defend Iraq's Marsh Arabs

Forgotten by the world, even more than the Iraqi Kurds of the north, are the Shiite rebels of southern Iraq who also rose up against the Saddam Hussein dictatorship in 1991 at the end of the Gulf War. Today, hundreds of thousands of these Shiites, who have lived for centuries in the marshlands where the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers meet, face genocide and ecocide.

In an attempt to suppress the estimated 10,000 Shiite guerrilla fighters who have taken refuge in the marshes, the regime has begun draining the vast marsh itself. Saddam's forces have dug a new canal and are now gradually drying up the marsh. Large stretches of the central part of this vast wetland which formerly comprised 6,000 square miles has been turned into dry land. Some 400 villages have been destroyed in recent months, and a tight siege preventing all food and medicine from entering the area has been drawn by the army.

Thousands have probably died and thousands more face death as the noose tightens around them. Many have escaped to refugee camps in neighboring Iran. This process of repression actually began in the 1980s when 700,000 people lived in the marshes, but it has accelerated since the war and the rebellion of 1991. Today there are only about 200,000 people left living in the marshes.

The so-called Madan or Marsh Arabs are an indigenous people whose distinctive way of life, which involves great creativity in adapting to an extremely harsh environment, can be documented 6,000 years into the past. Viewed by the dominant group of Iraqi Sunni Muslims as not "real Iraqis" but rather descendants of Black slaves brought into the area 500 to 1,000 years ago, the Marsh Arabs have long suffered discrimination.

British M.P. Emma Nicholson went into the marshes in September and stated afterwards: "The Baghdad regime has set out to obliterate the Shiites. It's difficult to call this anything but genocide."

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* (1958); *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (1973), and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982) 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

into Transkei. This murderous attack took place in the very week between the lifting of the sanctions and the award of the Peace Prize. In the raid, five alleged Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) guerrillas, some of them teen-

South Africa at the crossroads

agers, were killed as they slept. Because of this, stated Holomisa at the youths' funeral, de Klerk did not deserve the Peace Prize.

Since Mandela was released from prison in 1990 by de Klerk, 10,000 people, overwhelmingly Black South Africans, have been killed. Sometimes they have been done in by police or military forces of the white regime, or by white fanatics. More often, however, they have been killed in the so-called township violence in which heavily armed thugs from the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom (sic) Party have rampaged through Black communities at will. These thugs are abetted by the very security forces who claim to have difficulty catching them.

In recent weeks, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has made public his alliance with the most retrogressive, racist wing of the white community, the so-called Volksfront. The latter, led by retired police and military types, advocates setting up a white "homeland" including much of the country's most economically viable territory, plus its two largest cities, Johannesburg and Pretoria. These fascist groups, Black and white, have threatened armed resistance to the elections.

But as shown last Spring by the massive demonstrations surrounding the assassination by a white fascist of ANC leader Chris Hani and by their still frequent strikes and demonstrations, the Black masses are near the end of their patience with the massacres and with the delays which Mandela and the ANC have accepted during the long negotiations over majority rule.

It is the determination of those Black masses to be free, plus the allies they have gained within certain sectors of the white, Asian and mixed-race communities, that offers some hope for the future. It definitely was a factor in de Klerk's finally agreeing to set an election date. Unfortunately, however, some of the many roadblocks which still stand in the way of a liberated South Africa come from the ANC's own self-limiting concept of Black liberation.

Bosnians face winter of war

While the plan to partition Bosnia into Serb, Croat and Muslim ethnically-defined enclaves was rejected by the Bosnian Parliament last month, it is far from a dead letter. Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic has argued for a new round of peace negotiations, de facto conceding partition while demanding more land be granted to Muslims and that accords be backed by an international military force.

For its part, the Clinton administration donned NATO uniforms and reentered the political-military arena in mid-October. It authorized warplanes to conduct low-level flights over Serbian positions which had begun a new round of shelling civilians in Sarajevo. The move seems intended to pressure Bosnian Serbs to make some small concessions and end the fighting. The Clinton administration is once again waving the stick of military intervention, claiming it will call down air strikes when the "strangulation of Sarajevo" reaches a certain unknown point—as if the last 18 months have not been a nearly-mortal chokehold.

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has also assumed a posture, temporarily, of "reconciliation," pressuring his Bosnian Serb surrogates to ease their military campaign so the UN will lift its international sanctions. The bottomless pit of war expenditures has left the economy in shambles, with inflation soaring at 20% each day.

In face of the genocidal drive by Serb and Croat armies, most Bosnians still hold fast to the principle of a multi-ethnic society. But the release of their revolutionary potential is being blocked by the void in projecting a liberating vision of the future.

As the Bosnian people face another winter of war, theoretical and practical solidarity is more urgently needed than ever.

Elections in Greece

The October election in Greece, which once more brought Andreas Papandreou and the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) back to power, was a resounding rejection of the over three-year economic austerity which had been imposed by the previously ruling New Democracy party. Upon assuming power, Papandreou called for a policy of "national pride," and instituted measures to renationalize the public transportation system and end a plan to privatize Greece's telecommunications system.

Papandreou owed his election as much to nationalist opportunism which was whipped up in 1992 when the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia asked to be recognized as "Macedonia." The Greek government of then-Prime Minister Mitsotakis claimed the demand for recognition had expansionist overtones and constituted a "provocation." Papandreou's campaign was even more super-nationalist, supporting Serbia and threatening to become involved militarily.

Greece's economy already has the highest percentage of spending on the military of any Western country, followed closely by Turkey. The austerity program of the former government has not alleviated economic stagnation, the highest inflation in Europe (nearly 13%) and pervasive poverty.

One commentator described the election as a "negative vote for the lesser of two evils." Whether the old-new rulers can use nationalism to divert Greeks from a genuine alternative remains to be seen.

Czechs protest fascism



About 200 demonstrators in Prague, Czech Republic, Oct. 2, condemned the growing violence of fascist and racist elements, above all the skinheads. The demonstrators marched from the Old Town Square to the Wenceslas Square in the center of the city. Speakers pointed out three recent events: the fatal injury of Filip Venclik by a man who is said to have been seen greeting with a Nazi salute, the murder of a 38-year-old man in Prague who defended Gypsies against skinheads, and an attack on a Gypsy in the South Bohemian town of Pisek.

Mexicans remember 1968

Over 100,000 people marched in Mexico City, Oct. 2, to the Plaza of Three Cultures in Tlatelolco, where hundreds of student demonstrators were massacred 25 years ago. The marchers included veterans of the 1968 demonstration together with youth of the 1990s.

On Oct. 2, 1968, more than 10,000 students and supporters had rallied in Tlatelolco against the government of then President Diaz Ordaz. They were calling for freedom of speech and reforms in the university, as well as protesting the huge sums squandered on hosting the 1968 Olympics while masses of Mexicans were locked in poverty. Army soldiers opened fire, killing at least 300 and wounding thousands. Hundreds more were arrested, then beaten and tortured in prison. The government has never admitted to more than 32 deaths.

The 1993 march was held not only to commemorate 1968, but to demand that the government of President Salinas Gortari open its files on the events of 25 years ago. A group of independent intellectuals and journalists have formed a "Truth Commission" to investigate the massacre. Reportedly, Salinas has approved of the Commission without cooperating with its requests for information. But as novelist Homero Aridjis observed, the government is 25 years too late: "The moment to tell the truth has passed. The system has already covered up its monsters and erased its tracks."

rooted in her rediscovery of Marx's Marxism in its original form as a "new Humanism" and in her recreation 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.

Dunayevskaya's philosophic comprehension of her creation and development of Marxist-Humanism, especially as expressed in her 1980s writings, presents the vantage point for re-creating her ideas anew. Seeking to grasp that vantage point for ourselves and make it available to all who struggle for freedom, we have published Dunayevskaya's original 1953 philosophic breakthrough and her final 1987 Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* (1989), and have donated new supplementary volumes to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection. 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.