

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

Vol. 40 — No. 4

MAY 1995

25¢

Fascist visage in Okla. City

The monstrous terrorist bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City on April 19 has unveiled a truly startling phenomenon—the growth of an outright homegrown fascist movement in this country. It is hard to imagine how anyone but a fascist could perpetrate this bloody horror, which killed as many as 200 men, women and children. That a member of a far-right paramilitary organization appears responsible, underlines the extent to which this country's political climate is fostering the rise of a new breed of incredibly reactionary tendencies.

It is not just in Michigan that groups like the Michigan Militia, a 10,000 member paramilitary group to which the bomber once belonged, are sprouting like spring weeds. Hundreds of such groups abound across the country, united around a staunchly racist anti-Black, anti-Jewish, anti-immigrant, anti-feminist outlook. These groups are not

(Continued on page 4)

Workers empowered for whom?



by B. Ann Lastelle

One evening several weeks ago I found myself lying on my back under the infeed conveyor to the drop case packer adding oil to the main drive motor gearbox. Was this the new me? An "empowered" worker developing new skills? A woman challenging the nearly all-male bastion of mechanical maintenance? Not exactly. I'm just trying to keep my job.

Machine operators ("technicians") who work in new units of Helene Curtis are responsible for regular preventive maintenance as well as product quality. These responsibilities are being added to jobs in other manufacturing units of the company, but more slowly and against more resistance.

Preventive maintenance can be a long, painful process when you begin not even knowing what a gearbox is. The supervisor ("team leader") handed me a computerized list of checks and tasks to be done. I had to figure out what the parts were, how to get at them, what tools to use (and didn't have all the right ones), what oil, what grease. I bombarded my co-workers and the maintenance mechanics with questions and dragged them to the machine between each step. Did I feel good about learning

(Continued on page 3)

Black World

Rwanda in the new world order



by Lou Turner

More than one analyst looking at the checker-board of Africa's terrain of crisis has pointed to its vast diversity of regime collapse and social implosion. Bedazzled by these particularisms of the postcolonial state in Africa, Ali Mazrui has asked recently, "Are Somalia, Rwanda, Liberia, Angola and Burundi experiencing the death throes of the old order? Is the colonial order being washed away with buckets of blood? Or are we witnessing the agonizing birth pangs of a genuinely postcolonial order?" (World Policy Journal, Spring 1995, p. 28).

The advanced stage of dissolution underway in Africa makes it an uncomfortable mirror in which the West and the rest of the world get a glimpse of their future. Africa is that single multiform mass of the world's humanity that is leaving the 20th century in worse shape than it entered. Having first come under the imperialist yoke of Western colonialism at the turn of the century, after which it set in motion a continent-wide process of decolonization at mid-century, Africa has now come under the dissolving motion of a third historical phase, namely, the restructuring of the state and postcolonial civil society.

The prognosis Raya Dunayevskaya made in 1959 that Africa will be channelized to "function within the order of world state capitalism" (Afro-Asian Revolutions, p. 9), resonates more powerfully today, as Africa's ongoing

(Continued on page 8)

Youth mobilize against the Right



Thousands of students march on New York State capitol in Albany to protest Gov. Pataki's budget cuts.

by Jim Guthrie

"Idealism is American," House Speaker Newt Gingrich declared in his nationally televised "presidential" address at the conclusion of the first 100 days of the Republican-controlled Congress. Youth from coast to coast, however, have expressed a very different kind of idealism in their opposition to Gingrich's deadly "Contract on America" in demonstrations, marches, hunger strikes and sit-ins.

University student protesters are refusing to separate the draconian cuts proposed in the federal education budget from the Gingrich-Republicans' crusade to drag our society backwards by glorifying the free market and blaming all our problems on those who are the most disadvantaged and powerless. Youth are combatting the racism, sexism and xenophobia at the root of the Gingrich ideology by defending immigrant rights and affirmative action, and by demanding multicultural education.

As Ydanis Rodriguez, a Dominican student active at City College in New York, put it, "We have learned from the past that our focus must not only be the budget cuts on education, but we have to create a coalition to oppose the Contract with America...We don't think it's fair to

balance the deficit by cutting services to poor people, and we don't think we have to pay the consequences of a ruined economic policy where 25% of the budget was spent on the military and Star Wars."

NEW YORK AT CUTTING EDGE

The most massive and sustained youth opposition to the budget cuts and the "Contract on America" has come in New York City where college students have built alliances with high school students, labor and the Black and Latino communities. Like the "Contract on America," Governor George Pataki's state budget proposes harsh cutbacks in education and social services in order to reduce the deficit while paying for tax breaks for the rich.

(Continued on page 10)

ON THE INSIDE

FROM ARCHIVES OF MARXIST-HUMANISM
• 'Totalitarianism, U.S. style' page 4
ESSAY ARTICLE • 'The concept of the subject in Marx's Capital' page 5

Now more than ever, we need your help!

The horrifying slaughter at the hands of home-grown white supremacists we have just witnessed in Oklahoma is integrally tied to the chilling and hate-filled climate in this country today. What Gingrichism's first "100 days" only laid the foundation for goes well beyond mere "mean-spiritedness." It is lethal. The forces of the Right, whether far or "near," have proved themselves determined and well-armed to force the poor from the welfare rolls; demonize especially young single Black women; cut all aid to the education of the youth; destroy our environment; veritably criminalize our immigrant population, documented or not; and build more and more prisons to take care of capitalism's crisis. Above all they are determined to widen the "gap" between rich and poor — already greater than in any other country of the Western world — into a veritable chasm.

It demands of us the strongest kind of activity against this drive to push us back to the most barbaric elements of capitalism's past. The voices of the revolt are heard in every issue of N&L — especially loud and clear in the reports in this issue of the youth who have refused to separate the questions of racism, sexism, Proposition 187 or welfare rights, and have begun to forge new alliances with labor. **But nowhere else except in NEWS & LETTERS are all the voices from below heard unseparated from the articulation of a philosophy of revolution which gives action a direction and lets those voices ring louder and clearer!**

Never was it more important to keep alive a paper like NEWS & LETTERS as crucial part of the struggle against the retrogression that has gripped every part of the land today. **BUT WE CANNOT DO IT WITHOUT YOUR HELP!**

* * *

We have called on you, our readers, to help in keeping us

alive every year since our birth 40 years ago, during the height of McCarthyism. This year we ask for your help both to help us pay the ever-rising bills of our office rent, our soaring postage costs, and the \$1,400 it costs us to print every issue of N&L — and to help us establish a printing fund for a new publication we are undertaking as an integral part of the struggle against the new face of retrogression: A Marxist-Humanist Statement for the 1990s on the Black Dimension. You have already read much of the material that will shape it, right in N&L — from the new labor struggles being waged in the South and the new community organizations that arose out of the L.A. Rebellion — to Marxist-Humanist analyses such as an editorial relating today's rollbacks to the Black codes of reconstruction or an essay answering in the affirmative whether Marx's critique of capitalism is still valid.

NEVER WAS YOUR HELP MORE NEEDED. PLEASE GIVE AS GENEROUSLY AS YOU CAN OF YOUR SUPPORT AND YOUR IDEAS! WE CANNOT CONTINUE WITHOUT THEM!

Enclosed is my contribution \$ _____ to help keep N&L going.

I am enclosing \$ _____ for gift subscriptions (addresses enclosed).

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Send with check or money order to NEWS & LETTERS, 59 E. Van Buren St. #707, Chicago, IL 60605.

Feminism, multiculturalism and revolution

by Laurie Cashdan

I spent the final day of Gingrich's infamous Hundred Days of the "Contract on America" at Wayne State University in Detroit, where I was invited to speak on "Feminism, Marx and Multiculturalism." I found students anxious to discuss the Right breathing down our necks in Congress and in states like Michigan. Their questions get at the heart of what we face in the women's movement, both from the Right and from stumbling blocks in the women's movement itself.

Two Black teenagers just leaving a "career fair" on campus, grabbed the leaflet for the lecture after reading its point on the "concerted drive to end women's rights to abortion, affirmative action, and welfare support." Both the young woman—who was pregnant—and the young man, were tremendously upset about threats to student loans and about plans to cut off welfare for teenage mothers: "How are you ever supposed to get a job if they won't let you get an education? It doesn't make any sense."

Several women's questions addressed in a different way the challenge we face in the women's movement; indeed, for me, all these comments shed new light on theoretical issues about the future of feminism.

ON FEMINISM'S FUTURE

"If we could not get the ERA [Equal Rights Amendment] passed 20 years ago because of all the divisions in the women's movement, then how are we going to face what's happening now?" was a question posed by a Black woman. "To me, the problems center on this issue of multiculturalism. We come in all sizes, shapes and colors, and people just don't get that."

In the 1970s, added another woman, working-class women in Detroit didn't support the ERA because it would have eliminated workplace protections they had fought for. Yet a dialogue on this never took place.

A young white student newer to feminism, responded by saying that she was quite excited about the April 9 March for Women's Lives in Washington, D.C. She felt the multicultural presence there would have been impossible years earlier. She also wondered whether change would be possible without revolution. Further discussion addressed how multiculturalism could move beyond a "rainbow coalition" to a more engaged working out of different women's problems and ideas.

These concerns about feminism, multiculturalism and revolution today spoke sharply to dimensions of Marx that were raised in the lecture but need much more intensive discussion. It is crucial to see that Marx's dialectical methodology in working out Man/Woman relations, multilinear avenues to socialism, and other crucial problematics, has been bypassed by Marxist feminists who categorize his body of ideas as solely concerning class exploitation and private property.

It is easy to see how socialists with elitist attitudes toward women and Third World revolutions would miss the fullness of Marx's philosophy. But this makes it even more urgent for feminists to uncover the Marx that does have relevance to our problems today. The challenge is not just to create new Marxist-feminist theory, but a theoretical movement which can unite with a movement from practice capable of transforming actuality itself.

THE RELEVANCY OF MARX

The drive to reveal new emancipatory possibilities in both theory and practice characterized Marx's entire body of work. It is illuminated particularly sharply in his *Ethnological Notebooks*, written at the end of his life in the early 1880s, on multilinear pathways to revolution in non-capitalist societies that might allow them to avoid the tragedies of western capitalism.

Marx was commenting on new anthropological scholarship. He traced dialectical developments within a number of precapitalist societies. Man/Woman relations—their relative egalitarianism as well as their in-

equalities—loomed large in these commentaries as they illuminated possibilities for future socialist forms as well as dualities that could lead to class society if not transformed through revolutions in which, as our age has shown, women would be central.

These *Notebooks* speak to feminism today. In the late 1960s, feminists rejected the Left's abstract ideas of socialism because they didn't speak to the depth of new human relations women were calling for. In the 1980s and '90s, there has been a shift in which many feminists, especially women of color, have been critical of feminism's abstract universals of womanhood, and elitism toward women of color and working-class women.

Woman as Reason

These two critiques, of socialism without feminism and feminism without multiculturalism, connect with Marx's concerns, that revolutionary philosophy not be made into an abstract universal.

It is surprising that few scholars, let alone feminist ones, have begun to seriously explore Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*, which were first published in the 1970s—a decade rich with feminist theory and activity. Indeed, the reduction of Marxism into economic determinism is having as serious repercussions today as during Marx's lifetime when he battled this view.

As I felt in Detroit—a city feeling the full brunt of retrogression—the questions raised by feminists about socialism, feminism, and multiculturalism, have intensified since the Nov. 8 elections. These questions can help us if they open discussion about revolutionary theory—which would include discovering a new Marx.

Women protest in D.C.



In a demonstration against the Republican's Right-wing offensive, 200,000 people, including many young women, marched and rallied in Washington, D.C. last month. A *News & Letters* correspondent reported that the crowd "filled the mall behind the capital almost to the Washington monument. Punctuated by the huge clothesline project, which documented violence against women with homemade T-shirts, the message was clear: the norm in this society remains violence against women and the Republican Agenda represents a counter-revolution that will increase anti-woman violence—in the home, at work, outside clinics, and by back-alley abortions."

Women Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

More than 600 women, men and children marched and rallied on March 27 in Blacksburg, Va. in their sixth annual Take Back the Night protest. The chanting demonstrators demanded safe streets and an end to all forms of violence against women.

—Information from *New River Free Press*

Amnesty International (AI) has issued a report stating that women around the world are denied human rights because of deeply rooted discrimination, war and repression of their political and social activism. They reported that most casualties of war are women and children, with women targeted for reprisal killings, rape and sexual assault. Women fleeing conflicts make up 80% of the world's refugee population. AI called on governments to use the UN Conference on Women in Beijing in September to eliminate these violations against women.

The Chinese government just made that more difficult. In an unprecedented move, they plan to banish the Non-Governmental Organization's (NGO) Forum on Women away from the Fourth UN World Conference on Women. The NGOs (who are expecting 25,000 participants) were suddenly moved to a remote site accessible by one road, over an hour from Beijing, with a scarcity of telephones, no modems or satellite capabilities, inadequate housing and toilet facilities and only one public bus route. The NGOs are the most militant participants at UN conferences. The Sisterhood is Global Institute is calling for protests of this outrageous expulsion.

Thousands of women working in the squalid conditions on plant assembly lines in northern Honduras are continuing their struggle to form unions. Young women workers have reported being forced to take contraceptives to prevent pregnancy, as well as stimulants so they can work as long as 48 hours at a stretch.

—Information from *Asian Women Workers Newsletter*

Parental consent vs. a mind of our own

Chicago—My senior year of high school, when I was living with my sister in Wisconsin, I found out I was pregnant and was devastated. Wisconsin had enacted parental consent law.

When I was 13 my mother told me, "If you ever get pregnant, I won't let you have an abortion." I never got that statement. When I became pregnant I felt I had no control. I had no rights as a minor. I felt I had to take control of my life and somehow I found a way to get around the system.

I decided to go from Wisconsin to Illinois, which didn't have a parental consent law. I had to make an appointment for an abortion in a state three hours away and get there on time using public transportation, which I was unable to do three times. I faced so many obstacles, beginning with money, having to lie. It was very stressing. In the end, I was pregnant one month longer than I expected to be.

There was someone from Planned Parenthood in Wisconsin to represent me for a judicial bypass. But it was so demeaning to me as an individual, it wasn't a real choice. I wasn't about to let a judge tell me, "No, this is your first priority. Now you have something to think about besides yourself."

The reason I always used birth control (which failed), was so I could go to college without any obstacles. Because what is there for a teenager, what is offered her by the government when she has a baby—welfare?

I knew how it was to grow up under the welfare system and in public housing. You either get as far away from it by struggling to get into a university, if you've made it through a poor high school system, or you become trapped in it. Once you're trapped—and getting pregnant is a way of being trapped—it is so much more difficult to get out. Another closed door is to be kept trapped in a community where you are judged and criticized. I'm not saying abortion is the easy way out. But it's an option, an option that might be taken away.

For those young women who are trying to make a better life for themselves and their babies, if the "welfare reform" and parental consent laws pass, all it will do is hold them back.

When it comes to my body, I can make my own decisions. Parental consent laws are dangerous and tell teenagers that they don't have minds of their own, that they cannot think for themselves clearly and cannot make the right decisions. Who's to say that? Who's to judge? That's what they're doing.

—19-year-old Latina college student

Gay and Lesbian Awareness week

San Jose, Cal.—This year's Gay and Lesbian Awareness week at San Jose State, organized by student activists, created space for thought on the revolutionary roots, progress and future of les/bi/gay liberation. The events began with a panel from the local P-FLAG (Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays) chapter. Interestingly, all four of these heterosexual panelists/parents had been active during the social movements of the 1960s, and so found it within themselves to overcome their own homophobia when their children came out.

The next day's panel featured two local activists who were involved in the first gay/lesbian organization in San Jose. Wigsy Sivertsen spoke of the homophobic atmosphere of the late 1960s, characterizing it as a "virulent attack on our sense of being." The earliest queer group in San Jose, the San Jose Gay Liberation Front, was often ignored by the heterosexual leftists, who displayed an exaggerated tolerance while maintaining that queer liberation was not "the real revolution."

Margarethe Cammermeyer, the keynote speaker, addressed an auditorium filled with over 700 people who admired her stance in fighting the military's ban on gays and lesbians. She spoke tellingly of her early heterosexual marriage, saying she married because "I couldn't think of any reason why not to marry him...I didn't know there were options."

Cammermeyer was forthright in connecting some issues, such as the sexism of Taillhook, the racism of Truman's generals who opposed racial segregation, and the oxymoron of "military intelligence." But her criticism did not extend to the very killing functions of the military, or to the corrosive effects of U.S. imperialism. The contradictions of Cammermeyer's blend of insight with conformity and assimilation bothered me, not the least because it seemed to bother so few others in the audience.

The final event provided some meaningful alternatives during a panel discussion on "Sexuality, Philosophy, and Women (Loving Women!)." The participants all agreed that reform would not create a new and better world for queers, and that falling back exclusively onto biological determinism was a weak defensive argument.

This author said that "Reform, acquiescence to structural sexism, settling down, playing the games of patriarchy as if they were the only games in town—these options all erase lesbian existence. Lesbians must continue to live, to grow, to express their own voices, to recreate the world anew."

—Jennifer Pen

Poetry for the people!

Watsonville, Cal.—As a response to Proposition 187, Adrienne Rich transformed the April 22 ceremony honoring her as Santa Cruz County's Artist of the Year into "an occasion to celebrate the creativity of every new immigrant voice in our community." She had the event moved to Watsonville, which is a primarily farm worker community, and invited five young students and seven other local poets to read their work along with her. It became an inspiring celebration of the human spirit fighting against racism.

Rich spoke of "poetry as a communal art, an art of connectedness." This continuity was apparent in the political concerns of the poets, who contrasted the hatred of Proposition 187 with the humanity of authentic relationships of creativity and diversity. Adrienne Rich read widely from her poems, bringing home the very troubled nature of today's world, and paid homage to the strawberry pickers. Just that day, in the town square, we had spoken with strawberry pickers who were among farm workers fighting for United Farm Workers recognition in a mushroom plant.

Rich ended her reading with "Dreamwood," from *Time's Power*, where she posed the role of poetry itself as a dimension of the movement.

"She would recognize that poetry isn't revolution but a way of knowing why it must come... She thinks the material and the dream can join and that is the poem and that is the late report."

—Jennifer and Ursula

Legacy of May Day is alive in today's labor battles

Black-white unity remains after Overnite union drive

Memphis, Tenn.—We were involved in an organizing drive at Overnite Transportation for about three months. It was an important event for workers in Memphis, and it was part of a national drive of the Teamsters union to organize non-union trucking companies. On April 25, after a long day and night of voting, we learned that we had lost the election. More than 400 drivers and dock workers at the terminal on Brooks Road near the airport voted, and we lost 245 to 176. It was a hard blow to take.

I worked on the campaign as a volunteer organizer, since I am a steward in Teamsters Local 667. The company did everything they could to defeat the union. We filed over 40 unfair labor practice charges during the campaign, and now we will try to have the election thrown out. But frankly, the Labor Board (NLRB) here is not much good.

Overnite gave the workers a \$1.00 an hour increase in the middle of the campaign. And they tried to split Black workers and white workers. On the dock they gave some white dockmen walkie-talkie radios to talk to each other; management was trying to make them feel that they are better than other workers. They also offered drivers an extra 40¢ an hour if they wear ties while driving. This is all part of the way they are trying to take control of workers' minds.

At the same time, they were cracking down, disciplining workers who openly supported the union. The crack-down didn't stop us from having a great rally for the organizing drive on April 8. We held it at West Haven Rap-

tist Church, a Black church only a few blocks from the plant. About 300 workers and family members came to the rally, both Black and white. It was something to see; many white drivers who live in Southaven, Mississippi, came and brought their families to a Black church. Rev. Willie Hardy, a Black minister who is also a Roadway driver and a Local 667 member, gave a nice speech.

About 60% of the Overnite work force is white, and there are union supporters in both Black and white. After the rally, we marched to the terminal. The police had to close Brooks Road.

It hurt to lose the election, but I felt good about what many workers did to participate. I know there comes a time when everybody has to take a stand. We can't just wait for another Martin Luther King; we need to stand up for ourselves. No one can free us but us. People who say "When King died, the dream died," will end up with a slave mentality. Each of us has to find our own way to freedom, and that's why I participated in this drive.

—Steward, IBT Local 667

Strike stops grocer grab

Oakland, Cal.—On April 6, 18,000 supermarket workers, members of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, went out on strike at Safeway stores all over northern California over company demands for drastic take-aways of health care benefits. Full time workers were to begin making co-payments for themselves and full payments for their dependents. For half of the workers, who are part time, the company was demanding to take away all health benefits.

The next day employers at Save Mart and Lucky (part of the same bargaining association as Safeway) locked out their 14,000 workers. Workers on the picket line told us, "The only thing they want to talk about is take-aways. They even showed us a videotape on how well they are doing financially [48% increase in profits], yet they are taking the lead in this attack. What they didn't foresee is how willing people are to go on strike.

"You have courtesy clerks who have been here for many years and they need their benefits. With every contract it gets worse. They want everyone to eventually be part time with no benefits. A lot of people are looking to see if the UCFW and the Teamsters can be broken in this pro-union area."

Another thing the company didn't count on was the tremendous level of community support. Everywhere Safeway parking lots were virtually empty. Many people even signed up to drive shoppers who couldn't otherwise get to other stores.

After nine days, when the union offered to renew the present contract with no take-aways but also with wages frozen at the present level for the next three years, the companies agreed without hesitation. Now many workers, though they are happy the companies backed down, are questioning whether the union was too quick in settling for a wage freeze which means a wage cut when inflation is taken into account.

—Supporters

Strikers face 12-hour day

Decatur, Ill.—Firestone is running with about 300 scabs they hired. And there's another 320 of our members that have crossed the picket lines. We don't know how well Firestone is running, but there are rumors that they have lost contracts. Around 1,260 people went on strike July 12. During the strike, 240 went on early retirement. That leaves 700 who are still on strike. We don't get any picket pay. We had six months at \$100 a week; then it was over.

A big issue is Firestone's desire to control where you work without regard for seniority. Another one is 12-hour shifts. We are going to end up with them. The union says it is all ready to give that up. It doesn't matter what we feel about 12-hour shifts—the international union just wants to get this over with.

I heard the company is not happy with the way rotating shifts are turning out, and they are willing to let the replacements vote on whether to keep them. Twelve-hour shifts aren't so bad if they are not rotating. Your body can adjust. But they want to pay us straight pay; we would work the extra four hours without overtime pay. We probably would have signed by now if we were going to get paid for that overtime.

We have been hearing rumors over the months that when we get a contract signed, we will take a vote on what kind of shifts. People will probably vote straight shifts. With the 12-hour day, we would usually work 36-hour weeks for three weeks, then 48-hour weeks for three weeks. This means that for three weeks we will have short paychecks and for three weeks long paychecks, 52 hours (including time and a half). By federal law, they can't force government workers to work over eight hours without paying time and half—but they can force us.

The job I have in Firestone is a cureman. In the summer months, when we might be going back, it feels like 120 degrees. I throw between 2,000 and 2,500 tires off the racks and onto stands. Some guys have 45 presses to mind. Some presses do nine-minute cures, so people are running from press to press all day.

After a few years it breaks you down—back, wrists, elbows, knees, feet. I started working there at \$15 an hour. If I have to go back for anything less, I'm going to quit. My body won't be in good shape after many years, and it's not worth it for anything less.

—Cureman

Czech mass labor rally



Miners and autoworkers at 90,000-strong Prague rally.

Prague, Czech Republic—Over 90,000 trade unionists gathered in Old Town Square, March 25, to protest the Czech parliament's attempt to cut back on state social assistance. As working men and women from many industries, including the mines and the Skoda car factory, converged on Prague, student youth gathered signatures against the government's proposal for tuition fees for university studies. Never before has a tuition fee been imposed.

While the workers whistled derisively at every mention of Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus' name, the first point made by union leader Richard Falbr was that there was no need for him to enumerate their 10 demands because "you know them." Not stating loudly and clearly what they were for allowed the right-wing conservative Klaus to bolster his position that child allotment (family assistance), pension fund and social insurance are political matters and not for the trade unions to discuss.

The following day a former dissident writer, in a TV debate with Klaus, agreed with him that what 90,000 workers demonstrating meant—in a country of a little over 10 million people—was that they could get any special interest group to fill two squares. They reduced the workers to a special interest group—a "bourgeois" journalist described the disciplined and orderly demonstration as a "mob from the streets."

Another former dissident wrote asking her if she would also have described the thousands of Czechs that filled Wenceslas Square in November 1989 or the 500,000 who that same month gathered to greet a group of dissidents upon their release from Communist jails as a "mob." Had she forgotten so soon that it was the people "from the streets" who had, in the end, toppled the Communist regime?

Those who do not want to listen to the workers today will certainly hear them tomorrow. —Stephen Steiger

Ralston vote unanimous

Battle Creek, Mich.—Striking Ralston Foods workers in Battle Creek, on strike since Feb. 22, voted unanimously on April 2 to reject the second contract proposal offered by the company. Retirement, job security, seniority rights and health insurance premiums continue to be sticking points. The company wants to replace plantwide seniority with departmental seniority, which would prevent workers from transferring into other departments if their jobs were cut. "It's basically the same contract as before," said a 21-year employee.

No worker in Local 66 of the American Federation of Grain Millers, which represents Ralston workers, voted in favor of the agreement. During the contract vote, 50 members of Grain Millers Local 3, which represents Kellogg Company workers, relieved the Ralston pickets.

Longtime employees have been prepared for a long walkout from the beginning. "They're ready to stay out even if it means extreme hardship," a packing mechanic said. "Issues like these are our lifeline. If we fail, Kellogg's and Post could follow." Ralston strikers receive no strike pay from their union. They have received hundreds of donations of food and money from local residents, members of Grain Millers Local 3, nurses, Post Cereal workers and others.

Local 66 members saw the unanimous "no" vote as a victory. "Thirty-five years and I've never seen a stronger union," a mill worker said. "(Plant Manager) Roberts and Ralston have made us stronger." After the vote, hundreds of strikers and their supporters celebrated in front of the plant, which produces Chex, Almond Delight and private-label cereals.

A few days earlier, on March 28, 400 people attended a rally in support of the striking workers. The mass picket was planned a week in advance, but it came one day after the company brought in 26 management employees from out of state to work the production lines. A 24-year employee called bringing in supervisors "psychological warfare," a move to put pressure on the union and divide the ranks.

"As soon as there's a need for more cereal and Ralston starts to fall behind, then I think the company will make a move," said a 22-year worker. "The general opinion is if they're going to make any money, they'd better get about 300 supervisors in there. You need that many to run the whole plant."

The determination of the Ralston strikers was expressed by one worker who said, "We haven't gone without our wages and with our bills stacking up so we can go back in there with what they offered in the first place. We're here to stay."

—Postal worker

Workshop Talks

(Continued from page 1)

something new? Yes, I did.

Capitalism sometimes does let you feel good about yourself. It's a high to beat the previous production record without killing yourselves because you all were working so smoothly together that night. It's a challenge to master the complexities of Statistical Process Control when you haven't been in a math class since high school 20 years ago. At least you're not brain dead!

Even the unrestrained capitalism of the 19th Century sometimes allowed workers to grow. While condemning piece-wage as "the form of wages most in harmony with the capitalist mode of production," Karl Marx admitted in Capital that "the wider scope that piece-wage gives to individuality tends to develop...that individuality, and with it the sense of liberty, independence and self-control."

Piece-wages also increase competition and variation in pay among workers. "Of course," Marx wrote, "this does not alter the general relations between capital and wage-labor."

Exactly. And one foundation of the relations between capital and wage-labor is a division that has existed in all class societies, the division between mental and manual labor. Only the capitalists of 1995 and their ideologues don't call it that; they call it "policy" and "process." Management is responsible for policy: direction, mission, values, vision, goals, strategies. The people on the line are responsible for process: activity which changes something into something else, tasks. This, they tell us, is "empowerment."

Today our line is 400,000 units behind schedule. Despite our efforts at preventive maintenance, we have had a major mechanical breakdown on nearly every shift. We were forced last week to work three 12-hour shifts to attempt to catch up, and our supervisor implied that we were obligated to come in on our days off to cover for ill or vacationing co-workers.

Management chooses the items to be produced. They design the packaging and the production line, purchase the machinery, determine the staffing levels and schedule production—and WE have to make it work, on what should be our own time if necessary. This "empowerment" is not different from Marx's description of the division between mental and manual labor in modern industry: "the separation of the intellectual powers of production from the manual labor, and the conversion of those powers into the might of capital over labor."

"A paper that is not just 'for' workers but by the workers, that aims to be a weapon in the class struggle ... not only as readers, but writers, editors, distributors, financiers. It must be their weapon, and their total outlook in opposition to that of the capitalists, the labor bureaucrats, the planners, the leaders, totally theirs and interested in everything!"

—RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA
News and Letters Committees founding conference, 1955

Subscribe to
News & Letters
Only \$2.50 per year

See literature ad on page

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya
**MARXIST-HUMANIST
ARCHIVES**

Editor's note: Because this month marks the 25th anniversary of the murder of student protesters at Kent State and Jackson State Universities, we publish excerpts of Dunayevskaya's article, "Totalitarianism, U.S. Style," written shortly before those events took place. Her analysis of the totalitarian dimension lurking beneath American "democracy" is especially cogent in light of today. The full article can be found in N&L, April 1970.

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

The creeping, and not-so-creeping, totalitarianism that now pervades every facet of American life discloses, day in and day out, not only the abysmal degeneracy of American capitalism "in general"—that is to say, in its exploitative, imperialist, police state nature—but also, and especially, in that of the intellectual sloth. It takes no time at all for the thin veneer of democracy to turn into instant racism.

Thus, no sooner did the American Gestapo-type police, in the dark of the night, with shotguns blazing and tear gas making it impossible for humans to escape, raid the Black Panthers headquarters in Chicago, killing and wounding its sleeping occupants, than the intellectual-in-residence at the White House, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, fired off a Memo to the President about the "extraordinary progress" of the Negro in these United States of America!

He played informer also on a petty level—Mr. Moynihan's "erudition" extends to reading the minutiae of society columnists—thus making it possible for him to inform the Commander-in-Chief of the mightiest army in the world that Mrs. Leonard Bernstein had held a party to raise money for the defense of the Black Panthers. The society gossip was part and parcel of the diatribe against New Yorkers who might consider Black revolutionaries "culture heroes" instead of "fire-setting" haters of whites: "Hatred—revenge—against whites is now an acceptable excuse for doing what might have been done anyway."

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, it may be objected, is not characteristic of the liberal intellectual breed. After all, he betrayed his "liberal" Democratic Party colleagues by accepting so high a post with a conservative Republican President that he now has Cabinet rank....

THE INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE FOR RACISM

This is not an exception to, but is on a par with, very nearly the whole "educated world" who have chosen this moment when Southern white mobs overturn school buses, endangering the lives of Black school children, to declare that it is "indeed" time for some "benign neglect" of Negroes, time "to return to quality education." Nor can we forget that the climate for overturned buses and threatened Black school children was created by the President himself coming out against busing of children to integrate schools.

The "intellectual climate" created by those who have partaken of "quality education" can be gleaned both from the organic racism of white middle-class America, and its white-hot hatred of any revolutionary youth, white, black, red or yellow. Thus, when asked to comment on the uncultured Vice President Agnew's diatribe about "kooks and demagogues and social misfits who ought to be brought in with butterfly nets," the cultured Moynihan had the gall to reply: "I think the reference was to Harvard students and I have ambiguous and complex and evasive views on them."

What is neither "ambiguous," nor "complex," much



**VOICES FROM
WITHIN
THE PRISON
WALLS**

**Ideas
locked-down**

In the U.S. Constitution the First Amendment deals with the right of individuals to have open access in choosing the kind of reading material they wish to read. Though this common right is freely used by those in society, it is greatly regulated by the prisoncrats, who exercise great control over what prisoners can read. They do this so they can influence the thoughts of those under their oppressive power.

In denying prisoners access to publications that are radical or opposed to what they consider the "norm," prison administrators are violating one of our most basic humanistic rights of free expression and thought.

The ultimate goal is, to mold those incarcerated into believing they are worthless scumbags entirely at fault for committing a crime no matter what the circumstances leading to the offense might be. They want prisoners to think they can't change the heinous conditions in which they suffer, and therefore the only route available is the one that follows capitalist rules and laws of our current society. In order for the prisoncrats to legally carry out such efforts, excuses are produced to deny prisoners First Amendment rights by stating that such reading materials are in violation of correctional standards or teach and advocate behavior contrary to duly established institutional rules.

So the next time you hear the media speak of inmates having all these "democratic rights," remember that it is a false statement, for even the most basic rights of those incarcerated are intentionally violated.

—D.A. Sheldon

Totalitarianism, U.S. style

less "evasive" is the type of horse trading which, in the first place, permitted the lawless "riot" amendment to be tacked on to Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society" Civil Rights Bill. What is neither "ambiguous," nor "complex," much less "evasive" is the intellectual climate oozing out of the Moynihans which now emboldens juries, Northern as well as Southern, to pronounce police murderers "innocent" so long as the crimes committed are against Blacks. (The latest of such acts of injustice is the Flint, Mich., jury's setting free the infamous Algiers Motel murderers of Black youth).¹

What is neither "ambiguous," nor "complex," much less "evasive" is Nixon's Southern strategy which reverses everything and anything that is left of civil rights gains in order to enable him to transform creeping totalitarianism into galloping totalitarianism.

THE RULERS' BRAND OF TV

Recently we have been witnessing on our TV sets a whole series of interviews in Vietnam which are intended to prove that the GIs had been "provoked" to act as barbarians at My Lai and many other places where they committed unspeakable atrocities. The "proof" consists of the fact that booby traps were laid for Americans not only by the Vietcong "but also by women and children." The reporters do not venture to make so simple a comment as saying that, very obviously, the Americans have barged in on a civil war. Instead, they save their comments for the time Vietnamese who witnessed those atrocities are interviewed. And then the comments made leave the viewers with the impression that, if the Vietnamese are not tellers of tall tales, they certainly do not understand the "provocations."

What has become all too clear since Agnew has cowed the TV networks into submission, and they no longer dare give "instant editorializing" (that is to say, any serious criticism), is that it is not only the President's phony TV ventures that go unchallenged. We are also being brainwashed on the Vietnam War, including its most infamous crimes, the gory killing of civilians, of women and of children.

As for Nixon's unpaid-for, elaborately staged prime-timed—prime-timed to follow comedy hours having the highest nationwide audiences like "Laugh-In"—TV performances, they go totally unchallenged. No one challenges even so Show Biz a put-on as when Nixon, with a flourish of the pen, but with "low profile," vetoes the limited social security act, the \$19.4 billion HEW Bill, all

under the guise of "fighting inflation." As contrasted the Vietnam War speeches (when some commentator braved the presidential seal to call attention to the going, dirty, imperialist war), the despicable outlawing of any aid to the poor, whether it be for food or education was not subject to any instant, or any other kind of criticism.

That totalitarian power phenomenon called the American presidency now has also full uninterrupted access to TV any time Nixon so wishes. And the audience is something De Gaulle couldn't conjure up in his staged press conferences. When the Russian or Chinese or Cuban heads of state take to the mass media, it is called brainwashing. When it is done in the U.S. in good "show biz" manner, it passes for "direct contact with the people. By whatever name, it smells to high heaven of totalitarianism.

Presently being rushed through Congress is the most authoritarian bill ever enacted in the U.S. The infamous 1798 Alien and Anti-Sedition Act, to which the present misnamed Anti-Crime Bill is being compared, pales by comparison. Not only will Americans be deprived of every constitutional right from the First Amendment guaranteeing free speech through the Fifth Amendment protecting the accused against self-incrimination. But we will also be subjected to no-knock on the door, violation of any privacy—and this is being done by a nuclear power, under automated, electronic device structures that would yesterday have been inconceivable to imagine in the wildest nightmares. All this is being palmed off as necessary ways of "fighting crime."

This isn't creeping totalitarianism. It is galloping at full speed ahead toward a police state. Already the police are reading the signs right. You needn't be Black, or a youth with long hair. You just have to be stopped for no matter what minor traffic violation, have the cops spot a book by Marx or on Marxism, and you will be sure to be "interrogated" in a way SS was most proficient in doing.

Outlawing a state of mind has already become the latest of the outrages which passes for justice in the U.S. At the present moment Judge Murtagh in New York is vying with that relic from feudal times—Judge Hoffman of Chicago—for the unbridled misuse of contempt of court sentences for any state of mind—be it even just a laugh displaying "sarcasm," for the sanctimonious kangaroo courts, or holding up a sign "power to the people."

FEAR OF REVOLUTION VS. PATH TO LIBERATION

Let's take a second look at the state of mind of our intellectuals—and I don't mean the Moynihans, or the Cold War warriors of the McCarthyite 1950s, but the "non-violent," "moral," including some "radical" middle-class intellectuals, cut to the heart by the fear of a genuine social upheaval. Each one has his favorite story about the hyperboles of the Black Panthers who decry the use of "pigs, led by J. Edgar Hog." Each one has the latest bit of gossip about the "anarchy and violence" of the New Left who "lack all sense of history." Whereupon "history" is ticked off in books, essays, endless articles detailing the facts of Nazi concentration camps or Stalin's forced labor camps. All of which is true enough, but none answers: What about today? What about USA—imperialism, racism, "creeping" totalitarianism?

Fascism will surely have a new form here, though the Nisei who experienced U.S. concentration camps during World War II will beg to differ also on this. Totalitarianism, creeping or galloping, certainly betokens a police state even if it can still permit itself the luxury of a Madison Avenue or Show Biz approach. George Wallace surely also has a point when he jokes about not needing to run in 1972 because "Nixon will do the job for us." And the most open of all is the VFW national commander, Raymond A. Gallagher, who said: "I hate to see this country develop into some sort of police state, but to have security for our people, it may be necessary." How much that sounds like the American military in Vietnam who declared that "in order to save Hue we had to destroy it."

To put it differently, all that either the claims of the intellectuals or the George Wallaces or VFW commanders amount to is that the U.S. may very well be the first country where fascism will get in by the ballot box. The only thing that will guarantee that this does not happen is, precisely, the fact that the Black, the youth, and labor, too, as they feel the brunt of degenerate state-capitalism, will prefer the road to revolution rather than the abyss to polished totalitarianism. —April 1970

1. During the 1967 rebellion in Detroit, police raided the Algiers Motel, executed three Black men and brutally beat seven Black men and two young white women.—ed.

Okla. City bombing

(Continued from page 1)

unlike the "citizen militias" that have sparked genocide in Bosnia, Haiti and Rwanda. Like their counterparts overseas, they are united around a deep hatred of the very idea of a multiethnic society.

Of course, one does not have to belong to a far-right fringe group to march to the tune of racism. No sooner did the bomb go off than a near witch-hunt began to take off against anyone of Middle Eastern origin on the grounds that "Islamic" terrorists were responsible. Reactionaries like Rep. Henry Hyde argued for new restrictions on immigration, and major newspaper columnists openly called for internment those of Middle Eastern origin along the lines of the internment of Japanese Americans in World War II. These events have stripped away the thin veneer of American "democracy," exposing its racist innards.

These events show that a strong centralized state isn't needed for fascism to emerge in the U.S., for it oozes out of the very seams of civil society.

In fact, the political representatives of U.S. civil society cannot escape responsibility for creating the political climate that led to the bombing. It was only a few years ago that David Duke was denounced as an outright Nazi for basing his campaign for governor of Louisiana on fervent opposition to affirmative action, yet by now the Republicans have appropriated this very message as their core political perspective. The anti-"big government," anti-affirmative action, anti-immigrant rhetoric of Gingrich and company is creating a climate which is legitimizing the ideas of the most extremist-Right.

No less ominous is Clinton's decision to respond to the bombing by seeking legislation that will overturn barriers to wire-tapping and "monitoring" "anti-government" organizations. These barriers were introduced in response to the massive spying, harassment, and in some cases outright murder by the FBI and other agencies of anti-war, civil rights and Black activists during the 1960s and 1970s. History provides plenty of proof that amplifying the powers of the state to deal with "terrorism" rarely rebounds to the detriment of rightists and neo-fascists, for which many in "law enforcement" feel powerful sympathies. Rather, these laws will be used to restrict the ideas and activities of the Left.

We must not allow Clinton and the Republicans to use the slaughter or maiming of hundreds by white supremacist fanatics as an excuse to further push this country back to the dark ages. To truly prevent more horrors of the type that took place on April 19, we must reverse the entire scope of the retrogressive politics into which this nation has been plunged.

—April 25, 1995

NEWS & LETTERS

Vol. 40, No. 4

May 1995

News & Letters (ISSN 0028-8969) is published 10 times a year, monthly, except bi-monthly January-February and August-September for \$2.50 a year (bulk order of 5 or more, 15¢ each) by News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren St., Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605. Telephone (312)663-0839. Fax (312)663-9069. Second class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren St., Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605. Articles may be reprinted verbatim if credited to "News & Letters."

Raya Dunayevskaya

Chairwoman, National Editorial Board (1955-1987)

Charles Denby

Editor (1955-1983)

Olga Domanski, Peter Wermuth, Co-National Organizers, News and Letters Committees. Lou Turner, Managing Editor. Michael Flug, Marxist-Humanist Archivist. Felix Martin, Labor Editor.

News & Letters is printed in a union shop.



Essay Article

by Ted McGlone

Since the January-February issue of *News & Letters* there has been a developing discussion of the Hegelian concept of "Subject" and Marx's *Capital*. The following essay is excerpted from Chapter 8 of my dissertation, *A Study of Raya Dunayevskaya's Marxist-Humanism*, (University of Utah, 1994), and is a contribution to that discussion.

—T.M.

H, are you as excited as I? Just as Marx's development of the form of the commodity and money came from Hegel's syllogistic Universal-Particular-Individual, so the Accumulation of Capital (the General Absolute Law) is based on the Absolute Idea.

Remember also that we kept on repeating Lenin's aphorism that Marx may not have left us "a" Logic, but he left us the logic of *Capital*. This is it—the logic of *Capital* is the dialectic of bourgeois society: the state capitalism at one pole and the revolt at the other.

—Raya Dunayevskaya, May 12, 1953

The very title of Chapter 7 in Raya Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom* expresses the central point of her interpretation of *Capital*: "The Humanism and Dialectic of *Capital*, Volume I, 1867 to 1883." The title shows that Dunayevskaya is making the dialectic of *Capital* inseparable from its humanism. To demonstrate that *Capital*'s whole presentation is humanist and dialectical is new. Previous interpretations stressed that Marx's 1844 Manuscripts provided a humanist context for *Capital*. Dunayevskaya shows how *Capital* itself is held together by the thread of a humanist dialectic.

The basis of this new view is contained in the "philosophic moment" that led to the birth of Marxist-Humanism—Dunayevskaya's 1953 letters on Hegel's Absolutes. In her letter of May 12, 1953, she had written that Marx's analysis of the commodity form was based on Hegel's "Notion in General" from Hegel's *Science of Logic*. Lenin had also seen that in 1914-15 in his abstract of Hegel's *Logic*. What was new was that Dunayevskaya continued to work out the entire *Logic* including its most comprehensive category—the Absolute Idea, which Lenin did not do.

In her May 12, 1953 letter she disclosed her perception that Marx's chapter on the accumulation of capital in Part VII of *Capital* was based on Hegel's Absolute Idea. Specifically, this flows from the split in the Absolute Idea, as it contains the highest contradiction within itself. This is precisely the form embedded in Marx's *Capital*, Chapter 25 on the accumulation of capital. With great excitement Dunayevskaya had exclaimed that the logic of *Capital* was the centralization of capital at one pole and the revolt of labor at the other.

What Dunayevskaya does that is new is to then amplify a phrase in Chapter 32, "The Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation"—"new forces and new passions" in the overthrow of the old. She sees these new passions and new forces not only as first negation or revolt, but at one and the same time as second negation in a new positive subjectivity that wants to create a new human society. The philosophic form of the negation of the negation is revolutionary and requires actual new passions and new forces to carry out the self-development of a new society.

Therefore, Dunayevskaya's interpretation of Marx's economic categories contains the duality of absolute opposites in collision with one another. One foundation is the oppressive reality of capitalism and its fetishized objectivity stifling all thought of revolutionary transformation. In total opposition to that, there arise new subjects of revolution, "new passions and new forces" reaching for a more comprehensive philosophy of freedom that can impart meaning to their actions as they continue to fight for the actuality of a new human society.

Because the duality of absolute opposites in collision is so central to Dunayevskaya's interpretation of *Capital*, it must be expanded to stress why this is so important.

When opposites are less than absolute, their contradictory relationship does not necessitate the release of new beginnings. This is because their contradictions can be resolved within an existing context, totality, or given foundation. Absolute opposition on the other hand, cannot be resolved within an existing context. It therefore requires a fundamental transformation of existing human relationships and reality. Total opposition requires a totally new beginning. Thus, the development of the contradictory relations within the economic categories of *Capital* results in a "logic" of absolute opposition between capital and labor that requires the development of a new dialectic. A new dialectic is created in order to transcend the unresolvable opposition within the context of capitalist relations.

In Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom* the first subsection of her Chapter 7 reads: "(1) The Split in the Category of Labor: Abstract and Concrete Labor; Labor and Labor Power" [my emphasis]. The logic of capital has its beginning and point of greatest intensity in the dehumanization of the laborer at the point of production. This links *Capital*'s analysis of the labor process to the more general 1844 analysis of alienated labor. Unlike some economists in the more Ricardian mold who erroneously see abstract labor as only the source of value, Dunayevskaya sees abstract labor in contradiction to concrete labor. She emphasizes that it is the "Subject," the laborer, who battles against the dehumanized manner of his/her externalization in labor activity. Marx's extension of the concept of labor power into his analysis of cooperative labor shows the "positive within the nega-

The concept of the subject in Marx's *Capital*

tive," the power of labor to objectively transcend the capitalist value-form.

The second subsection is titled: "(2) The Marxian Economic Categories and the Struggle at the Point of Production: Constant and Variable Capital; or the Domination of Dead over Living Labor." The logic of capital will continue to deepen as the laborer's own product, reproduced as constant capital, dominates over him. But the movement from practice is itself a form of theory in *Capital* as Marx never lets go of the resistance of labor to each stage of capitalist development. The resistance of the "Subject" becomes the determining element in both the length of the working day and in the introduction of new machinery into production.

The third subsection is titled: "(3) Accumulation of Capital and the New Forces and New Passions." It is the most developed point in the logic of *Capital*. Dunayevskaya, however, does not only pose the opposition of the revolt of labor to capital. This would be only a first negation. As can be seen from the title above, she has reached further to bring forth and emphasize in an entirely novel way "new forces and new passions" from Marx's chapter on "The Historical Tendency of Capital-



ist Accumulation." She has made "new passions and new forces" into a category that will mark the new society emerging out of the old and a new dialectic.

To see what is meant by a "new dialectic" it is necessary to connect Dunayevskaya's singling out second negativity as "PERSONAL AND FREE" in the 1953 letters and her analysis of *Capital*. In his chapter on the Absolute Idea in the *Science of Logic*, Hegel calls second negativity, the "negative of the negative," the turning point in the transcendence of Notion and Reality. For Dunayevskaya the absolute negativity Hegel is describing at this point is the subjectivity of human forces beginning to move against an oppressive reality towards freedom in a new society. Hegel will not complete his analysis of this self-movement to "absolute liberation" until the *Philosophy of Mind*. Each of the three section titles of *Marxism and Freedom*'s Chapter 7 contains the concept of the Absolute Idea moving towards transcendence of the division between Notion, the new passions and forces (as Reason), and "The Breakdown of Capitalism." This is no mechanical inevitability, but the action of cognition united with the activity of live subjects.

Capital is presented differently in Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution*, which is structured on the basis of the movement from theory. *Marxism and Freedom* concentrated on the movement from practice as a form of theory. In Chapter 2 of *Philosophy and Revolution*, Dunayevskaya develops very fully the category of the commodity as a fetish—the perverted, false form of objectivity within capitalist thought. It is nonhumanist thought where "production for the sake of production" dominates over "human power as its own end." In *Philosophy and Revolution* the value-form is worked out in the context of Marx's contribution to understanding the inner connections of thought to production.

Dunayevskaya's third book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1981), extends the major concepts of *Philosophy and Revolution* (1973) in order to present Marx's life work itself as a totality that releases new beginnings.

Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution contains a summary of *Capital* that is her most profoundly philosophical comprehension of Marx's greatest work. Although she had developed the themes of the 1953 letters in *Philosophy and Revolution*, there appears to be an advance in her thinking in *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. When she develops her philosophic analysis of *Capital*, in the latter work, Dunayevskaya concentrates on those points in Marx's *Capital* which she had singled out in her 1953 letters. In the May 12, 1953, letter she made the following observations: (1) Lenin compared Hegel's Doctrine of the Notion in General, (categories of Universal, Particular, and Individual), to Marx's development of the value-form. (2) Marx's analysis of accumulation was based on the Absolute Idea. (3) The logic of *Capital* is state-capitalism at one pole and the revolt of labor at the other.

Though Dunayevskaya does not explicitly draw the connection herself, these three points are tightly woven together in *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* and they are developed in new ways. What Dunayevskaya now highlights is that the Marxian dialectic transcends the Hegelian dialectic in Marx's Chapter 1 of *Capital*—specifically in the analysis of fetishism. She argues that Section 4 of *Capital*'s first chapter on fetishism is based on the "Doctrine of the Notion."

Often analyses of *Capital* equate the market to the category of appearance and production to essence. Few

interpreters seem to even be aware of the Hegelian category of Notion.¹ If they are at all aware of the Notion, they relegate it to the idea of an idealistic inversion of subject and object in general and to the relation of fetishism in particular. In stark contrast to such analyses, Dunayevskaya argues that the Notion is the dialectic of freedom, of humanity transforming nature and of revolution in permanence.

The originality of Dunayevskaya's comprehension of Marx can be seen in the way she interprets subtle aspects of Marx's text that have been ignored by previous interpreters. In *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, she calls attention to a footnote in the section on fetishism in which Marx refers to the Taiping Rebellion.² Dunayevskaya's commentary on this footnote is that Marx wished to contrast the Chinese "dancing," that is, standing on their own ground and "free will," to the lack of revolutionary thought and movement in Europe during the 1850s. Dunayevskaya's point is that Marx is looking for the absolute opposite of the fetish in the Chinese rebellion. The reference to the Taiping Rebellion was not obscure after all, but the subjective-objective method of the Notion. Marx analyzes fetishism and indicates in a concise manner the type of subjectivity that overcomes its own false objectivity. The subject is freedom, not the inversion of subject-object alone. Insensitivity to Marx's philosophy of revolution on the part of Moore and Aveling and subsequent editors of Marx's *Capital* may account for the fact that this footnote was considered unimportant and so dropped from the text.

Dunayevskaya's perspective is supported further by Marx's compressed discussion of freedom in history from the Greek world of Epicurus through the middle ages to modern capitalism.³ In two paragraphs Marx outlines the relationship of freedom of the individual to the objective conditions of production in tribal forms, in the Classical-Antique period, through trading nations, to the capitalist epoch where production has "mastery over man." He ends the first paragraph stating that only "freely associated men" can lift the veil of fetishism. Dunayevskaya stresses that Marx is projecting the notional concept of a new human society:

[W]hen "freely associated men" take destiny into their own hands, it is not only the fetishism of commodities which vanishes but the whole perverse system. Having leaped into that absolute opposite of capitalist society—that is to say, having projected a society of new human relations—it is clear that though we are in the market, we are, indeed, dealing with notional concepts. That path to freedom both separates the Marxian dialectic from the Hegelian and transforms Hegel's revolution in philosophy into a philosophy of revolution, so that even in economics, i.e., in the production sphere, with Marx's guidance we follow actual forms of the proletarian revolt. Whether that form be questioning "When does my day begin and when does it end?" or going on strike, Marx calls it a century-old "civil war."⁴

Dunayevskaya's interpretation of fetishism in Chapter 1 of *Capital* illuminates how Marx re-created a new dialectic. (Continued on page 12)

1. Hegel, *Science of Logic*, trans. Johnson and Struthers, Vol. II (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1929), 216. "In the Notion, accordingly, the realm of Freedom has opened." See also 205, 212, where Hegel writes that Notion is the realm of subjectivity or Freedom and that Freedom is the specific relation of the Notion.

2. Marx, *Capital*, trans. Ben Fowkes, Vol. I (New York: Vintage, 1977), 164n. 27.

3. *Ibid.*, 172-73.

4. Raya Dunayevskaya, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, 2nd ed., (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 145.

Explore the dialectical method of Marx's *CAPITAL*

Marxism and Freedom — from 1776 Until Today

"It is true that the categories of [Hegel's] Logic, such as 'Being and Becoming,' 'Essence and Appearance,' 'Necessity and Freedom,' do not, as Hegel imagined, have eternal existence independent of man. They are, in actuality, the reflection in man's mind of processes going on in the material world. It is equally true that the summation of Hegel's own analysis is that actuality, the true form of reality, requires freedom, requires man to be free." (page 41)

The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism

"[T]he accumulation of capital, its General Absolute Law, was based on the Absolute Idea ... [J]ust as that meant the dialectic of bourgeois society, its end by the revolt of the workers, so Marx 'also set the limits to the dialectic of the party, which is part of the bourgeois society and will wither away with the passing of the bourgeoisie.'" (page 10-11)

To order these works by Raya Dunayevskaya, see literature ad on page 7.

TWO WORLDS IN CONTRADICTION

Liu Binyan (March N&L) points out that the contradictions of Chinese state capitalism are much more obvious than they were in 1989, but his assessment of hope for revolution is harsh: "the Chinese people lack the determination to break away" from the Chinese Communist Party. His pessimism lies in the ideological perversion (pollution is too weak a word) caused by the "bankruptcy of the Marxist ideology." By playing fast and loose with the complexities and truths of objective historical conditions, Mao's thought was eventually revealed as a fabric of malicious untruths. The problem is that along the way, Mao debased the very categories of philosophic thought. It has infected the people with a philosophic cynicism.

There are similar currents in the U.S. It seems to me, as a teacher, philosopher, lesbian and Marxist-Humanist, that sharing N&L with interested allies can start to repair some of the philosophic damage of our era, if only by encouraging people to once again consider the possibility of a total philosophy.

Jennifer Pen
California

* * *

The politics of controlling, more than alleviating, poverty was clear at the recent UN "World Summit for Social Development" in Denmark called to discuss how to address world poverty. Hillary Clinton used International Women's Day to announce a 10-year program to boost the education of girls and women in Africa, Asia and Latin America but no specifics were given about how the goals would be achieved, other than that it would be administered by the infamous U.S. Agency for International Development. Meanwhile, all social and welfare programs right at home were under attack, with the Republican Congress threatening to cut off all aid to Africa.

The biggest power players in the aid game—the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund—were determined to squelch any revolutionary voices within the poor nations, demanding substantial movement toward a "free enterprise" system in any country seeking their help. No wonder a group of Left organizations from Europe and Latin America, participating in the nongovernmental forum, denounced the entire summit for that dead-end emphasis.

Feminist
Chicago

* * *

Do we continue upward in the pyramid or do we work to level off the pyramid? The powerless always get blamed for the problems of the powerful. I recently read somewhere: "The wide gulf between the liberals and the revolutionaries is that the former know what should be, but still want a piece of what is."

Working class supporters
Bayfield, Wisconsin

* * *

The economic situation here is a total disaster and going from bad to worse. The graffiti on the walls of subway stations and buildings could be in Vancouver or other major Canadian and U.S. cities: "Anarchy Now!" "Anarchy in

Budapest!" "Destroy your destroyers!" This is thanks to the IMF; the total mismanagement of various governments, and the plundering going on through the "privatization" of the whole Hungarian economy by foreign corporate giants as well as some local speculators. Now the present government is trying to put into place an austerity program. It is likely to lead to another social explosion, if the local public opinion is to be believed.

Laszlo Gati
Budapest

* * *

There must have been 500 students, parents and teachers at a Chicago rally to stop state cutbacks in Illinois public education funds, April 17. The young people there in Federal Plaza had a firm grasp on who they were fighting in the Republican legislature because of conditions they already experience. A 15-year-old told me, "Our school is in bad shape. They don't teach enough. If they have money for police on every corner, they should have money for our school." An 11-year-old said, "They are closing our schools just when poor kids need more help. We need more books. We need a bigger building. There is a hole in the wall and we see mice running through. And the teachers need more money."

Another 11-year-old looked all the way to Gingrich's Washington: "They want to take away our lunches. If they do, some of the poor kids will go hungry. The only time they get a whole meal is at school. They keep coming to school because of the food."

Revolutionary
Chicago

* * *

I have recently returned from a brief visit to Kenya. The "two nation" syndrome of the gap between the rich and the poor is startling, especially the abject poverty of the beggars on the street. One old disabled man in tattered clothes with a fistful of rotten meat seemed to epitomize the hopelessness of the most disadvantaged. Human rights abuses remain a factor in the continued control by President Moi, while the pressure on the foreign press ensures that world opinion remains poorly informed.

Traveler
Britain

* * *

The revolutionaries in Chiapas may be driven underground but they have not disbanded. They have reminded the nation of the meaning of the phrase "dual power" and it will not forget it. A successful Mexican revolution would set Latin America aflame. At the same time, any U.S. intervention in Mexico would set the U.S. aflame. Mexicans in California, "legal" or not, have not forgotten they are living on historically Mexican soil, and the L.A. rebellion certainly showed the revolutionary anger of Chicanos and Latinos.

It is amazing how the courage and vision of a freedom struggle in the most backward province may be the Achilles heel of the "New World Order." And those Indians were supposedly conquered in 1492!

Professor
Connecticut

WANTED: BOOKS FOR STRUGGLE

News & Letters has been asked to serve as a collection point for the "Books for Struggle" project initiated by Richard Greeman and Boris Kagarlitsky, which aims to fill a container with radical literature and ship it to the Victor Serge Labor Library that has been established in Moscow as a reading room and distribution center. We urge our readers to "ransack your own and your friends' radical libraries," as Greeman puts it, "packing cartons with useful material on any subject from Alinsky to Zapatista," and mail them to Books for Struggle, c/o News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, IL 60605. His letter follows:

Russian activists and intellectuals have been cut off for 75 years from serious information about Western labor struggles and trends in socialist thought. Such knowledge is vital to

the new Russian Left struggling to find its way under the most difficult conditions. Rapacious new capitalists are privatizing the Russian economy and well-financed AFL-CIO agents are telling the Russian workers fairy tales of a U.S. "worker-owned capitalism" based on pension funds, while the facts about actually existing capitalism and the lessons of labor struggles from Homestead to Hormel are "blank pages."

Ideas are political dynamite. Act now! The "Books for Struggle" container will leave for the independent Left Center in Moscow as soon as it is full but in no case later than July 1, 1995. If you don't have the heart to part with your books, you can send some money to pay for the container.

Yours in Solidarity,
Richard Greeman, for the
Committee for Democratic and
Human Rights in Russia

Readers' Views

THOUGHTS ON OKLAHOMA

My husband, who is an auto worker, was talking about the way everyone just pitched in, the minute the bomb exploded, to do whatever they could to help. Nobody had to organize anyone, they just organized themselves. He said it proved to him how different things could be in a different society. He was right. Everybody gave whatever they had, whether it was food or blood or muscle power and they came from all over the country.

Oklahoma City looked like Beirut. Everyone was asking Why here? When you see something horrible like this hitting ordinary people, just like you and me, it hits home. I hope that all those people who didn't have any remorse when the U.S. bombed Baghdad, killing a lot of innocent men and women and children who had never done anything to us, will have their eyes opened and begin to understand what those people were feeling.

Working woman
Oklahoma City

* * *

I could not help feeling relief to hear that the perpetrators of the horrible inhuman bomb explosion in Oklahoma City were not Middle Eastern terrorists. Within 24 hours of the bombing, when an immediate connection to the Middle East was being made, right-wing politicians like Dole and Hyde were already talking about cracking down on immigrants and "aliens." Arab-Americans were receiving death threats and other people from the Middle East were feeling the sentiment of hatred toward them. When it became known that the people who planted the bomb were home grown white supremacists, the anti-Middle Eastern hysteria temporarily subsided. But this anti-immigrant hysteria hasn't gone away. The racism that is at the root of anti-immigrant hysteria is also at the root of white supremacist hate groups. The logic of racism, whether it is directed against "foreigners" or people born in the U.S., is the same: genocide.

Middle Eastern woman
Illinois



CAPITALISM'S PRISONS

It is logically faulty to begin with the premise that the problem of penitentiaries is over-population instead of the unequal distribution of wealth that gives rise to the rampant crime and recidivism which leads to the over-population. What is needed is a critical examination of the exploitative system in which we all live. We need to quit avoiding the real issue.

D.A. Sheldon, the prisoner who wrote in the March issue of N&L that "the media is working overtime to implant a belief that those convicted under the current (in)justice system are animals and not human beings," was right that "what we have here is a capitalist propaganda tool." The idea of "privatizing prisons" is nothing more than another capitalistic attempt to dehumanize and commodify criminals.

Students
Romeoville, IL

STRUGGLE CONTINUES

Your paper helps us learn the truth about the situation of working people in the U.S. and the world. We have succeeded in organizing a not very large but fighting trade union in Kiev. We are trying to connect with other independent trade unions in a joint struggle for our rights. We are trying to defend the independence of the working class from the existing bourgeois parties because we feel workers must fight independently and not entrust their destiny to any strata of the rulers.

The leaders of our union give an account to the members at regular meetings and are not paid for their activities.

All decisions are passed only with the joint meeting's consent. The leaders of both official and non-official trade unions have lost touch with their members in Ukraine, just as they have in the U.S. We expect that as the union grows problems may arise with the leaders, but we pledge to keep a steady control from below. The struggle continues!

Committee of Young Workers
Ukraine

* * *

Special Tasks, the Memoirs of an Unwanted Witness — a Soviet Spymaster, by Pavel and Anatoli Sudoplatov, is the most revelatory autobiography yet from near the summit of Stalinist power. Pavel Sudoplatov was an NKVD General, an aide to Beria. After service, heroic by Soviet standards, he fell victim to a purge and spent years near death in prison for fictitious crimes — his real ones being quite legal. The machinations of Stalin, Beria, Khrushchev et al., the utter eclipse of morality and the putative rule of law by the imperatives of Stalinism, the disproofs of much conventional Sovietology, are all here. It is an indispensable source for students of Russia's second-last nightmare, the USSR.

A. Fortunoff
California

WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND 'LIFE'



As a biology teacher, I am more amazed by "Life" the more I learn, so I can see why Hegel put that chapter near the culmination of the book of the Notion, which the March Essay on Revolutionary Feminism discussed. There is a lot I don't understand, but when I read about "Kind," I think of the life of a social group, a collectivity, a type of life we can only imagine in the confines of the capitalist mentality that so "de"-humanizes us. I also think of Marx's chapter on "Co-operation" in Capital in which he discusses the potential for cooperative human development out of the forced association of workers in the factory; their potential to overthrow the horrible enslaving system of production that brought them together, and their subsequent mental freedom to truly begin human development. Is this the sort of thinking that could help the Women's Liberation Movement to continue creating pathways to freedom?

Susan Van Gelder
Detroit

* * *

The protests at Rutgers against President Francis Lawrence have died down. There were a lot of grievances against Lawrence before the one that triggered the protest. One of the major complaints was his closing of the Women's Center on the Douglas campus. It was a relatively cheap service that provided psychological counseling and advice to women. They closed that and instead opened several "Learning Centers" that are virtually useless. There have been various other funding cuts that he has administered as well, all the while keeping his huge pay and benefits.

Student activist
New Brunswick, N.J.

* * *

The Virginia Supreme Court ruled, on April 21, that Sharon Bottoms, a lesbian, is an unfit mother and awarded her own mother custody of Sharon's child, Tyler. There is something wrong with a system that allows a court to steal a child from a woman because she is a lesbian. Despite the fact that even the child's father wants him with his mother, Bottoms is confined to one night a week visitation and her partner, April Wade, is banned from ever visiting him. This decision affects the future of all of us and needs to be loudly and vehemently protested!

Tom Williamson and Laurie Cashdan
Illinois

CONNECTING WITH 'PHILOSOPHIC DIALOGUE'

Sonia Bergonzi's letter in the April issue of N&L showed me what a long way I have to go as a reader of N&L. I wish I could tie the April issue together the way she did the March issue (seeing "the whole paper as manifesting dialectics"). My trouble is that I can't connect April's "Philosophic Dialogue" to anything else in the paper, or anything else in my life. Peter Hudis devotes most of his article to responding to Ron Brokmeyer on the point of whether or not the commodity-form is totally separated from materiality. I understand that Peter says no and Ron says yes. But why is the argument important?

Reader
Oakland

Peter Hudis' review of Moishe Postone's book in the March N&L and the discussion following it which you have titled "Is Marx's Capital still relevant?" could have been titled "Is revolution still relevant?" In the April "Philosophic Dialogue" Hudis persists in showing where revolution is located: the movements from practice and from philosophy.

In a very different section of the same issue, Michael Flug's reviews of two books on the Black liberation movement seemed to me part of the same discussion. His exploration of how does a movement from practice "get posed organizationally as a challenge to capitalist society," in the context of the Black movement for freedom, illuminated for me what Hudis meant when he said the question is whether the necessity of people fighting for freedom as the agents to transform society "flows from one's analysis or is brought there by an act of will."

Women's liberationist
Chicago

The "Philosophic Dialogue" in April's N&L was an important discussion which didn't separate philosophic critique from economics. That is very refreshing. Andrew Kliman's point on the duality of the worker's physiological activity was a helpful clarification. I spoke about the so-called "free market" with an electrician who independently contracts with the telephone company. He said that he will not tell the company exactly how long it takes him to do a job. If they think it needs two weeks and he knows it only takes a week he won't say a thing. Economic calculation of value is not so efficient as it appears to be and runs up against the human being who could do the job more creatively but will not. Capitalism knows this and is trying to break down this resistance with the so-called cooperative team concepts of work and "humanistic" management practices. Breaking the hold of the value integument can free human relations to actually release production from the self-limiting confines of capital. My brief discussion with the electrician about the "free market" made me think that more discussion such as the April philosophic dialogue will help to clarify the commodity-form and the role of the subject and help us move forward in these discussions.

Economics teacher
New York



**ENVIRONMENT
IN
CRISIS**

There's a real urgency to fighting against Gingrichism. One area where there's special urgency is the environment. In ten years there may be no Everglades if the Republicans have their way. As a birdwatcher I really see the direct effects on the natural world.

Drug counselor
Chicago

Franklin Dmitryev's lead, "Congress unleashes 'free market' to devour environment" (April N&L) was a passionate piece of writing. What elevated it from muckraking was its philosophic dimension, evident in the quote from Marx

that showed capitalism's deadly direction when it comes to both humans and the environment; and how he critiqued some of the existing Green groups as falling into capitalism's traps. I heard Dmitryev give a different kind of talk at Lewis University in Illinois a few weeks ago on the relationship of Marxism to the environmental movement. What struck me was how the discussion ended up centering around the possibility of revolution. It showed that the question of the destruction of the environment isn't in a different compartment from the need for a total transformation.

T. Luna
Illinois

QUESTIONS OF LABOR

The baseball strike appeared to be just wealthy players standing up to even wealthier owners. But appearances shouldn't deceive. The very same salary cap that baseball owners wanted (and still want) to impose on the sum-total of baseball salaries has a life of its own. Now owners of the mammoth Safeway grocery store chain in Northern California have told their unions that management will spend only so much in total pay and benefits to the work force.

They call it a "flat cost" contract and they are giving the unions the choice of how to divide up the money -- wages, insurance coverage, pensions, or whatever. I suppose Safeway management didn't want to call it a salary cap so they wouldn't look like fat cats. Fat chance!

Labor fan
Chicago

Seventy Decatur workers rented a bus to go to Miami to confront our AFL-CIO leaders who were meeting there and say, "We need you." The result was that Lane Kirkland and several other union leaders came to Decatur and we had a rally March 27. Between 800 and 900 people turned out. They announced they started a defense fund for strikers and locked-out people nationwide. Kirkland started it with \$20,000. Other leaders put in \$5,000. It's not quite what we had hoped for. Some were not happy with this after the trip to Miami. Others were

thankful they showed up to make even a token gesture like that.

Staley worker
Decatur, Ill.

The fishing boat built by workers here, to give to the people of the village of San Juan del Sur in Nicaragua as a gesture of our solidarity, had its official launching some time ago. But there were still months of work needed to make the boat flexible enough for various fishing conditions in Nicaragua. It is now ready but the additional work to construct the special trawl nets and other gear has exhausted our funds. We are asking all those who supported the project in the past to help us this one final time to make sure the boat arrives safely in San Juan del Sur. Tax deductible donations should be sent to the Nicaragua Boat Committee at the United Fisherman and Allied Workers' Union, 160-111 Victoria Drive, Vancouver, B.C. V5L 4C4, Canada.

Jim Sinclair for the Boat Committee
Vancouver, B.C.

GOETHE ON GINGRICH

The level of today's retrogression is such that a poem written by Goethe two centuries ago seems to be perfect to describe how Gingrich & Co. project the insecurities of their distorted minds against single mothers:

In Court (c.1774-75)

Who gave it me, I shall not tell,
The child I've got in me;
Call me a whore, if you like, and spit:
I'm an honest woman, see?
He's good and kind, I'll not say who,
My sweetheart that I wed,
A chain of gold on his neck he wears
And a straw hat on his head.
Chuckle and scorn to your heart's content,
I'll take the scorn from you;
I know him well, he knows me well,
God knows about us, too.
Lay off me, folks, you, reverend,
You, officer of laws!
It is my child, it stays my child,
And it's no concern of yours.

(Johann Wolfgang von Goethe)
Carlos Varela
New York

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

Marxist-Humanist Literature Catalog
A full list of publications (many publications are not listed here) available from News and Letters Committees
..... 55¢ postage

BOOKS

BY RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

- Marxism and Freedom: From 1776 until today
1988 edition. New author's introduction..... \$17.50
- Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao
1989 edition. New author's introduction..... \$14.95
- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution
1991 edition. New author's introduction. Foreword by Adrienne Rich..... \$12.95
- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Liberation: Reaching for the Future..... \$15.95
- The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism: Selected writings by Raya Dunayevskaya \$8.50
- The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya
Contains "Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987," and 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes."
..... \$3 paperback, \$10 hardcover

BY CHARLES DENBY

- Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal
1989 edition includes Afterword by Raya Dunayevskaya \$14.95

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
- NEW!** Harry McShane and the Scottish Roots of Marxist-Humanism by Peter Hudis.... \$3
- Bosnia-Herzegovina: Achilles Heel of Western "Civilization"..... \$1
- Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis Includes critiques of Ernest Mandel and Tony Cliff \$2
- 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
- 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.: A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments by Raya Dunayevskaya..... \$1.50
- Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World Since World War II
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$2
- Theory and Practice, by Rosa Luxemburg First English Translation \$2
- Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.25
- Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought by Lou Turner and John Alan \$3
- Selections from Raya Dunayevskaya's writings on the Middle East \$2.50
- Working Women for Freedom by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan, and Mary Holmes \$2

- Dos ensayos por Raya Dunayevskaya \$2
- News and Letters Committees Constitution 32¢ postage

ARCHIVES

- Guides to Collection and Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection:
Marxist-Humanism : A Half-Century of Its World Development Full description of 15,000-page microfilm collection. \$4.50
- The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection -- Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development A 15,000-page microfilm collection on 8 reels available from Wayne State University, Detroit, MI 48202 \$165

NEWSPAPER

- News & Letters subscription
Unique combination of worker and intellectual, published 10 times a year (request information about gift subscriptions) \$2.50/year
 - NEW!** Bound Volumes of News & Letters. 1970-77, 1977-84, 1984-87, 1987-94 \$25 each
- N&L is also available on microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106. N&L as well as other Marxist-Humanist literature is available on audio tape.

MAIL ORDERS TO:
News & Letters, 59 East Van Buren,
Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605
Phone (312) 663-0839

Enclosed find \$_____ for the literature checked. Please add \$1.00 for each item for postage. Illinois residents add 7% sales tax.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Black/Red View

by John Alan

It was inevitable that the conservative campaign to repeal affirmative action in California would find an "ethical" reason for its action. Thus we find, in the April 16 issue of the *San Francisco Examiner*, an article by John H. Bunzel, a senior research fellow at Stanford's Hoover Institute, expounding on Seymour Martin Lipset's concept of the contradiction between the "two core values in the American creed—individualism and equalitarianism"—and how it determines white Americans' anti-affirmative action attitude.

The reader was led from the abstraction of the American creed to the pre-ordained conclusion that "white Americans believe that policies giving privilege [to] some people rather than others, on the basis of a characteristic they were born with, violates a universal form of fairness." And: "What gives this race-conscious agenda its distinctive character—what makes the agenda unfair and open to challenge morally—is that the principle of preferential treatment runs against the American promise of equal rights and equal treatment."

However, in the context of history and the present state of American society, it's easy to see that the "moral" content of the American creed meant that only white males have an historic right to compete equally.

Black Americans, on the other hand, have had a different experience with the "American creed," especially with its "universal form of fairness" and the "promise of equal rights and treatment." Dr. Bunzel should know that Black Americans were never a party to this creed, but rather its object—an object in the sense that the control of their labor, since the beginning of this country, was at the very foundation of this competition. A friend of Henry Adams called it "the union of the lash and the loom."

James Oakes in his book *Slavery and Freedom* reveals that the Southern slaveholders were "steeped in the Lockean premises" about men being endowed with natural freedoms when they enter into society and the purpose of government was to protect persons and their property. But these equalitarian rights were strictly white rights and the Black slave was not only denied legal rights but was legally a non-person.

This is past history, but history lingers on in the cre-

Black World

(Continued from page 1)

crises, not its liberation movements, are made to serve those ends.

Today, Africa has become the ward of Western "humanitarianism." That is to say, only when its human crisis cannot be comfortably ignored, as in the case of the genocide and refugee crisis in Rwanda, does the West respond to a continent that it so ravaged that its imperialist legacy continues to find new perverse forms of appearance with each political crisis.

Rwanda's recent massacre that took place when government troops began the forcible repatriation of 250,000 Hutu at the Kibeho refugee camp along the country's southwest border with Zaire, on April 22, discloses just such a phenomenon. When we look at what lay behind this latest tragedy that left 2,000 dead, we find that the genocidal army and government that carried out last year's carnage of one million people, and which fled into exile with the refugee exodus as their cover, have extorted aid from international relief agencies so as to consolidate their power for new incursions into Rwanda. They stood to be the big losers when the Hutu refugees were repatriated back to their homes.

Having already fallen into the trap of supplying aid and comfort to the perpetrators of one of this century's most horrific genocides, the relief agencies and international donor nations compounded their mistake by pressuring the Rwandan government into embarking on a policy of forced repatriation after the UN's strategy of enticing refugees back failed. As a condition for receiving foreign assistance, first the West sought, unsuccessfully, to pressure the Kigali government into including officials from the genocidal ruling party-in-exile in the cabinet as a "gesture" of national unity! The second condition for receiving Western aid was repatriation of the more than two million Hutu refugees.

So much has the ground shifted from the genocide of a year ago to the refugee crisis, that Hutu extremists have successfully used the "humanitarianism" and political neutrality of the relief agencies and Western donors to extract concessions from Kigali in exchange for foreign aid. The naive pragmatism of the relief agencies which found it expedient to work with the very civil and military authorities responsible for last year's genocide, because their brutal authority in the camps permitted the distribution of food and other provisions, inevitably led to deadly conflict when government troops attempted to repatriate refugees.

International aid agencies thus depoliticized genocide as a pragmatic expedient of cooperating in the camps with the perpetrators of the Rwandan genocide. Writing in *Current History* (April 1995), Alex de Waal and Rakiya Omaar of African Rights argue that, "though international relief organizations did not directly support the genocidal government inside Rwanda, the moment government forces had decamped to neighboring countries, the familiar synergy between an abusive authority

Racist moralism

vices of all the unresolved issues of race, class and gender. Hence Dr. Bunzel's article is only concerned with the reaction of white Americans to the alleged violation of their "creed" by affirmative action; he has little or no interest in what Black Americans think.

Dr. Bunzel is not alone in limiting the political and ongoing relationship Black American masses have with the debate around affirmative action. President Clinton when addressing the California Democratic Party last month cautioned the party to be sensitive to white males who oppose affirmative action.

In the same vein of consideration, the Stanford Law School defended its affirmative action program by announcing: "No one gets into Stanford Law School solely because of race or gender...But no one gets into Stanford Law School solely on grades or test scores either."

It may be good politics to show that the method used in selecting students is inclusive and impartial; but ideological opponents of affirmative action are not seeking even a bourgeois democratic solution to the problem of racialism in American society. They are aiming to prevent what they perceive to be a threat to the established white dominant/Black subordinate social relationship. This goes deeper than the issue of affirmative action.

America understands that this is the generally accepted Black-white social relationship. And it finds a political expression when the liberal proponents of affirmative action, fearing the growing forces of reaction, attempt to placate the "angry white male" and, at the same time, relegate to the silence of history the role played by the activity and reasoning of Black masses during the Civil Rights Revolution, which was pivotal in compelling Congress to enact the first affirmative action laws.

The failure to recognize this crucial role of Black masses means that the present battle around affirmative action is itself permeated with one of the major contradictions of American racism, the elimination or dehumanizing of Black consciousness as a subjectivity which changes the course of American history.

The political defenders of affirmative action are being careful not to present that original reason for affirmative action related to the self-emancipation of Black Americans from racism; instead, they rely on statistics to show affirmative action doesn't hurt white jobs. In this battle the real issue isn't white jobs or the "American creed," but the perpetuation of capitalist power founded upon racialism.

Rwanda in new world order

and humanitarian relief was established....Result: massive material assistance was given to killers, including food, transportation, and a secure base from which to launch attacks into Rwanda. Ironically, while the soldiers of the new government of Rwanda remain unpaid volunteers, the genocidal army of the former government, now in exile, is fed by international food aid."

And now, some countries of the EU (European Union), like France, have latched onto the Kibeho massacre as a pretext to suspend the \$611 million in aid the West promised the Kigali government in January. Thus, are the new perverse ways bleeding Africa is being made to function within the new state capitalist world order.

Questions for the freedom movement

**BOSNIA-
HERZEGOVINA**

**ACHILLES HEEL OF
"WESTERN CIVILIZATION"**

\$1 (plus 85¢ postage).....Order from
News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren, #707, Chicago IL 60605

'Out from under The Bell curve'

New York—Some 400 people of all colors met together April 1 at a teach-in entitled "Out from Under The Bell Curve." That book is currently a popular attempt to attribute intelligence to genetics and thereby to justify people's social-economic status as "natural." It contributes to the ideological basis of current anti-poor, anti-Black and anti-women government policies.

Stephen Jay Gould, the eminent biologist, argued that all the premises underlying the book's conclusions are unproven. There is little evidence supporting the claim. He said, but even strong evidence that "intelligence" is hereditary would not mean it is unchangeable. Bad eyesight is clearly inherited, but you can correct that by wearing glasses. Genetic determinist theories come to the fore in reactionary periods because they support government policies of not helping poor people.

Richie Perez of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights described the danger of such theories, used by the radical right to organize reactionary political movements around the country, including in New York City, where they have influenced the school board.

The conference not only exposed the faulty "science" of genetic determinism and its use by the right wing, but also discussed how to combat it with theories of human liberation. Lou Turner, managing editor and "Black World" columnist of *News & Letters*, gave a workshop entitled "A Marxist Critique of The Bell Curve and its

L.A. fires still burn

Los Angeles—Early on Saturday morning, April 1, some 800 Los Angeles police officers and FBI agents launched "Operation Sunrise," a raid that was a systematic attack upon the South Central community. That community was at the heart of the 1992 Los Angeles rebellion, the area surrounding the street corner of Florence and Normandie, "Eight-Tray" gangster hood.



This continuous "mopping up" after the rebellion was said to be directed towards organized crime, gang members with guns and drugs. The reality of where these raids took place reflects the state's need to attempt to extinguish the flame of rebellion which still burns fully three years later. The Rodney King verdict and the Reginald Denny beating—these images still burn in the minds of the people, for better or worse.

That ghostly image of the rebellion continues to haunt the state and the Los Angeles Police Department which were indicted by that rebellion and found guilty by the Black community. The police and the system have been condemned, particularly by the Black youth who are unemployed, angry, and categorized as one-dimensional, condemned by the label of "gang-banger." But it is more complicated than that.

From 60 to 80 people were arrested; 20 were said to fall under the "three strikes" law of having a third felony and facing 25-years-to-life sentences. Out of those arrested, we are not sure how many were formally charged with a crime, but many had to be released. Many homes were wrecked inside during the police so-called search for drugs; personal belongings were piled in the middle of the floor; some homes were even raided twice in search of a suspect who had already been arrested. The community was terrorized by such a show of force and treatment by the police.

The real fear by the system is not of a crime wave. Guns and drugs are widespread throughout Los Angeles. And gangs are not the sources of these but rather they are victims of an inhuman existence of drugs and guns. But many of these Black youth are politically conscious. Before, during, and after the 1992 rebellion, the social consciousness of many has been fed by imprisonment and an unfair court system and the prejudicial treatment by the police. The racism of the system itself has created a monster which the system alienated but cannot completely kill or control. When one goes down, ten more frustrated gangsters are born.

A week before these raids took place, cable station HBO aired a special "Voice Against Violence." It captured the mood of a frustrated Black world of anger and violence, but also of thought. The special took up Eight-Tray Gangsters, "The Making of a CRIP," and characterized the word CRIP as meaning Community Resources for an Independent People, a militant group founded in 1969 modeled after the Black Panther Party.

"Lil Monster, a self-proclaimed New Afrikan militant and gangster, said at the start that he is a "field Negro, who wishes for a strong wind that will help to burn down the master's house," in the tradition of Malcolm X. He continued, "I hate everything America stands for, the establishment, I hate that damn flag. There is a younger group of kids coming up, they have no place to go, no place to play, they have no resources, they are going through the same struggle we went through. They are not interested in the library because it does not pertain to us—because history is his story, not ours. I cannot get a job because of the color of my skin, so I am going to hang out with my friends and gangbang. That word 'gangbang'—what does it mean? It's a word he invented. Now we are labeled 'urban terrorist.'"

Everything Black and young is characterized as evil and criminal within this system. Racism is the Achilles Heel of American Civilization and will bring about its downfall.

—Gene Ford

Liberal Critics."

He said: "The deepening crisis in the Black community doesn't allow us the luxury of merely dismissing the pseudo-scientific racism of *The Bell Curve* and the racist underpsyche of the American mind it feeds. If not intelligence, then what is the ground for understanding the Black condition in late 20th century America, and more importantly, understanding how to transform it?"

He discussed the current crises of capitalism and warned that not only the right wing, but many so-called Marxists, are spouting theories which eliminate any historical agency from the working class, and substituting "radical democracy" for revolution.

A workshop entitled "Race and Racism: People of Color or Fighting Back" focused on ways of combatting the debilitating effects of racism and included Black, Asian, Latino and Native American speakers.

At a workshop on "The Ideology and Impact of the 'Culture Wars,'" media activists urged the Left to get involved in the raging battles over who will define the most basic moral values of the culture. At a workshop of the environmental justice movement, we learned about the emergence of a new social movement, led largely by grassroots women of color, fighting the pro-business and anti-environmental agenda of the Right.

—Anne Jacla

Memories persist of Argentina's 'dirty war'

New York—Memory is with us forever although many would like to erase it. Adolfo Scilingo cannot erase his memory of horror when he was a navy officer in Argentina during the "Dirty War" (1975-1983). About 30,000 people disappeared. For the Argentine state, they had to disappear. The massacre and disappearance of workers, activists and students, the genocide of a whole generation was the result of the perverse nature of capitalism: maximization of profits.

Human lives do not count. For both the "democratic" government of Isabel Peron and the military dictatorship that followed, brutal repression of any dissenting voice was necessary in order to impose an economic project which was the seed for today's Argentine free-market economy. Thirty thousand lives were the necessary cost for capitalism in Argentina.

For the bourgeoisie, the only way to justify such genocide was the total belief in a Holy War against a foreign ideology, communism, that sought the destruction of the "Christian and Western values of the Argentine nation." This belief meant the denial on the part of the bourgeoisie of their own humanity. But memory is alive. It cannot be erased. It is present. Adolfo Scilingo cannot forget those human beings whom, after being sedated, he threw to their deaths into the ocean from a plane. He will never forget when he shoved the bodies of two young 20-year-old women, and the one kid of only 16 years old.

In 1977, Scilingo was on a "mission" which the Argentine Catholic Church hierarchy sanctioned as "a Christian form of death." Throwing "subversives," killing them, disappearing them was a needed justification for the Argentine government to eliminate once and for all what is, citing Frantz Fanon, the "most human in man: Freedom." Capitalism cannot deal with humanity.

Despite that, an army general, Ramon Camps, had already claimed, without regret, responsibility for 5,000 of 30,000 "suspected leftists" that were abducted and then disappeared. Adolfo Scilingo is the first Argentine military officer to provide in detail the way in which thousands of human beings (according to him about 2,000 between 1977 and 1978) were kidnapped, tortured, and then dumped alive into the ocean from planes. Scilingo was directly responsible for 30 such "Christian" deaths.

Today, he is still responsible for those deaths, but the Argentine bourgeoisie, the Catholic Church hierarchy, the Army and especially the Argentine government and its current amnesic president are as well responsible for them. They cannot escape their memories no matter how hard they try. Scilingo knows about that. His memory haunts him for life. He is so alienated from his own humanity that he needs to drink heavily and to take tranquilizers to bear the pain of his tortured memory.

Memory cannot be erased. March 23, one day before the 19th anniversary of the 1976 coup d'etat, the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, the Mothers of the Disappeared, transferred their traditional Thursday protest from the Plaza de Mayo to the infamous Navy Mechanics School (ESMA), which was used both as a concentration camp during the last dictatorship, and as a base for officers like Scilingo to torture people and then fling them alive and naked from planes into the waters of the Rio de la Plata and the Atlantic Ocean.

The Mothers only demand justice, they only want the Argentine government to accept responsibility for the disappearance of their children. The "democratic" government not only does not want to accept it, but also they perpetuate the repression inherited from the dictatorship. In the protest, the police attacked with water cannons and arrested marchers.

For President Menem, as it was for the military dictators, the demonstrators, the Mothers, the students and workers that participate in any demonstration, are subversive. A good reason for repression. President Carlos Menem himself suffered prison during the last dictatorship. He wants to re-write history. He became amnesic. He does not want to take responsibility. The Mothers want truth. Menem wants just silence, the language of death. Adolfo Scilingo knows about that. His memory had to talk.

—An Argentine who will never forget

Dominican Republic revolt

New York—Today the capital of the Dominican Republic, Santo Domingo, is once more militarized due to the announced national mobilizations proposed by the main union confederations which are protesting the businessmen's unwillingness to pay a 30% increase in salary for workers in the private sector. Yet the latest alarm bringing attention to the totally inhuman living conditions in this most beautiful land, was given March 20. In the most important urban revolt in the last 10 years, youth held back the National Police and the National Guard on the borders of their neighborhoods for a week with rocks and stones.

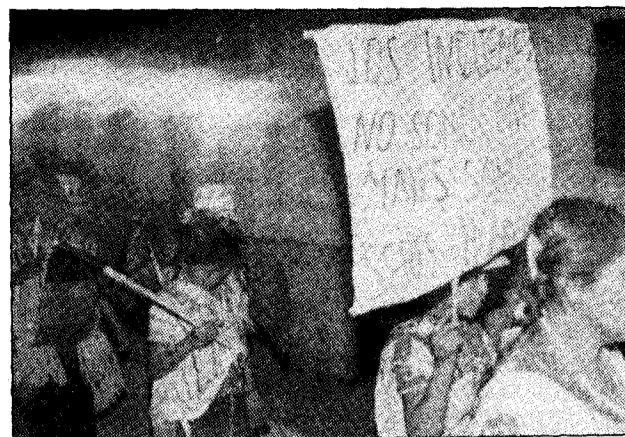
Poor and working people who live in a historically populous and marginalized neighborhood of Santo Domingo, had organized for months to demand state authorities pave their streets, provide potable water, create better housing conditions, and fight against transportation and food hikes—demands that clearly go historically against the current IMF-World Bank austerity and privatization plans. Getting no response, the people of the neighborhood organized a peaceful protest that was met with tear gas, clubs and bullets. Two people died in the incident.

Immediately the whole neighborhood rose in rebellion. Simultaneously the most marginalized and populous shanty neighborhoods in the capital followed, paralyzing the entire city for a week. Violent protests also occurred in some important interior cities like San Francisco de Macoris. It took the death of a policeman for the state forces to invade the barrios, beating and imprisoning hundreds and killing six people in search of those who shot the police.

By March 24, the situation seemed under the control of the Security Forces, and the only protests were the ones in the interior, the nurses on national strike, and a massive prison revolt which had been crushed "diplomatically." The traditional politicians meanwhile are busy with "stability" and fighting among themselves around an electoral constitutional reform a la the U.S. In the streets the struggle has returned again to the mind of the oppressed, especially the youth.

—Sin Mas

Message from Chiapas



Indian supporters of Zapatista rebels demonstrate near site of scheduled peace talks.

Excerpts from a March 17 communique from Subcomandante Marcos, leader of the EZLN, Zapatista National Liberation Army, in Chiapas, Mexico.

When we governed...we made all of the major decisions, or the "strategic" ones, of our struggle, by means of a method that they call the "referendum" and the "plebiscite." We got rid of prostitution, and unemployment disappeared as well as begging. The children had sweets and toys. We made many errors and had many failures. We also accomplished what no other government in the world, regardless of its political affiliation, is capable of doing honestly, and that is to recognize its errors and to take steps to remedy them.

When the tanks and the helicopters and the planes and the many thousands of soldiers arrived, they said that they came to defend national sovereignty, and we told them that that was being violated in the USA not in Chiapas, and that national sovereignty cannot be defended by trampling the rebel dignity of the indigenous people. They did not listen because the noise of their war machines made them deaf. They came in the name of the government, and for the government. Betrayal is the ladder by which one climbs to power.

The legality of the government came mounted on bayonets. Our legality was based on consensus and reason, and we wanted to convince, and the government wanted to conquer. We said that no law that had to resort to arms to be enforced could be called a law, and it is only an arbitrariness regardless of how much legalist wrapping it is covered with. He who orders the enforcement of a law accompanied by the force of weapons is a dictator even if he says that the majority elected him.

We were run out of our lands. With the war tanks came the law of the government, and the law of the Zapatistas left. Behind the war tanks of the government came prostitution again, drinking, theft, drugs, destruction, death, corruption, sickness, and poverty.

The government also waged war against the rest of the Mexicans, but instead of tanks and planes, they launched an economic program that is also going to kill them—just more slowly.

Then and now: Scotland, socialism and the national question

Inverness-shire, Scotland—For almost three centuries the Scottish people have been captive. It was in 1707 that some elite members of the Scottish parliament sold out the people of Scotland into an incorporating union with England.

There are many parallels in the history of the conquest of Scotland to that of Ireland. Ireland is England's oldest colony, having been occupied almost continually for nearly 800 years. Scotland, on the other hand, has been held captive in an incorporating union going on for 300 years. The centuries before that Scotland was engaged in almost continual wars for its independence, culminating in Bannockburn 1314, when Scottish troops under Robert Bruce routed the English forces.

Scotland probably enjoys the dubious distinction of be-

ing the first people to be ethnically cleansed. Our people were murdered or transported to the Carolinas. Gaelic culture was forbidden. It was a criminal offence to wear the kilt, it was illegal to play the bagpipes, the language was forbidden, place names were changed. Nine miles north of where I live—Cill Chuimein (Cell of Columba)—was changed to Fort Augustus, one of the names of Butcher Cumberland, then Duke of York.

As in every colonial country, the imperial power has its place-men who do the bidding of their colonial masters. In Ireland a puppet government was formed. Scotland had a unique relationship in that the aspiring industrialists wholly co-operated with the state to ensure the subjection of the people. They in turn formed Scottish regiments to fight for the British Empire. The Scottish soldiers were sent all over the world to suppress other peoples. Unfortunately they willingly cooperated.

The surge in the aspirations of the Scottish people has erupted once more. The conditions that have triggered this latest unrest are identical to that in Ireland. Unemployment in Scotland is traditionally higher than in England. Wages are always some 25% lower in Scotland than in England. In the case of women it is considerably more—about 30%. Emigration reached 50,000 a year. Scotland's population is in decline.

Then there is the democratic deficit. Scotland always gets whatever government English voters vote for. For 17 years a Tory government has been imposed on the Scottish people, despite the fact that the people have overwhelmingly voted alternatively. About a year ago a referendum was held in Strathclyde (which is the industrial west of Scotland), on water privatisation. The overwhelming majority opposed it, 80%, but it is being imposed on the people.

Nationalism can be a revolutionary force. When nationalism is the driving force for liberation it is surely revolutionary. There is no doubt that the ruling class has used nationalism to sustain their own system. As long as the economic system remains there is no change. Both Marx and Engels supported the nationalist movements in Ireland and Poland. The freedom of Ireland and the breaking of England's economic control of Ireland was of paramount importance to Marx.

As far back as 1922 John MacLean advocated a "Scot-

tish Workers Republic." MacLean put into focus the need to end British rule in both Ireland and Scotland. In "The Irish Tragedy: Scotland's Disgrace," the whole theme of his argument is that Scotland should not be standing by while Ireland struggles alone. Both nations have the same problem: English Imperialism. Like James Connolly in Ireland, his concept of thought was summed up in the proposition that "the two currents of revolutionary thought in Ireland, the socialist and the national, were not antagonistic but complimentary."

When the Scottish Labour Party became subject to the British Labour Party, like the Clan Chiefs they ceased to be Scottish and became British. Likewise with the trade union leaders: as the smaller Scottish unions were taken over by the bigger English unions they also ceased to be Scottish and became British. Scottish workers lost their identity, they become British.

A whole host of the Heinz variety of the Left, being of English origin, deny a Scottish struggle. The only struggle is a British one. They say the reality of the situation is ignored. The Union of 1707 was not the union of Scottish and English workers. It was the union of two emerging capitalist states. In the case of the Scottish ruling class it was an attempt to gain access to the large markets of England; on the English side it was primarily to protect its northern border, to allow it to compete against France and Spain in the quest for empire and markets.

The so-called Left battles with the shadows and ignores the substance. It has not occurred to them that their opposition to Scottish self-rule is in line with Tory thinking. They are in fact the two poles of the same thing—Unionism—just as hot and cold are the poles of the same element. For socialists to suggest that one nation should be subsidiary to another is the antithesis of the basic concept of socialism.

The struggle continues as more and more workers are becoming aware of the necessity to establish independence. As the British Labour Party continues along the road towards the acceptance of capitalism, more and more of its Scottish members look to new outlooks of thought. They are beginning to accept the MacLean concept: "ALL HAIL THE SCOTTISH WORKERS REPUBLIC."

—Bill Johnston

How to contact

NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES

CHICAGO	NEW YORK
59 E. Van Buren, Room 707 Chicago, IL 60605 Phone 312 663 0839 Fax 312 663 9069	P.O. Box 196 Grand Central Station New York, NY 10163 212 663 3631
MEETINGS Call for meeting information	MEETINGS Sundays, 6:30 p.m. Washington Square Church 133 W. 4th St. (Parish House)
DETROIT	OAKLAND
P.O. Box 27205 Detroit MI 48227	P.O. Box 3345 Oakland, CA 94609 510 658 1448
MEETINGS Thursdays, 7 p.m. Central Methodist Church Woodward and Adams	MEETINGS Sundays, 5:30 p.m. 412 Monte Vista, Oakland (near Oakland Ave.)
LOS ANGELES	FLINT, MI
P.O. Box 29194 Los Angeles, CA 90029 213 960 5607	P.O. Box 3384 Flint, MI 48502
MEETINGS Sundays, 5:30 p.m. Echo Park United Methodist Church 1226 N. Alvarado (North of Sunset, side door)	LONDON BCM Box 3514 London, England WC1N 3XX

Youth mobilize against Republican cutbacks nationwide

(Continued from page 1)

The state university Board of Trustees has said that if Pataki's budget is passed they will lay off thousands of faculty and staff and completely close a major campus. For students at SUNY (State University of New York) and CUNY (City University of New York), tuition would increase from \$1,000 to \$2,500 a year.

On March 23 the CUNY Coalition Against the Cuts sponsored a protest of 20,000 people at City Hall and then attempted to march to Wall Street to close it down. According to Alex Vitale, an elected student leader of the march, the students decided not to request a march permit or to meet with the police in advance. "I think," Vitale explained, "that is the result of ten or more years of built-up frustration over the ways in which the police basically try to control all demonstrations."

CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN

This mass march was stopped by a brutal police riot. The cops barricaded the demonstrators before they could leave City Hall Park. They then broke through their own barricades and beat, choked, gassed, and arrested demonstrators and members of the media in the legal demonstration area.

This exposed the repressiveness of Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's police. Despite the attempt to portray students as violent thugs, and Giuliani's ignorant statement that, "instead of protesting," the students "should go find a job for the day," the march was a great day of unity among people from diverse ethnic backgrounds.

The same day, 3,000 faculty members rescheduled classes and marched together across the Brooklyn Bridge in their caps and gowns. Some elementary school teachers defied school authorities and brought their classes to the demonstration. High school students walked out of their schools to make up nearly one third of the demonstration. One observer described their attitude as, "This is my future; I have to be at this demonstration."

In defiance of Giuliani's disdain for the protesters, Dennis Rivera, leader of the Hospital Workers union Local 1199, invited the CUNY Coalition to march with 1199 and AFSCME District Council, two of the city's largest unions, from City Hall to Wall Street on April 4, the anniversary of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s death.

Problems began, however, when the union bureaucracy insisted on obtaining a march permit. Moreover, without much time to build for the demonstration, the mass participation of high school students did not materialize. The turnout for this demonstration was about 4,000.

As a recent Columbia University graduate observed, "A lot of students want to work with labor. But at the April 4 march, protesters wanted to keep the march going and do civil disobedience, but Rivera said, 'We have got to stop now,' and turned off the microphone. So people in the movement are trying to figure out how to reach the rank-and-file workers rather than going through the rigamarole of the union bureaucracy."

While the movement may have appeared to have peaked, 24 City College students began a hunger strike, on April 11, in the North Academic Center to protest cutbacks in education.

College President Moses ordered the arrest of anyone who remained after 11 P.M. Forty-seven students, including all the hunger strikers, spent the night in jail. They returned from their jail cells to continue their hunger strike for a second day. That night demonstrators were threatened with arrest again if they did not leave. Along with 400 supporters from Columbia University and the Harlem and Washington Heights Black and Latino communities, they voted to leave en masse and march through Harlem to Columbia. Their midnight march was met with cheers from the people of Harlem as they passed through the neighborhood.

NATIONWIDE YOUTH UPSURGE

New York is the most intense expression of what has been a nationwide upsurge of youth opposition to the Gingrich-Republican rollbacks. On March 29, thousands of students on over 105 campuses in at least 34 states protested Gingrich's push for \$1.7 billion in cuts from the higher education budget already appropriated for fiscal year 1995 and \$20 billion in higher education cuts over the next five years. This national day of protest was initiated by the University Conversion Project in Cambridge, Massachusetts, which sent out a call to action over the Internet.

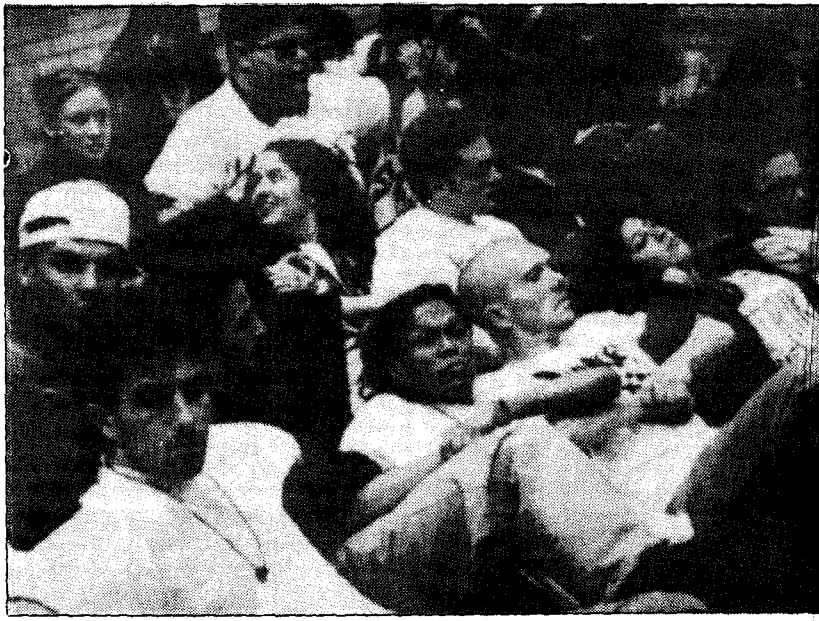
These demonstrations included rallies at Bowling Green in Ohio and Emory University in Atlanta. Students at Cornell University built a "Newtown" shantytown and began a five-day hunger strike.

A rescission bill approved by a House appropriations subcommittee axes nearly \$300 million from the higher education budget already in effect for this year. Of the money rescinded from the budget, \$240 million would come from student aid, which could force as many as two million students to drop out.

The proposed cuts also involve the elimination of interest exemptions on student loans in the 1996 budget. Currently the federal government subsidizes interest until six months after graduation. If this interest exemption is eliminated the average undergraduate would owe over \$3-4,000 more and lose the six months to find a job before making payments.

Students and working youth are facing renewed ideological attacks and cutbacks at the state and local level as well. Each local set of circumstances has engendered its own unique forms of opposition.

● In Hawaii on March 17, university students surrounded the state House to protest the legislature's proposal to cut \$35 million from the university budget over three years, including funding for minorities.



Students at sit-in at New York's City College.

● In Michigan over 1,000 Native Americans and others protested Governor John Engler's plan to eliminate tuition waivers for Native Americans at state colleges, charging that violates the Comstock Agreement of 1934.

● In Chicago, Black students at DePaul University sat in at the office of the student newspaper for ten days to protest their racist journalism (see story, p. 11).

● At Northwestern University in Evanston, Ill., Asian students held a seven-day hunger strike demanding an Asian-American Studies Program (see story, p. 11).

CALIFORNIA YOUTH REORGANIZE

In California the mass demonstrations against the anti-immigrant Proposition 187 died down after it passed in last November's election. Youth activists are now reorganizing to oppose the "Contract on America" and Gov. Wilson's attempt to undermine affirmative action.

Although Proposition 187 has not been put into effect because it is being appealed in court, over 2,000 college students suspected of being undocumented immigrants were sent letters this spring telling them their tuition would be increased from \$1,000 to \$5,000 a year. This was the result of a suit filed by the backers of Prop. 187 in which the court ruled that undocumented immigrants were not legally residents so they were not entitled to in-state tuition.

The Four Winds Student Movement, founded during anti-Prop. 187 protests in Los Angeles, held a conference at Loyola-Marymount to begin a struggle against this decision and the elimination of affirmative action.

Olga, a Latina high school student and organizer of the conference, observed, "They are trying not to let us get on the offensive. Every time they bring out an at

tack, we concentrate on that one attack. Meanwhile half of their team is working on the next one."

Olga also makes the point that the combination of the "Contract on America" attack on welfare recipients and elimination of affirmative action would be most devastating to young working class women of color, like herself. "I have a lot of friends who are young mothers already," she said. "They are dependent on welfare and general assistance, and their children are dependent on school lunches. But the thing is that, pardon my speech, these bastards are really out to get anyone who is not white, male, and wealthy."

Students at Berkeley organized a statewide conference to oppose the attacks on affirmative action. Hatem Bazian, one of the conference organizers, connected the rash of racist skinhead letters sent to students in the law school last February to an atmosphere of hatred brought on by the attacks on affirmative action.

"They are saying the problems within the society are there because these people of color are taking your positions, so therefore the way to solve it is to go into a 'color blind society,'" Bazian said. "But a 'color blind society' does not see, so it maintains the status quo as it is. So we say rather than having a color blind society, we should have a color rich society that reaffirms the color and ethnicity of each person and treats them with the respect and equality they deserve."

And yet in a period when it appears that neo-fascism is on the rise, maintaining the ideal of not allowing any of these issues to become separated is no easy task.

Clinton will of course try to use the new youth activism in his own political battle with Gingrich. He has already begun attacking the Republicans' designs to eliminate the federal school lunch program and the interest exemptions on student loans. Indeed, Clinton even spoke at a rally of students in Georgia during the national day of protests on March 29 and encouraged students "to get involved in the debate over education." There is no doubt that Clinton does want to separate those issues off because he wants a compromise with Gingrich.

Students need to continue to oppose all of these attacks as a totality. But we must also see that we cannot allow that totality to become separated from working out what it means to be human. As Dwayne Helms, a Black student at San Jose State Univ. said in speaking out against eliminating affirmative action, "The marginalized are always asked to be patient, but how much longer before we have access to the concept of being human?"

Editorial

On brink of new nuclear arms race?

As leaders of over 170 nations deliberate in New York over the terms of extending the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), a series of recent events reveal the increasingly ominous character of the nuclear world which we continue to inhabit.

On April 21, North Korea broke off talks with the U.S. over an accord to halt its nuclear-weapons program. A week earlier, Clinton moved to lift the restrictions on U.S. military aid to Pakistan, originally imposed because of its refusal to abandon its nuclear weapons program. And the U.S. and Russia are locked in a bitter dispute over Russia's sale of four nuclear reactors to Iran, which the U.S. claims will be used to obtain the know-how to build nuclear weapons.

The dispute with Russia has ramifications that far transcend Iran. The growth of tensions between the U.S. and Russia on a number of fronts is leading figures on both sides to argue against further reductions in their arsenal of nuclear weapons. The end of the Cold War has removed neither the basis of global competition nor its deadly nuclear component.

In this context the debate over the terms of extending this Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty sounds increasingly hollow. The treaty places no restriction on the nuclear arsenals of the major nuclear powers while calling for the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries. The U.S., Russia, Britain and France (but not China) wish to extend the treaty indefinitely, while many non-nuclear countries want it extended for no more than 25 years.

What has been clear from the start is that any serious effort to eliminate nuclear weapons will not be on the agenda. Though the preamble to the NPT in 1970 called for the total elimination of nuclear weapons, this was little more than rhetoric. In fact, the nature of the NPT helps guarantee the continued existence of nuclear-armed world. It places no limits on the modernization of existing nuclear forces, leaving the door open for a new arms race. And it has encouraged the flow of nuclear bomb material from the West to Israel, South Africa, Iraq and elsewhere by promoting commerce in the "peaceful" use of nuclear energy. This is precisely the avenue now being used by Iran and other powers to obtain the know-how to make nuclear weapons.

What is far more decisive than the speeches given in New York about extending the NPT are the ramifications of the state of relations between the U.S. and Rus-

sia.

It is not hard to see why Russia refuses to agree to the U.S.'s demand that it cancel its \$1 billion deal with Iraq to build four nuclear reactors. It brings in double the amount of money that Russia has received from the U.S. in the "Cooperative Threat Reduction Program," aimed at converting Russia's nuclear production facilities to non-military production. It is also \$100 million more than the total request for U.S. aid to Russia that Clinton will soon send to Congress.

Russia is also not rushing to bend to U.S. dictates because of its worry about NATO's expansion. In April the Republican-dominated House voted — after one hour of debate! — to allow Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia to join NATO. These nations would come under the protection of NATO's nuclear umbrella, which views an attack on one NATO member as an attack on all. Though few expect Russia to make any effort to reclaim its former East European surrogates, and few that the West would actually defend the small East European countries, the expansion of NATO is being used in Russia to argue that it must hold onto as much of nuclear arsenal as possible if it is to have any say in world politics.

Nor is this just true of Russia. Despite all the talk "ending the nuclear age," even with the approval of the SALT II agreement (which is not guaranteed, at least Russia's side) each nation still is allowed to possess 3,500 nuclear warheads—enough to destroy the world several times over.

Meanwhile, the Pentagon continues to fund research into "mininukes" and "micronukes" as well as small size nuclear weapons aimed to disrupt communication centers. The Gulf War of 1991 created a special impetus to pursue such weaponry. According to Steve Coll in a David Ottaway of *The Washington Post* (National Weekly edition of April 17-23), in April 1993 "the Joint Chiefs of Staff issued a doctrine for the conduct of nuclear war that said 'a selective capability of being able to use low yield nuclear weapons' was a 'useful alternative.'"

The end of the Cold War world has created major changes, but it has not undermined the continued existence and expansion of a nuclear-armed world. Against the way many have been lulled into complacency by the appearance of the contrary, we must place trust not in the rulers, but in the capacity of massed people to uproot the very nature of this exploitative class-ridden global system.

Youth

bell hooks—racing reality

by Maya Jhansi

To me, it seems like it's becoming harder and harder to be a radical and a student in academia these days. Contrary to the right-wing propaganda about academia being a hotbed of radicalism, the reality is that students face a virulent backlash against all the gains of the 1960s—especially Women's Studies, African-American Studies and multiculturalism.

Which is why, when I went to see bell hooks speak at Loyola University in Chicago last week, I felt a tremendous sense of excitement. There were about 350 people there, many of whom were Black women and women of color. bell hooks represents something a lot of students are hungering for. She denounces "white supremacist capitalist patriarchy," and calls herself a revolutionary Black feminist. She wants to deepen our critique of society by combining the categories of race, class and gender, and she critiques white feminists as well as Black male theorists who fall short of this.

What excited me most about the meeting was the discussion. While hooks' talk mostly focused on the representation of race on TV and the movies, the discussion, dominated by young Black women in the audience, pushed more pressing political issues to the forefront.

One woman asked hooks to speak about the criminalization of Black women on welfare. Another woman talked about the deepening economic crisis of the inner-city. Even though hooks herself had not brought up the specificity of black reality in the present moment, that was exactly what the audience wanted to talk about.

I think it is very significant that it was the young women in the audience that raised such crucial political questions. It was in this dynamic between bell hooks and the audience that some of the ambivalence I felt towards hooks came through. While I find much of hooks' work compelling, I also began thinking about how it speaks to the question of what to do in the face of the increasingly vicious right-wing attacks that the young women in the audience were talking about.

This concern is not external to bell hooks' own intellectual project. She, like other academics who are being touted as "public intellectuals," wants to bridge the gap between academia and the real world, between, in her own words, theory and practice.

In one of her most recent books, *Outlaw Culture: Resisting Representations* (1994) she writes, "Merging critical thinking in everyday life with knowledge learned in books and through study has been the union of theory and practice that has informed my intellectual cultural

Breaking the Contract

Champaign-Urbana, Ill.—On March 29 around 400 University of Illinois students and staff gathered at the student union for the "March for Justice" protest. The rally, followed by a march to Republican state Rep. Rick Winkel's office, was a protest against the anti-human Proposition 187 and Illinois House Bill 1107. 1107 gives landlords the right to kick anyone they so desire off their property in order to "lower crime rates." Under this bill, migrant workers are not allowed to have guests. This bill passed the House.

The rally, which had an excitingly diverse turnout of people, touched on issues of welfare, right to education, financial aid, the rights of immigrants and teen mothers, and the lousy representation of youth in this country.

During the march, the students chanted, "No justice, no peace" and "A people united, will never be defeated" in both Spanish and English. The Rep. was not available to talk that evening. The next day, however, a group of 80 students returned to talk with Winkel. The students were accompanied by a dozen cops.

Winkel repeatedly avoided questions. "Anytime we posed real questions, he tried to go around it, saying we were too loud," said Henoc Erku, a sophomore. Students complained Winkel was condescending and evasive. The students handed him a letter expressing how the legislation was in violation of our human rights.

The march was only the beginning of the noise that will be made in protest of the racist, sexist, and purely anti-human Proposition 187 at the University of Illinois. Weekly meetings of the student organization, Coalition for Justice, attended by a diverse group of about 50 students, continue to plan future actions. —Mukti

Cutback on budget cuts!

San Jose, Cal.—San Jose State students staged a rally April 18 to protest state and federal government budget cuts. Many speakers confirmed the explicit connections between these cuts and Prop. 187, the anti-affirmative action bill, racism on campus, the attack on welfare, the imprisonment of youth of color, and the draconian measures of the "100 days" march into the past.

Cherrie Gomez, from the Women's Resource Center said, "We are entitled to thrive and grow as human beings" and that we can't settle for allowing "our education to be stripped from us...by a right-wing government's whim."

One of the most moving speakers was Margarita Conteras, a Latina senior who works in student outreach and recruitment. She spoke of traveling to a working-class and immigrant high school in economically-depressed Watsonville. She roused the audience by declaring that she wouldn't tell these students that there's no money for them, because they need the hope and vision that education can bring them, that they have a human right to an education. —Jennifer Pen

work." She sees "cultural criticism" of TV, movies, music, etc. as a method of "decolonizing the mind" which is necessary for political practice.

This is part of what makes bell hooks so compelling. She is an intellectual who is concerned with feminism, with Black liberation, with radical politics. And she does not think that political activism without theory can lead to social change.

As one Black woman student who came to the meeting said: "I think bell hooks is important because she doesn't mince words. She's down to earth and understandable. She supports people and helps them decolonize their minds. She doesn't just talk a good game, but she connects theory and cultural criticism to actual political activism unlike so many other academics."

The question I have, however, is whether we can assume that a "critical consciousness" about our culture is enough to truly bridge the gap between theory and practice. Is the responsibility of the revolutionary feminist theorist fulfilled by critiquing and teaching people about the racism, sexism, classism, homophobia implicit in our cultural forms?

What about the need to develop a revolutionary consciousness that is not only "critical" but can also envision a future that transcends the limits of our given culture and reality? These are questions that I think are implicit in bell hooks' work but which she hasn't delivered a sufficient answer to.

It is about time that left intellectuals assume some responsibility for social and political questions of the day. Conservatives, after all, have always had their public intellectuals hard at work in right-wing think tanks. With the growing attacks on women, welfare, immigrants, affirmative action, education etc., a rethinking and new analysis of our reality is sorely needed. The question that the audience at bell hooks' meeting seemed to pose is: who will assume that responsibility?

Students shake up Chicago area campuses

De Paul sit-in

Editor's note: On April 5, 40 African-American students at De Paul University in Chicago started a sit-in at the office of the campus newspaper, DePaulia, to protest its racist reporting and the university administration's racism. Below we print what three activists involved in the sit-in told News & Letters.

On Feb. 10, the De Paul campus police called the Chicago police after a minor altercation at a party sponsored by Housecall, De Paul's African-American student organization. The police used very dehumanizing language and treated Black students like animals. The following week, the DePaulia reported on this in a very racist way by using the language of the Chicago police, referring to Black students as "MBs" (Male Blacks) and "FB's" (Female Blacks). They did not even attempt to get the views of a single student present at the party. In response, we in Housecall simply asked for a direct apology for biased reporting. When the DePaulia refused, we shredded copies of the paper on campus.

The DePaulia has a history of biased and racist reporting. They feel they have the power to publish whatever without worrying about repercussions. We think that if the university sanctions that, then it must be in favor of it. The budget for the DePaulia is \$54,000 per year and it is taken out of our tuitions. The budget for Housecall is only \$300 per year. We don't wish to pay for a paper that doesn't care about our concerns.

From Feb. 17 to March 17, the DePaulia published three editorials by Matt McCarthy which degraded and poked fun at Black students. We were called "thugs," "childish" and accused of "hiding behind racism" for our own "mistakes." In the meantime, the DePaulia was changing the language of the editorial statements and letters that Black students were submitting. They wanted to soften the blow of our message, dilute the meaning of the Black voice and manipulate our feelings.

As we wrote in one of our memorandums: "This is not freedom of the press, this is the freedom to oppress. This is a very familiar tactic used in today's society that enables the oppressor to minimize the voices of the oppressed. This therefore gains support needed for the oppressive media to be perceived by its audience as being an ethical, unbiased and unracist means of information."

This led us to start a sit-in on April 5. Forty students sat in the DePaulia office and demanded the following: 1) That the editor Zach Martin and writers, Matt McCarthy and Al Kipp be dismissed, 2) that the staff members receive journalism training in unbiased reporting, 3) that the newspaper devote a page each week to discussion by Black students and other students of color, 4) that the newspaper devote a whole issue each year to concerns of students of color. So far we have prevented the paper from publishing one issue.

This is not just a movement for Black students. We hope that the repercussions will affect minority students as a whole. We think this could be a movement that starts to wake up students who feel left out. Universities bring minority students to get more funding and to make their schools look more attractive. But we are manipulated. It is like paying your fare to sit in the back of the bus.

We also see our struggle very much related to the affirmative action struggle. We are now in an anti-Black climate. The sentiment at De Paul is that Black students

In Memoriam: Iqbal Masih



On April 16 capitalists from the carpet weaving industry in Pakistan brutally murdered Iqbal Masih, a 12-year-old worker and labor activist. Since the age of four, Iqbal had worked for the carpet-weaving industry under the most barbaric and inhuman conditions. By the time he was ten, he became a leading voice in the struggle against child labor world-wide.

Iqbal spread his ideas of freedom and self-development for children and youth by travelling to factories known for child labor violations. In Pakistan, there are an estimated 6 million child-workers under the age of 13. Because of Iqbal's courageous struggle, dozens of carpet-weaving factories in his district were closed down.

Iqbal was murdered because he dared to fight back against the sick inhumanity so organic to capitalism. We mourn the loss of this young freedom-fighter. His death calls on all of us to continue the battle to make his vision of a human world a reality.

—News & Letters Youth Committees

have what they deserve. Racism is over. As you can see, racism is not over. It is because of the anti-Black sentiment in the U.S., with Newt Gingrich in control, that the De Paul administration thinks degrading African-American students is O.K. This is also part of the attacks on immigrants. The new government administration is trying to turn over all the advances our ancestors have set in place.

The sit-in ended on April 16 after the administration met 18 of our 20 demands. We've now started a new organization called Concerned Black Students which continues our fight against racism on campus.

We hope this protest gives other students the idea to speak. This case can set a precedent against the powers that be who are used to giving the orders.

Northwestern hunger strike

Editor's note: At Northwestern University, Asian-American students are on a hunger strike for an Asian-American Studies program. Below we print excerpts of what they told News & Letters about their struggle.

About three years ago there was a big push on campus for an Asian-American advisor, just for someone to be there for us to talk to and go for consultation. This way, at least we would have a resource center for basic information on Asian-American issues. At this point the University hasn't even made that an option. But now we've changed the proposal. We would like an Asian-American studies program here at Northwestern with a director and two tenure-track professors by 1998.

They've been giving us the usual bureaucratic run-around. They keep telling us that they're doing all they can, that we're being unreasonable. But, we've been involved in this for three years and we have tried all the channels.

There are five who have been on hunger strike for eight days, and five more joined the strike a few days ago. We've had two rallies with about 250 people at each. About 1,200 students have signed a petition asking for an Asian-American Studies program, and over 20 faculty members wrote letters of support, including the directors of African-American Studies and Women's Studies.

It's important that not only Asian-American students know about Asian-American history but all students. If they believe all the stereotypes in the media about us, then there are going to be more racial problems. As we pointed out in our press release: "An Asian-American studies program will help eliminate hatred and expel misconceptions such as the model minority myth and the belief that Asian Americans are not a 'real' minority with 'real' problems."

We want to educate ourselves and others on Asian history in America. A lot of things we know about our history we've had to dig up by ourselves. At this University, we've paid for our education which isn't teaching us anything about our history and culture.

Our hunger strike was inspired by other movements for multicultural education such as the one at UCLA for a Chicano Studies program and the one at UC Irvine for Asian-American Studies.

We have the support of the Latino, African-American and Bisexual, Gay and Lesbian student groups on campus. The strikers themselves are of different races, and we see this strike as a portion of a much larger struggle for multicultural education—which may be one way to combat the Newt Gingrich conservatism we are suffering under.

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

The public scandal over the CIA's knowledge of, and involvement with, the murder of a U.S. citizen in Guatemala burst like a pestiferous boil into the headlines in late March. But all the attention is not going to fundamentally alter the four-decades-long collaboration carried out between a succession of U.S. presidents and Guatemalan dictatorships.

The role of the CIA in the latest incident couldn't be soft-pedalled when a letter to President Clinton from U.S. Rep. Robert Toricelli was made public. In it he detailed the CIA's knowledge of the role of Guatemalan Army Col. Julio Roberto Alpirez—on the CIA's payroll since 1988—in the 1990 murder of U.S. citizen Michael DeVine.

Alpirez was also linked to the murder of Efrain Bamaca Velasquez, an Indian guerrilla leader who was captured in March 1992, but disappeared four months

Genocide in Chechnya

In an apparent attempt to crush all visible Chechen resistance before the arrival in Moscow of Bill Clinton and other Western dignitaries for a World War II anniversary on May 9, Russian soldiers and police have moved with ferocious brutality to take over the entire lowland and urbanized parts of Chechnya, forcing the resistance fighters into the southern mountains.

Everywhere, as town after town has fallen, it has been the same story as Grozny. Weeks of artillery and air bombardments drive out resistance, after which Russian police and soldiers enter, massacring many of the remaining civilians. An elderly man picking through the ruins of Grozny told the press: "They are killing the children, the old people, the sick. They are bombing villages. It's worse than in 1944 when we died of hunger and thirst during the deportation [of all Chechens by Stalin to Kazakhstan]. When will the genocide perpetrated on the Chechen nation cease?" (Le Monde, April 12, 1995).

According to Russian human rights activists, Russian forces massacred the unarmed villagers of Samashki from April 7 to 10. Some people were summarily shot after they had surrendered, while others died after grenades were lobbed by laughing Interior Ministry troops (Omon) into the cellars where they were hiding from bombs and shells. It is the Omon who do the real dirty work while many of the actual military, composed of draftees, have been at best reluctant fighters.

Although his popularity remains very low, with military demagogues like Alexandre Lebed waiting in the wings, Boris Yeltsin has, by now, also regained control of Russian TV. Where in the early stages of the war factual and often scathing reports were aired, in the case of Samashki, coverage reverted to the old Communist-style propaganda. Ignoring the accounts by human rights activists, Moscow TV reported that the deaths in Samashki were caused by Chechens massacring each other, and that villagers were grateful to be rescued by the Russian troops.

As we go to press, it is reported that U.S. human rights activist Fred Cuny, a person who was crucial to restoring Sarajevo's water supply, is missing in Chechnya while working on a project assisting refugees.

U.S. role in Guatemala murders exposed

later from the military base where he was being held. His fate received scrutiny mainly because Jennifer Harbury, his wife and a U.S. citizen, held a courageous hunger strike last winter in front of the Presidential Palace in Guatemala City, and also dogged the U.S. government for news.

As more information was pried from not only the CIA, but the Pentagon and U.S. State Department, it became



The two worlds in Guatemala.

clear that the CIA was fully cognizant of Alpirez' responsibility in the two murders. As far back as 1990, when DeVine was hacked to death by death squads and his body was later found, the administration of then-President Bush cut off nearly all overt military funding to Guatemala, although covert aid has never ceased. In July 1992, the month Bamaca "disappeared," Alpirez got \$44,000 in "severance" pay from the CIA.

The CIA's involvement with brutal repression and

Workers' revolt in Iran

On April 4, Iranian militiamen opened fire on protesters in the working class Tehran suburbs of Akbar Abad and Islamshahr, killing at least ten, and wounding and arresting many dozens more. The protesters, mostly young men and women, had started out with a demand for improved water supplies and a reduction in transportation fares.

When the demonstration turned into a broader protest against the economic conditions and several public buildings and banks were torched, the crowd was fired upon and shot at from helicopters. It is the worst clash since the protests last August in Ghazvin. After the clash, one youth told a reporter, "A revolution has just taken place in Akbar Abad," and another reportedly described the demonstration as a "second Ghazvin."

The Iranian government has instituted an economic austerity plan to pay back billions of dollars of debt in order to attract credit and foreign capital. The economic crisis has driven millions of Iranians into poverty over the last two years. Basic food prices and rents have gone up 50 to 100% in the last few months. Funding for education and health care has also been cut.

counter-revolution in Central America, Guatemala in particular, is not "news." In Guatemala it reaches back at least as far as the 1954 Eisenhower-CIA orchestrated coup against Arbenz. Over the succeeding years, the CIA set up the Guatemalan military with the means for internal spying, interrogation and repression against its own population.

U.S. Army Green Berets trained the Kaibul units ("messengers of death"). The CIA help set up the G-2 (coordinators of the death squads) and the Archivo (dossier depository on tens of thousands of Guatemalan citizens). At the School of the Americas (school of assassins) at Ft. Benning, Georgia, Latin American military officers received the most up-to-date training.

This terrorist state has been the instrument of repression against the people of Guatemala, especially the indigenous population. The military atrocities and CIA involvement became "news" when U.S. citizens were involved, but it points to another truth: the enduring collaboration between state rulers—Guatemala and the U.S.—against their own people.

It also comes at a time when a new type of guerrilla movement in nearby Chiapas has reverberated throughout the hemisphere. Whether the upsurge in land occupations by indigenous peasants in Guatemala has a relation with the ongoing Chiapas revolt, the Indians of Guatemala have their own long history of resistance and revolt which may also be opening a new chapter.

Haitians denounce economy

So far, the change from a U.S. to a UN occupation force has not altered the basic situation in Haiti. On the one hand, the immensely popular leftist Jean-Bertrand Aristide remains president, and it is predicted that the Lavalas (flood) political movement to which he is connected will win overwhelmingly in parliamentary elections scheduled for June.

On the other hand, the wealthy elite's supporters among the military, the police and the various groups of armed thugs have gone underground but not disappeared. In six months of occupation, the U.S. troops have failed to arrest or even disarm these murderous elements. They continue to lie low, waiting for the right moment to strike.

From time to time, they test the waters, as in the "gang" fights which wounded ten people in Cap-Haitien on April 17. Now that the army has been almost completely disbanded by Aristide—against the wishes of Washington—the same elements have penetrated the 6,000-strong so-called intermediate police force.

The restoration of formal democracy after years of fascist terror has not, however, altered the economic plight of the masses in a country where the official rate of unemployment still stands at over 70%. This fact was underlined a few weeks ago when a thousand unemployed youths demonstrated outside the national palace. Although they said they supported Aristide "100%," they called upon him to fire immediately all of the "bourgeois cabinet ministers." They especially singled out for attack S. Michel, the "free market" Prime Minister forced upon Aristide by Washington. Peasant leaders such as Chavannes Jean-Baptiste have also expressed concern at the government's failure to implement pro-people economic and social policies.

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 in 1967. 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

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

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.

Essay Article

(Continued from page 5)

lectic:

With "fetishism" Marx recreated "Notion"—the sphere of the Hegelian Absolute that Marx broke in two, for the only way to transcend the Absolute of the fetishism was with its absolute opposite, "freely associated labor."⁵

Her own new perception of Marx's re-creation of the dialectic flowed from her philosophic reconstruction of the dialectic in 1953, specifically on the Absolute Idea and the final three syllogisms of Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind*. In 1953 Dunayevskaya was excited to see the split in the Absolute Idea re-created in Marx's concept of capital accumulation, what Marx actually called the "general absolute law of capital accumulation."⁶ The analysis just traced from her 1981 work shows the Dunayevskaya was now showing how the split in the Absolute Idea was anticipated from the very beginning of Capital within the form of the commodity itself. In short, the form contained an intimation of the absolute living, human opposition from which new beginning emerge.

In Dunayevskaya's analysis, the totality of *Capital* Volume I indicates a new beginning in its concluding part. Marx indicates that revolt grows as capital accumulates in centralized form. He calls capitalism's inability to give full employment to its own value-creating substance, labor, "the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation." As capitalism centralizes so does misere and waste of life. The unemployed army begins to spit out the doom of this form of production and at the same time new passions and new forces release themselves in the reconstruction of society on new humanist foundations.

5. *Ibid.*, 189.

6. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, 798.