

# NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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25¢

## What is good for GM hurts us



by B. Ann Lastelle

General Motors Corporation (GM) on Dec. 3, announced nine plant closings resulting in a loss of 18,000 jobs. This move continued a corporate restructuring plan announced a year ago in which GM pledged to close 21 plants and eliminate 74,000 jobs by 1995.

The publicity surrounding GM's recent downsizing has obscured the fact that the corporation already had closed 27 plants since 1980 and reduced its blue collar work force from 500,000 in 1985 to 304,000. Today 43,600 GM workers are laid off, the fund for supplemental jobless benefits is low and GM is negotiating an early retirement agreement with the United Auto Workers union (UAW).

### LOCAL UNIONS REACT

Some local unions had been forced to react to GM's consolidation long before the 1991 restructuring plan. The Arlington, Texas UAW local, threatened with the plant closing in 1986, agreed then to reduce the number of job categories from 50 to 4, acceding to the company's demand for more "flexibility" from the work force.

After the 1991 plant closing announcement, the same local union agreed to a new work schedule moving toward "around-the-clock" operation. The Arlington plant will receive work and workers—fewer than 400 of the 4,000 to be laid off—from the closing Michigan Willow Run plant, whose local union refused to consider concessions.

Two strikes—at the Lordstown, Ohio metal-fabricating plant and the Lansing, Mich. assembly plant—broke out last September against GM's downsizing. Lordstown workers protested plans to close a 240-

(continued on page 3)

### Black World

## Whither Castro's Cuba?



by Lou Turner

Because Castro's Cuba is so much a creation of the Cold War, with the apparent "collapse of Communism," the question arises: whither the Cuban revolution today?

Havana, today, is a city of 2 million where virtually everything is rationed, where the black market thrives, where Castro has even called for cats and dogs to be rounded up and destroyed because there is no food to feed them. Prostitution abounds, and a religious revival is underway (even among members of the Communist Party). Public health and education remain the great accomplishments of the revolution, even as the standards of life and labor plummet. The island's imports have fallen by 70%, and sugar and nickel industries have been hit by falling prices and lack of investment.

### CUBA'S SOCIAL CRISIS

The oil shock is particularly telling. Where formerly oil was supplied by Russia, for sugar, the collapse of the Soviet Union has drastically cut the supply, with the result that this year's sugar crop had to be extended two months because more human labor had to be used in place of machinery that stood idle due to lack of fuel. Nearly 40% of Cuban industries face closings. However, oil exploration is underway with prospects for off-shore drilling.

Meanwhile, new investment contracts are being negotiated, especially with Spanish capitalists, which outlaw labor strikes, provide tax exemptions on profits, and

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## On the Inside

## Bush defeat shows depth of social crisis in the U.S.

by John Alan

The first month since the people swept George Bush out of the White House has revealed anew the great dualities confronting us. On the one hand, are all the new openings we are seeing in the efforts to uproot this degenerate society. They are seen in new forms in the battles against the racism and sexism that pervade the land—whether that be the rapid increase in new Women's Liberation activities, from WAC (Women's Action Coalition) to welfare rights groups, or whether it be the intensity with which Black youth, especially, are now discussing Malcolm X.

On the other hand, are all the crises growing deeper every day. Thus, all the efforts to pretend we are on the way out of the deepest Recession since the Great Depression has hardly made a dent in the millions unemployed, while GM has announced plans to lay off another 20,000. At the same time, despite all of Bill Clinton's declared resolve to focus "like a laser" on the deep economic crisis at home, there are at least half a dozen crisis spots around the world ready to explode, from Bosnia to Russia to the Middle East to Somalia—where troops are already on their way. (See article below.)

But it is at home where the deep dualities are the sharpest. That is what was exposed by the Los Angeles rebellion last Spring, which both sparked the undermining of George Bush in the election and remains the context for this post-election period. In revealing how deep is the alienation in the realities of race and class in this country, it brought a sharp turn in the election campaign, when Bush lost the control of his party to the right-wing religious fundamentalist, Pat Buchanan, who declared the Black and Latino masses "the barbarians" and called for a holy war against Gays and women's



A community memorial on the site where Malice Green was beaten to death by Detroit police, Nov. 5. See story, p. 8.

### Our Life and Times

## Dangers of U.S. intervention in Somalia

by Kevin A. Barry

As we go to press, George Bush's decision to deploy at least 28,000 troops in Somalia, backed by the UN Security Council, is already underway. While none can deny the crucial need to avert death by starvation for two million people, one third of the country's population, so suspect are Bush's motives that widespread debate arose at once over everything from those motives to the consequences of a potential quagmire that would do nothing to alleviate Somali's suffering.

There is good reason that this new U.S. invasion "for humanitarian reasons" cannot be trusted. This veritable holocaust in Somalia, with thousands of victims, has gone on for over a year as the UN and other international bodies have dithered and dickered, and as countries such as the U.S. have made and then broken again and again their promises to deliver massive aid. The result was that the promised food was never delivered.

It was often claimed that it was too dangerous to deliver food, and it was true that relief workers were sometimes intimidated or even shot at by various warring factions. Yet, in all these months, only one Western relief worker has been killed, a Red Cross worker shot in December 1991. Even in Bosnia, where dozens of UN soldiers and relief workers have been killed, and supply lines are often attacked, even there, at least a substantial amount of food relief has gone in.

It was also claimed that the food was too often stolen and got into the wrong hands. True, much of the food aid has been stolen and then hoarded or sold by warlords and armed gangs, but it is equally true that the country's entire economy has collapsed. Most of the four million people who are not in immediate danger of starvation have no income. Herds belonging to pastoral groups have been confiscated or killed by warlords or have starved to death too. Farmers are afraid to plant, or cannot find seed, or cannot find food in the areas where they would be able to plant.

liberationists as well. Bush soon discovered how disastrous this was for him when the U.S. electorate repudiated that religious right.

What Clinton seized the opportunity to exploit was the wide-spread desire for change in this country, for ending the Reagan/Bush policy of polarizing the country along class, race and sex lines.

### THE FORCES FOR CHANGE

Take the women, who were the most conspicuous in their drive to pull Bush from his supposedly "unbeatable" pedestal. The grueling interrogation of Anita Hill by the Senate's all white, all male judiciary committee so angered women that when a little-known African American woman, Carol Moseley Braun, decided to run for the Senate she won the primary by a large plurality. She is now one of four new women—all avowed feminists—who will take Senate seats and becomes the first Black woman ever elected to that body.

Or take the way the Gay community has forced the issue of Gays and Lesbians in the military onto the

(continued on page 10)

A two-year-old drought has added to the dislocations of war and of the destructive legacy of the Siad Barre regime, which itself collapsed nearly two years ago. But would not plentiful food have alleviated some of these problems, even if much of it was stolen and sold by warlords, whose own troops are often malnourished themselves?

Now U.S. troops are going in to protect food supplies from warlords armed with weapons supplied to the Barre regime by that same U.S. government, originally in the name of fighting Communism. Many weapons were also supplied by Russia, in the days when Barre allied himself with Moscow. A result of this use of Somalia as a superpower pawn is that even in better times it has remained one of the world's poorest countries, although one of the best armed.

What will the U.S. leave behind after this latest intervention? While mass starvation may be abated, we can be pretty sure, based on previous examples of superpower intervention, that the U.S. will leave the country poor, technologically underdeveloped and economically dependent on the U.S. and other wealthier capitalist lands.

This has been Somalia's "place" within the world economic system ever since Britain and Italy colonized the country, a condition which continued after independence in a different form under oppressive native rulers such as Siad Barre. This twin stranglehold of, on the one hand, world capitalism, and on the other, oppressive native rulers, is likely to continue long after food aid has been delivered.

All of these questions will surely enter into the debate now that the U.S. invasion has begun. In these first few days, we have been witness to the way the military has made its presence felt as an invading force and spelled out "humanitarianism" as "law and order" at the point of a gun.

("Our Life and Times" continues on page 12.)

# Woman as Reason

by Terry Moon

My mother, my friend's mother and her sister all have breast cancer. In 1950 one woman in 20 got breast cancer; today it is one in nine and increasing 4% each year. It was breast cancer that attacked Audre Lorde and finally won the 14 year battle it waged against her. Her powerful voice rang with determination to transform this world, to end racism, sexism and homophobia. Lorde knew this beast was political: "What would happen if an army of one-breasted women descended upon Congress and demanded that the use of carcinogenic, fat-stored hormones in beef-feed be outlawed?"

**Breast cancer is an epidemic. How many of us feel that it isn't a question of will we get this disease, but simply a question of when? But more and more women are asking, why? And that is the important question.**

President Bush wants us to believe that cancer is just a matter of our bad lifestyle. Women are made to feel guilty if we can't cut our consumption of fat down to 20 to 35% of total calories consumed—something extremely difficult to do in this society.

## CAPITALISM = POLLUTION = CANCER

But not only is there no hard science proving that eating fat causes breast cancer, the National Institute of Health (NIH) under the Reagan/Bush administrations sabotaged a proposed comprehensive study of breast cancer and diet, stalling it for over ten years. Only after a huge public outcry over the NIH's criminal underfunding of all studies relating to women's health, will that study finally begin.

**The truth is that those who control funding for research don't want to find the cause. That is because they sense that the cause of breast cancer, and many other cancers, is not our lifestyles, but society with its capitalist production for the sake of production, and sexism, the dehumanization of women.**

That it is capitalism that is killing us—uncontrolled production—can be seen in the fact that women in U.S. counties with waste sites are 6.5 times more likely to have elevated breast cancer rates and that women working in plants who experience high chemical exposure have high rates of breast cancer.<sup>1</sup>

It isn't fat that is killing us, it's the fouling of the food we eat, the air we breathe and the water we drink. Fifty to 60% higher concentrations of PCBs were found in the breast tissue of women with breast cancer compared to a group of women who did not have cancer. This study's co-author, Dr. Frank Falck, Jr., concluded, "perhaps it wasn't fat that was the culprit [in breast cancer] but what was in the fat."

**Why is almost all breast cancer research money funneled into detection rather than prevention? Look who is running cancer panels and advisory boards. One example will suffice: at Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, the world's largest private cancer center, "32.7% of its board of overseers were tied to the oil, chemical and automobile industries; 34% were professional investors... Board members included top officials of drug companies [who make**

# Breast cancer, capitalism and sexism

no money if cancer is prevented]... as well as leaders of the \$55 billion cigarette industry."<sup>2</sup>

Early detection as a "cure" is a lie. The horrible reality is that despite all the hoopla about early detection and the war on cancer, survival rates for breast, lung and colo-rectal cancer have remained almost unchanged.

## DEADLY SEXISM

Sexism too is killing us. The anti-abortion fanatics' view of women as "walking wombs" is mirrored by researchers who study the health of breast-fed babies whose mothers' milk contained known carcinogens but acted "as if the women, whose breasts contain these carcinogens, do not exist. We witness the paradox of women being made invisible, even while their toxic breasts are put under the microscope."<sup>3</sup>

If women were viewed as human beings, would the NIH for decades only allocate 14% of its resources to diseases specific to women; would it have allowed study after study to be done only on men?

**What is new is that women—many of whom have breast cancer themselves—have started a movement**

to demand that this disease, and thus women's lives, be taken seriously. Women have learned to fight for our lives from those in ACT-UP and Queer Nation who are fighting for their lives—including women's lives—against AIDS, another disease blamed on lifestyle. Women have organized in our communities, written thousands of letters and raised hell. That is the only reason for even the pitiful studies and funding that we now have.

So many things bring home to us exactly what it means to be a woman in this racist, sexist, capitalist inhuman society. That breast cancer is one of those experiences, one of those shocks that show us how we are seen as less than human, is one more measure of how deep the uprooting of this society must be, of how total must be its overthrow, and how expansive must be our vision of what will take its place.

1. Thanks to Greenpeace for information on the relationship of chemical contamination to breast cancer.  
2. Rita Arditti with Tatiana Schreiber, "Breast Cancer: The Environmental Connection," Resist, Newsletter #246, May/June, 1992.  
3. Ibid.

## In Memoriam: Audre Lorde



Photo by JEB from off our backs

Audre Lorde, 1934-1992

Audre Lorde's 14-year battle with cancer ended on Nov. 17 but her lifelong battle against racism, sexism and homophobia will continue through the 17 volumes of poetry, essays and autobiography she has left as her legacy to a world struggling for freedom.

Her powerful writings covered four decades and won her honorary degrees and countless awards. Students founded the Audre Lorde Poetry Center at Hunter College, where she taught poetry through the 1980s and was awarded an honorary doctorate in 1991 for her "searing and unforgettable literature" that articulated "the dreams and concerns of disenfranchised peoples the world over." The Women's Liberation Movement claimed her as one of their own and held conferences to honor her and to hear her speak.

What Adrienne Rich called "the catalytic passion of her language" is what will assure that Audre Lorde's voice will continue to energize all our battles. In a lecture on "Literature and Revolution" presented for International Women's Year, Raya Dunayevskaya also spoke of the power of language. It is the "language of thought, Black thought," she insisted, that the world must learn as a "new language, the language of freedom." It was Audre Lorde she singled out as one of the greatest of the poets we had to learn to hear, reading the following stanza from her much longer poem, "Black Studies:"

*A chill wind sweeps the high places/ On the ground I watch bearers of wood/ carved in the image of old and mistaken gods/ labor in search of weapons against the blind dancers/ who balance great dolls on their shoulders/ as they scramble over the same earth/ searching for food...*

*I am afraid of speaking/ the truth/ in a room on the 17th floor/ my body is dreaming/ it sits/ bottom pinned to a table/ eating perpetual watermelon inside my own head...*

*Now all the words in my legend come garbled/ except anguish./ Visions of chitterlings I never ate/ strangle me in a nightmare of leaders/ at crowded meetings to study our problems...*

*The chill wind is beating down from the high places./ My students wait outside my door/ searching condemning listening/ for what I am sworn to tell them/ for what they least want to hear/ clogging the only exit from the 17th floor...*

*Stepping into myself/ I open the door/ and leap groundward/ wondering/ what shall they carve for weapons/ what shall they grow for food.*

We mourn her death and will honor the memory of Audre Lorde in our continuing struggle for a new, truly human world.  
—Olga Domanski

## WAC is watching

Chicago, Ill.—Members from WAC (Women's Action Coalition) are disgusted and outraged by the latest anti-choice posters put up on trains and buses throughout the city. They have a picture of a flyer from 1769 used to sell Black people as slaves; next to that is a swastika; and next to the swastika is a picture of the National Organization for Women's "Keep Abortion Legal" signs. Underneath these three pictures it says, "Three times in modern history the word 'person' has been redefined." It's signed, "Illinois Right to Lie"—oops, I mean "Life."

We were so infuriated by this physical and ideological attack on women and feminism that we wrote a statement to read and pass out on the public transportation to expose this poster for the lie it is, and to make clear that we women will fight back. Part of it reads:

*"This sign is a lie, not an opinion. How dare they compare women, fighting for our freedom to control our own lives, bodies and minds, with slave traders and Nazis! Women who are fighting for abortion rights are fighting for it as a necessary precondition for any kind of self-determination. Self-determination is what we must have as living, thinking, feeling human beings."*

We made the point that it is the anti-abortion fanatics who, along with slave traders and Nazis, have treated women as less than human and tried to control women's reproductive lives.

Six of us from WAC went from train to train passing these out one evening, even though we didn't find any of the posters our flyer was targeting. Rumor has it that others are also outraged by these signs and have been tearing them down! Yea!

But while the flyers were being handed out, all the signs falsely advertising women's "crisis pregnancy clinics" mysteriously started disappearing. These so-called "clinics" are operated by anti-choice fanatics. There are no doctors or nurses present, and they force women to watch anti-choice videos like "The Silent Scream."

While these signs kept disappearing, some passengers looked surprised, but others said that "good work" was being done. This business of signs mysteriously disappearing is becoming a popular activity—it's fun, it's cheap, it's effective.  
—Participants

## Montreal Massacre, 1989

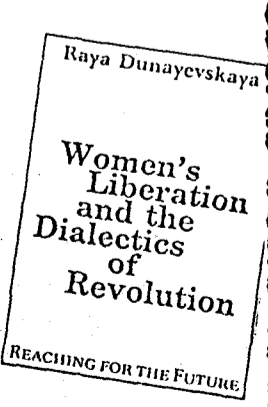
Three years ago, on Dec. 6, 14 women were murdered at the University of Montreal in Canada by a man, Marc Lepine, who separated the women from the men in their engineering classroom, yelled at the women, "You're all a bunch of feminists" and opened fire.

We commemorate this anniversary, not only because we refuse to forget our 14 Canadian sisters who died because they dared to study to be engineers; but also because their deaths can only mean our deepening determination to transform this oppressive reality.

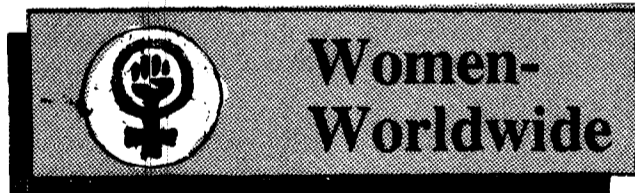
## Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future by Raya Dunayevskaya

Experience the re-creation of the dialectic in:

- The U.S., 1953, "Women in the Post-War World, and the Old Radicals"
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by Mary Jo Grey

Burmese human rights activist Aung Saw Suu Kyi is facing possible death in her 3½ year battle for freedom with the Burmese government. The 1991 Nobel Peace Prize winner was placed under house arrest without trial in 1989 because she protested for human rights. Since then she has refused to accept food or favors from her captors and has refused to capitulate to the government by stopping her fight and going into exile in exchange for her freedom. In recent days, she has escalated her demand for unconditional release by refusing food and support from even her family and friends.

Muslim fundamentalists in Niger are blaming "indecent" women for this year's drought. Women not wearing traditional dress have been beaten and stripped by gangs of men, while mobs attacked bars and bordellos and burned the office of the Association des Femmes Nigeriennes. In the capital, hundreds of women marched in protest.

The "good old boys who still don't get it" are alive and well and a worldwide phenomenon, according to a study released, Nov. 30, by the International Labor Organization. Only 7 of the 23 industrialized countries surveyed have laws mentioning sexual harassment. At least 30% of working women in these countries suffered such abuse, from Australia to Canada to Sweden to Czechoslovakia to England—where 74% of working women have undergone harassment! Despite these growing numbers, at least 60% of harassment cases still go unreported.

## We cannot 'make it' in this system

Chicago, Ill.—Not long ago I was at work having lunch with a co-worker who is from the same neighborhood that I am. We started talking about all the factories that had moved out of the neighborhood over the years. My co-worker, who is in his mid-50s, had actually worked in many of them. "You must have started working when you were young," I said. "Yes," he said, "everyone did in those days." He said that when he was young there was work for people all over the city and that most workers lived in the vicinity of their jobs.

He had saved up enough money to buy a gas station in Wisconsin only to lose it after several years in business. "I loved it up there. I had an old farm to live on, a great place to raise the kids, but I was dependent on other farmers in the area. When they couldn't afford to buy gas or have their equipment repaired, I had no income," he said. So he came back to Chicago.

### WORKING HARD TO SURVIVE

He spoke about how hard it has been over the last 12 years just to work and survive, how he had raised seven children, and how if he were my age he probably couldn't do it with the way things are today. I agreed. I'm having a hell of a time, and I only have two kids.

I asked him how his health was, because I knew that he had had a tumor on his lung and chemotherapy treatment for it. He said he was not feeling too good, but he was afraid to go to the doctor. He drinks a lot, and I have heard him say several times that his children are grown now, his purpose for living has been fulfilled. He said it in a joking way, but I wonder how much he really believes that.

Even with the talk of how hard his life has been, he was more concerned about a 16-year-old girl from the neighborhood who had thrown herself off the Diversey bridge into the Chicago River and drowned. He was try-

ing to figure out why she would kill herself.

She lived in the projects, the Lathrop Homes. She was one of ten children and dropped out of school. Her mother couldn't afford to buy her clothes, so she started prostituting herself to get money for clothes and for baby formula for her brothers and sisters.

### GETTING OUT OF THE PROJECTS

Then she decided that she wanted to go back to school and get out of the projects. This is the only thing she would talk about: "I've gotta get out of the projects." She went back to school on a Friday morning, and Friday afternoon she killed herself. What I'm wondering is: what did she see for her future? What was it?

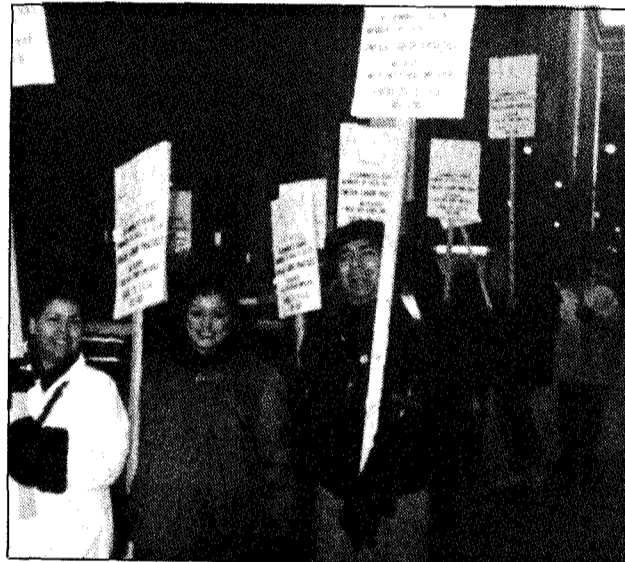
We were always told that if we worked hard, we would make it in this world. It took my co-worker most of his life to realize that this wasn't true. It has taken me maybe half my life to see that. It took this young woman only 16 years to realize it, though suicide is no alternative; it's what you do out of desperation.

What's the next step? Six and seven-year-olds realizing it? How long are we going to live in this system before we see that it is this system which is killing us? Before we decide to change it?

—Martin Almora

## Union swept out

Chicago, Ill.—The anti-labor stance of the Bush administration was reflected in a new cleaning contract awarded at a Federal building in Chicago. Workers for the previous contractor describe it as an undisguised effort to get rid of their union, Local 25 of SEIU. This building has always been a union site where the workers, mostly Black and Latino women, make \$10.40 an hour. In the past whenever a new contractor was brought in, they hired the existing crew. That was required right in the contract award set up by the General Services Administration (GSA).



This time none of the workers are being hired by the new contractor—a woman—who is bringing in an entirely non-union crew who reportedly make only \$5 an hour. One of the new hires quit after only one day on the job, saying there's just too much work. That's understandable. The previous contractor had 65 workers; the new one is trying to do the work with only 40.

The cleaning women say the same contractor took over the service at O'Hare Airport and did the identical thing there. One 60-year-old Black woman who is being let go told me: "That woman didn't even give us a chance to apply for the jobs. We blame GSA. They knew she was non-union. We've got people who've been here 17 and 18 years. What are we supposed to do now with the holidays just a few days away?"

Most of the laid-off workers spent four hours on a picket line outside the Federal building two days after they were let go, despite freezing temperatures and a harsh wind. Their chants could be heard on every floor, but the federal employees' unions were nowhere in sight. These women have been working alongside us for as long as I can remember. Aren't they our sisters?

—Federal worker

## Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

worker tool-and-die shop. The agreement reached with GM put off the closing until the end of 1993; the jobs will be eliminated through attrition and retraining workers for other positions.

This agreement does not interfere with GM's grand plan, as is demonstrated by a GM spokesman's statement that "...the company would seek to reduce its work force through attrition when possible" (The New York Times, Nov. 24, 1992). The UAW subscribed to this perspective on downsizing in the 1990 national agreement, which provides that for every two jobs lost to attrition, GM must recall or hire only one worker.

Lansing workers objected to a change from staggered breaks to "mass relief," in which the production line stops and all workers take breaks simultaneously; 350 relief workers' jobs were at stake. The accord reached with GM allows workers to vote on how they will take their breaks, but does not prevent GM from cutting jobs or other reasons. The Detroit Free Press (Oct. 1, 1992) reported: "The agreement will allow UAW leaders to claim victory, since they forced GM to let workers have some say in how the company proceeds with its downsizing plans."

### DOWNIZING NOT ONLY AT GM

Is that what the struggle is about: having some say in the downsizing? Saving our own jobs? Keeping our own plants open? How will our daughters and sons survive if we concede all of these jobs? What about the currently unemployed, whom the UAW sees as nothing but potential strikebreakers? What about us the next time round?

Because it isn't only GM. Bourgeois economists cheered when the U.S. Department of Labor reported that employers created 35,000 factory positions in November, but since July 1990, 1.1 million manufacturing jobs have been eliminated.

And it isn't only the U.S. The Lordstown assembly plant local, which threatened a strike in September, greed with GM that, in the event of a slump in sales, job cuts will be made at the plant in Ramos Arizpe, Mexico. The Chicago Tribune (Oct. 28, 1992) reported that GM "...is studying the possibility of shifting part of its production...from Mexico to its plant in Lansing...jobs...could be preserved...but no new jobs are to be created. The move is dependent on development of a business plan that would include a competitive labor agreement...."

### ALTERNATIVE TO COMPETITION

It is competition between workers, Marx wrote in the Communist Manifesto, that continually upsets their organization. He condemned the capitalist system, which had created "...a class of laborers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labor increases capital. These laborers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition...."

Our unions are so unequal to the situation before us. The UAW condemns whipsawing between plants, but offers no alternative, as though we are to stand still while GM decides our fate.

We need new organization—not simply a new form of organization, but an organization with a different idea of what this struggle is about. Militancy alone is not enough, as the Lordstown and Lansing strikes show. Do we fight over who will get a piece of the shrinking pie, do we find our own ground?

## Isaac (Bud) Woods, Jr.

We mourn the passing of Isaac (Bud) Woods, Jr., 1958-1992. Bud was a youth who grew to adulthood at a time of profound changes for his generation in the U.S. Doors to factory gates were beginning to swing shut. Despite this, Bud managed to find his way into some of these plants and wrote for us about conditions of life and labor for young workers like himself:

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

This kind of work was particularly painful for Bud as he loved the outdoors—camping, spending time on a small piece of farm land his family had in southern Indiana—and agonized over what he had to do to support a family. It not only polluted the environment, but endangered the workers:

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

Bud's concern for solidarity with his co-workers, his reaching out for a better world for himself and his young sons, "I think about my kids—and your kids—and what a working person has to do to live and raise their kids," is what we will remember and what lives within many young workers of Bud's generation.

—Eugene Walker and Michelle Landau

## Berkeley grads strike

Berkeley, Cal.—A thousand members of the Association of Graduate Student Employees (AGSE) at the University of California went on strike Nov. 19. The central demand is for the university to recognize AGSE. The union has represented students for eight years, but the university achieved a court ruling recently that students are not employees and the university doesn't have to bargain with them. "Their excuse is 'The court won't let us negotiate with you,' but the university can do whatever it wants to," declared one of the strikers.

Graduate students do most of the teaching and grading. A picketer observed that still larger class sizes would follow a defeat: "We want the status quo of the past three years, to protect the class sizes. The quality of education is going down here. We have the best interests of the undergraduates at heart."

The graduate assistants at the University of California in Santa Cruz went on strike in solidarity and to press similar demands, and joined Berkeley students in a march on the Office of the President of the entire university system in Oakland. Also, 400 undergraduate students sat in the office of Berkeley Chancellor Chang-Lin Tien for two hours, Dec. 1, to protest a new round of fee increases—\$605 for next Fall—as soon as they were announced. These and other fee increases further limit enrollment by poor and minority students. The students also protested swelling class sizes and supported the AGSE. Teamsters refused to cross student picket lines at the university's central storage facility, and the Academic Senate of faculty issued a statement of support.

One AGSE striker looked at what may happen after a victory: "Even if we win this round, our fight will not be over. The next battle will be to keep our jobs and avoid more cuts. That's why we need to be organized."

—Supporter

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

## INDIGNANT HEART

### A Black Worker's Journal

by Charles Denby

Black auto worker in Detroit; born in Alabama; editor of News & Letters until 1983

From Part I, first published in 1952:

*"There was a big change in the union from 1943, when I first went in, to the present day. [Earlier] There was a free and democratic setup. Any member could bring a grievance to the membership as a whole. Now, if any worker, white or Negro, tries to bring up a grievance at a membership meeting, the union officers tell him, 'There are four of us at the union hall all the time. Come down and discuss it with us.'"*

From Part II, written in 1978:

*"The labor unions stood exposed, because every single one of them had given loud and long lip service about organizing the South. On just what basis did they propose to organize the South, the workers were asking, when they couldn't openly come out in favor of something so clear and fundamental as what was going on in Montgomery?"*

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## News & Letters

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

by Raya Dunayevskaya  
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

*Editor's note: The writing below is Part III of the Perspectives Thesis, presented by Raya Dunayevskaya to the national plenum of News and Letters Committees in September 1969, which she called "The Needed American Revolution." This was the year she was completing her draft of Philosophy and Revolution, on which she had been working throughout the turbulent 1960s. The aborted May 1968 revolution in France confirmed her view, as she was to put it later in her 1982 Introduction to that work, "that finding new beginnings for the 1970s... required returning to Marx's deep roots in the Hegelian dialectic." She titled this section of her 1969 Thesis "Logic as Stages of Freedom, Stages of Freedom as Logic, or The Needed American Revolution." The full Thesis can be found in The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, microfilm #4385. Footnotes have been added by the editors.*

Each generation must reinterpret Marxism for itself. Facing us immediately is the continuous Black revolt, which is why it is so central to the American Revolution. The very fact that we needed to say "Needed" instead of "Coming American Revolution" shows that we are not in a revolutionary situation. But it is not as distant as either philistines or Euro-centered leftists make it appear. It is not in the millenium, as the anti-Vietnam war movement's achievements show, and that involves not only Black but white, and not only youth but adult and specific new forces like Women's Liberation. Indeed, this movement is greater than it, itself, is conscious of being, that is to say, it has not yet worked out a theory, but it is so objectively grounded in opposition to the existing society, that it everywhere stands out, as it did at the United Front Against Fascism conference.

Even white labor—without which we surely could not win as it is the majority—is not as quiescent as it appears and, again, despite a goodly amount of racism, it has been acting with Black labor, both on conditions of labor in the shop and in elections of Blacks to union posts.

As the Archives [of Marxist-Humanism] in their way show, in the first post-war decade, 1945-55, white labor was in the forefront and conducted everything from a general strike to wildcats, and from opposition to automation, to raising philosophic questions on the kind of labor man should do.<sup>1</sup>

By the time a new movement from practice arose—in the mid-1950s—when the Blacks moved into the vanguard position, white labor was first disoriented and then, by the 1960s, had come practically to a standstill. The vanguard role of the Blacks can be seen not only in relationship to "their own" activity but in detonating the activities of whites. The coming recession, no matter how mild, will help that. And it is for this reason we are planning two pamphlets on Blacks—but with white labor in mind.

We are not sowing illusions on that score, but it is up to Marxist-Humanists not to be quiescent. With activity and without, the theoretic preparation for revolution never stops, for the very good reason that our age is full of soured revolutions—and the Third World is likewise at a transition point, if not at an impasse. As I expressed it both in the draft [of *Philosophy and Revolution*] and in "The Newness of Our Philosophic-Historic Contribution,"<sup>2</sup> we here plunge deep into philosophic categories. While Lenin prepared himself, and the masses plunged themselves into revolution, Lenin did not philosophically prepare his Party. Whatever the reasons—and, in part, they were inescapable—the task has been left to us, and not with a so-called vanguard party, but with News and Letters Committees that refuse to throw onto the proletariat alone both spontaneity and philosophic preparation.

As you know, this is the year we are to finish *Philosophy and Revolution*, which will mark 1970, the year of the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth, as a turning point in American Marxism. As a little anticipation of the new book, I would, therefore, like to show Hegel's *Science of Logic* neither as only philosophic categories, nor even as Marxian economic categories, but as stages of revolution.

Since absolute negativity, or second negation, has the positive in it, the continuous revolution, and since this is a movement from abstract to concrete—from Universal to Individual, through Particular—all stages of revolution can be seen at nodal points where "Individual" overcomes "Particular," or, we know it more precisely, the fixed particular of Trotskyism or nationalized property = workers' state.

Now then, let's take a stage from each of the three parts of the *Logic* and see whether we can catch the mass movement in its dialectical development. How do we get the movement of thought and the movement in revolution?

Hegel's *Science of Logic*, as you know, has three books, the first of which is the *Doctrine of Being*. We don't get the categories—Universal, Particular and Individual—until the last book, but they dominate everything—the movement from abstract, universal, to concrete, the individual. In the *Doctrine of Being*, you have three sections: Quality, Quantity, Measure.

1. See *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection (RDC)*, Vols. II and III.  
2. See RDC, microfilm #4407.

Universal = Quality—a someone, a something. The Emperor, the King, The One.

Particular = The quality gets transformed into its opposite, Quantity—many ones. People sometimes think that quantity is below quality. No, it's above it, because before you had only one, and now you have many. You have some democracy. Don't forget, Hegel's theory always starts at 500 B.C.

Individual = Now comes Measure, the highest form of Being. You're on the threshold, you're going into Essence. What is he talking about, the "Measure of Man"? Greek Democracy, the Polis; they had slave labor, but it was the foreigners who were slaves. The Greeks were free. So what we have is the stages of freedom: from kingdom to limited democracy, to the democratic state. You can take any section and begin what is the Universal, what is the Particular, what is the Individual, and you will discover that it's a stage of freedom. Hegel wasn't joking when he said all of history is the history of the consciousness of freedom.



G.W.F. Hegel

Book I—Doctrine of Being

Universal—Quality = Emperor = One  
Particular—Quantity = Many = some = Democracy  
Individual—Measure = Greek democracy = Polis

Please note that Particular is the historic period, a particular, determinant mediation, not a description of particulars as used in the common terminology of brown hair or blue eyes or cuddly creatures to children, but the type of Particular which contains self-movement if it is to move to the "Individual," and not retrogress into a fixed particular like nationalized property.

Remember, also, the "equivalent" to Being in Marx's *Capital*—"Commodities and Money," or the market place. Marx said, as he was departing from the market place (i.e., the sphere of "Liberty, Equality, Property, and Bentham") that now, as he enters the factory, the worker looks as if he expects nothing but a hiding, and that's exactly what he gets.

Lenin's profound grasp of the universal and the individual in Hegel made him realize, however, that all the contradictions of capitalism are included in the simple exchange of commodities. Which is why he insisted that none of the Marxists had understood *Capital*, because it is impossible to understand Chapter I for anyone who has not plodded through the whole of the *Logic*.

Now take the *Doctrine of Essence* and see the movement there through Identity, Difference and Contradiction, or take the higher stage of Ground as classical political economy saw it—labor as source of value—through *Essential Relation*—an actual production relationship—in a hell of a battle with capitalism and you reach *Actuality*—the class struggle itself, the crises—Hegel's first statement of Absolute and Marx's General Absolute Law of Capitalism.

This leads us to our age of Absolutes or Book III, the *Doctrine of the Notion*, that is to say the objective and subjective ways of how a new society is born.

In the case of Hegel, he was talking about the French Revolution. You had overthrown the king, you had a new society, you had freedom, and then you wound up with Napoleon, and not with a new society. So Hegel moved back to Mind [*Philosophy of Mind*]. Notice that the movement from practice is in theory itself. When he goes over to Nature [*Philosophy of Nature*], he returns to Mind. You have a unity of what he had seen in Mind, checked against Practice, and now he will unite the two.

It didn't make any difference whether it was Being or Essence and now is Notion, it is Universal, Particular and Individual. Hegel says if you want to be bored to death, start with the Syllogism, the way metaphysics presents it. They tell you "all men are mortal," "Gaius is a man," therefore, "Gaius is mortal." What's new about that? It doesn't explain anything. It's been made into a cliché, it doesn't prove anything. As against boring metaphysics, let us see live rational dialectics.

Let's come to our age. What was Lenin's Universal? The new for Lenin was not Imperialism, but State and Revolution, and the Universal was "To a Man"—production has to be organized and run "to a man." It was a great universal but it was general. What was the Particular that put it into effect, so to speak? You had a Russian Revolution and it nationalized all

## Logic as Stages of Freedom, Stages of Freedom as Logic, or

# The Needed American Revolution

property—so that was your particular. It was very good to begin with, but was it the concretization of all that "to a man" meant? Trotsky got stuck in this fixed particular. The Individual, the concretization, was Workers' Councils and Intellectuals' Councils. But to make "to a man" be all that Lenin meant it to be—the abolition of any division between mental and manual labor—is no easy task. Yet that is our aim, and that is our new universal—the concrete that "to a man" should have been. And it is this dialectics of liberation that *Philosophy and Revolution* tries to answer.

Boring  
Metaphysics  
vs.  
Live rational dialectics  
  
"All Men are Mortal"  
vs.  
Dialectics of Liberation

Universal —  
"TO A MAN"  
Particular —  
Nationalized  
Property  
Individual —  
Not only Workers'  
Control of Production  
But all, an  
absolute end to  
the Division Be-  
tween Mental and  
Manual Labor.

The root of all totalitarianism is the reduction of the "Individual" to Ego as petty bourgeois self-expression, or Kantianism, away from "Individual" as concrete in the Hegelian sense of total; in a word, seeing in "Individual" a limitation instead of a RELEASE of mass creativity.

Now, how can we make it even more concrete on the very specific paragraph in the Absolute Idea regarding second negativity? Hegel says that second negativity: "...is the turning point of the movement of the Notion...for the transcendence of the opposition between Notion and Reality, and that unity which is the truth, rests upon this subjectivity alone" [*Science of Logic*, Vol. II, Johnston & Struthers (J&S), ed., p. 477; Miller (M) ed., p. 835].

In the second edition of *Marxism and Freedom*, in the Mao chapter, we speak of two kinds of subjectivity.<sup>3</sup> It is true, but not concrete enough. So let's turn to Hegel: "Insofar as the pure Idea of Cognition is enclosed in subjectivity, and therefore is an impulse to transcend the latter...[it] becomes the beginning of another sphere and science" [*Science of Logic*, Vol. II, J&S, p. 485; M, p. 843].

Marx, in the last part of *Capital*—the Accumulation of *Capital*—said something similar when he came to the "Absolute General Law of Capitalist Accumulation"—the unemployed army. He notes there that he will only indicate that which will be developed in Volumes II and III of *Capital*. The "indication"—the "negation of the negation," "the new passions and new forces"—is what it not only took two volumes to expand, but he again did not get to finish the final chapter, "Classes."

Neither did Lenin get to develop cognition as a "creative force," except in the rather hieroglyphic manner in which he referred to Nikolai Bukharin as not having fully understood "the dialectic."<sup>4</sup> Our heritage is thus dual. We must make it single, concrete, totally philosophic and totally revolutionary.

This is what we have to work out. This is our task. This is where *Philosophy and Revolution* will end, and the concrete revolution begin.

This is why we held the Black/Red Conferences.<sup>5</sup>

This is why we carried through Philosophic Conferences (in both instances, it should be added, non-members made their contributions; indeed, in some cases, objectively more valid ones than those "on the inside").

This is why we posed the integrality of philosophy and revolution, not only for ourselves but for hundreds on the outside. Actually, if you count the thousands whom I addressed on campuses, I spoke this year to some 2,000-3,000 youth—Black and white, women and men—and to about 100 workers. It is also where we encountered Women's Liberation as well as the Chinese refugee who has consented to be the reader and researcher in Chinese original works for the Mao chapter.

This integrality of philosophy and revolution is paramount to every field of our activity for 1969-70, be that our concentration on proletarianization of membership, or the continued youth activities; be that the proposed Black pamphlets both on caucuses in factories or Black as vanguard which will relate both to *American Civilization on Trial* and to *Philosophy and Revolution*. Or be that related to the most primary of all our tasks—the financial responsibility of the minimal amount needed to assure the continued, regular appearance of *News & Letters*.

In a word, the theoretic preparation for Revolution begins and ends on two levels simultaneously—in philosophy and revolution and in the practice of the needed American Revolution. Marx, in his day, called it "development of human power, which is its own end..." [*Capital*, Vol. III, Kerr ed., p. 955; Vintage ed., p. 959].

This is as good an ending as any for our Perspectives and the hardest of all beginnings for the actual, the needed American Revolution.

3. See Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), Chapter 17, "In Place of a Conclusion: Two Types of Subjectivity," pp. 326-330.

4. See Lenin's *Collected Works*, Vol. 36, p. 593.

5. See the Black-Red Conference bulletin, RDC, #4388.

## Philosophic Dialogue

by Narahiko Ito

*Editor's note: Below we bring excerpts from Narahiko Ito's discussion of the 1991 edition of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, by Raya Dunayevskaya. The original appeared in Japanese in Gekkan Forum. Excerpts have been translated by Rumi Sakamoto. Ito has written widely on Luxemburg's economic theory, and was the main organizer of the international Rosa Luxemburg Symposium held in Tokyo last year. His book, Rosa Luxemburg's World, appeared in Japanese in 1991.*

### LUXEMBURG AS SEEN BY A WOMAN

What impressed me the most when I read Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution was that Rosa Luxemburg's thought and action were located in the history of women's liberation movements for the first time, and also that this was done by a woman. In the introduction to the first edition, Raya Dunayevskaya wrote that the primary reason for her interest in Rosa Luxemburg was that she had insisted on the importance of the spontaneity of the masses. Luxemburg's stress on the spontaneity of the masses in revolutionary movements is

of course one of the important characteristics of her thought. However, when I read the first edition, it was not very clear how Raya was internally connecting this characteristic of Rosa's thought with women's liberation movements. My reading was that Raya was criticizing Rosa based on the theory of the party of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. This point was clarified when I read the new material which was added to the new edition.

Here, Raya writes on Lenin's theory of the vanguard party: "We, who have suffered thirty years of Stalinism, the transformation of the workers' state into its total opposite, a state-capitalist society, and have witnessed new revolts from below, will not accept any vanguardism-to-lead; they have done nothing but mis-lead."

On Trotsky she has even harder opinions. As to the reasons for not supporting him, she says that he accepted Lenin's 1903 theory of the vanguard party, and that he established the Fourth International during the 1930s with the slogan: "The crisis of the world is the crisis of leadership." She insists that what is important is "philosophy of revolution rather than the vanguardist party."

It is thus understandable that Raya became interested in Rosa. We can say that Raya's view was that Lenin's theory of the vanguard party was harmful to what Marx aimed at: the liberation of human beings in a classless society. She believed that a liberation movement must always be carried out from below. Rosa did not totally deny the necessity of leadership. However, she denied Lenin's theory of the vanguard party from her standpoint that "leadership" is "enlightenment" (theory). This intention of Rosa, when seen from Raya's standpoint, throws new light on the process of her search for a new type of human civilization.

Raya also pointed out that Rosa's criticism and distrust of the leaders of the German Social Democratic Party was deeply related to her disgust with their "male chauvinism." Raya thinks that it was out of this disgust that Rosa denied her involvement in women's movements, stating that "I did not come here for the women's movement." Because of such statements, Rosa has often been thought to have had no relation to the women's movement and to have been indifferent to women's liberation movements.

Raya points out in her Introduction that there is a "total disregard of the feminist dimension in Rosa Luxemburg by Marxists and non-Marxists alike." She insists that "there is a need for today's Women's Liberation Movement to absorb Luxemburg's revolutionary dimension, not for history's sake but for their demands of the day, including that of autonomy." Raya thus threw light on Rosa Luxemburg's action and thought from the perspective of women's liberation movements. Raya pays special attention to the fact that Rosa strengthened her views and thinking as a woman after she went back to Germany following the first Russian Revolution of 1905-06, and separated with Leo Jogiches. This is a

very interesting issue which has not been pointed out by any other researcher on Rosa Luxemburg.

Indeed, almost all of her important works, including *The Mass Strike* (1906), articles written for *Gleichheit* (Equality) (1907), "The National Question and Autonomy" (1908), *The Accumulation of Capital* (1913), were written after she separated from Jogiches. Of course it is difficult to decide whether it was because she became more "independent" after the separation, or because of her experiences in the Russian Revolution of 1905-06 and the development of the world situation after that. However, it is surely an important pointer in considering the development of Rosa's thought after the first Russian Revolution.

### ON MARX'S CONCEPT OF PERMANENT REVOLUTION

The above point is not the only new issue raised in Raya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. What must be mentioned about this book is that Raya pays attention to the late Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* and "Letters to Vera Zasulich" and in them recognized a new development of the thought of Marx as a theorist of "revolu-

tion in permanence." Raya was interested in Marx's late work because she thought it showed that Marx did not regard capitalism as the only path of development for human history, but that he was looking for the possibility of multilinear pathways toward a classless society. Raya thinks that Engels' *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* is merely a summary of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*, a summary which also simplified Marx's search for multilinear pathways.

Moreover, her explanation is not that Engels betrayed Marx but that despite Engels' best efforts, his abilities were not enough to understand Marx in depth. Engels is the main figure from among the "post-Marx Marxists" who Raya criticizes. This is also an interesting point. In order to confirm Raya's point, it would be necessary to reread Marx's late work, beginning with a comparison of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* and Engels' *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.

Thus, in *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, Raya shows herself to be a very unique theorist. Today Japanese academics are busy introducing European postmodernism, but such a unique woman theorist who came out of the bottom of American society deserves more attention.



## Editorial

## Racism in Germany escalates

The world shuddered on Nov. 23, after a murderous racist attack in the town of Moelln, near Hamburg. In a cowardly bomb attack in the dead of night, neo-Nazi thugs burned a house to the ground, killing three people and then shouting "Heil Hitler" over the phone. The dead, a 51-year-old woman and two young girls, were part of a community of Turkish workers which has been established in Moelln for over 20 years.

This most deadly neo-Nazi attack to date was an outgrowth of the two years of such attacks on asylum seekers, non-German immigrants, leftists and Jews. Over 1,800 rightist attacks have taken place this year alone, with a death toll of 16 people. Last month, other attacks included the following: On Nov. 14 in Wuppertal, a 53-year-old man was burned to death after arguing with skinheads and after a bartender erroneously told them he was Jewish. A week later a young leftist was stabbed to death by Nazi skinheads in a clash outside an East Berlin subway station. The following week, a former military barracks housing 60 asylum-seekers in the eastern town of Eberswalde was burned down. The victims had been moved out of the town after another attack in August.

### THE OTHER GERMANY TAKES TO THE STREETS

Although it took months to build up steam to the levels of mobilization seen earlier in the movement against the Gulf War or in the anti-nuclear demonstrations of the 1980s, on Nov. 8, 350,000 people poured out in an anti-racist demonstration in Bonn. It was marred by the fact that its leadership included Chancellor Helmut Kohl and other politicians who have stoked the fires of racism by their own inaction against the neo-Nazis. As the left paper *Tagezeitung* noted wryly beforehand: "These politicians—not all, but the majority—should really demonstrate against themselves." This ambiguity prompted large Left groups such as the Greens to boycott it, while the ultra-leftist *Autonomen* disrupted the rally, calling Kohl and his ilk "hypocrites."

The next week, 200,000 marchers converged again on Bonn in an unsuccessful attempt to pressure the opposition Social Democratic Party to continue to defend the right to asylum. And on Dec. 6, no less than 300,000 marched in Munich while similar marches were staged in at least 16 other Bavarian towns. Yet the way both Kohl's Christian Democratic Union and the supposed left-leaning Social Democrats responded to all these outpourings was with a total capitulation to the neo-Nazis, agreeing on a new law that will virtually close borders to any refugees or asylum-seekers.

Within the labor movement—after two decades of protests by Turkish workers—the 3.5 million strong I G Metall union finally elected a Turkish worker to a leadership position, something which was long overdue, given the fact that non-German workers today comprise nearly 10% of the membership.

### EUROPEAN RACISM IN THE 1990s

Especially since the fall of Communism in 1989-90 and the beginning of Serbia's genocidal war in the former Yugoslavia in 1991, hundreds of thousands of refugees have fled West. Others have fled war, famine and repression in the Third World. As against the more restrictive policies of other West European countries, Germany's vaunted "liberal" asylum policy, written into the postwar Constitution, allows these refugees to stay until their applications are heard. Thus, more refugees have ended up in Germany than elsewhere: 500,000 this year alone. However, it is almost impossible for immigrants who cannot prove "German" ancestry to become citizens. This remains so even though five million "foreigners" are living semi-permanently in Germany, mainly as so-called "guest workers."

Throughout the rightist attacks over the past two years, the notoriously authoritarian German police have tended either to disappear or to react extremely passively. But the responsibility for this lies at the top. From the beginning of the crisis, the Kohl government has advocated amending the German constitution to allow quick deportations, similar to



Anti-racism demonstration in Berlin.

what the U.S. now does with Haitian refugees, while avoiding until recently any public condemnation of racism. And while the opposition Social Democrats have verbally opposed racism more strongly, they too have moved toward Kohl's view of changing the Constitution.

The new racism which is sweeping Europe today is not a German problem alone. It takes its most violent form in the former Yugoslavia. Neo-Nazi skinhead groups have proliferated throughout Eastern Europe. In France, the National Front gains more support each year with its anti-immigrant and anti-Semitic platform. Racist attacks against people of color continue in Britain, where the skinhead movement was born. Even countries with a long history of liberalism and tolerance such as the Netherlands and Sweden have experienced alarming levels of racism. The new racism is a product of over a decade of Reagan-Thatcher-Bush-Kohl retrogressionism, in economics and in thought. Unemployment today averages 11% in Western Europe, the highest since World War II, while at the same time, revolutionary ideas have been marginalized.

### THE CRISIS OF THE LEFT

Even the Left has too often capitulated to two supposed "realities": the alleged permanence of the capitalist "free market" and the supposed "death" of Marxism. During the 1989-91 period, when Communism collapsed, in several cases via genuine peoples' revolutions, the independent Left was unable to pose a real alternative. Some such as New Forum in East Germany clung to the supposedly "progressive" features of the old totalitarian state-capitalist regimes, quickly losing mass support, while others such as Poland's Solidarnosc or Czechoslovakia's Civic Forum were sucked into the notion of the free market, helping the bourgeoisie to sow illusions among the masses. Today this also includes the illusion that bourgeois democracy can stop fascism, something it was incapable of in Germany or Italy in the 1920s and 1930s.

Many Western leftists such as the Trotskyists also said that once the East European masses experienced the reality of capitalism, including its unemployment, that they would necessarily move Left, but that has not happened. Only a Left committed to the total uprooting of capitalism and state-capitalism in all of its forms—its racism, its sexism, its classism—and which is for totally new human relations, can meet the challenge of the 1990s. Nothing less than a total philosophy of human liberation, not merely more activity, will create the ground to combat the true barbarism of capitalism.

read the totally new, expanded 1991 edition of

**Raya Dunayevskaya's  
Rosa Luxemburg,  
Women's Liberation, and  
Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**

includes Dunayevskaya's 1981 speech  
"Marxist-Humanism's Challenge to  
All Post-Marx Marxists"

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## WHERE ARE WE HEADED AFTER THE ELECTIONS

"Not one of them—Clinton, Bush or Perot—knows what to do about the economy. That doesn't mean we can forgive Reagan and Bush for what they've done." That statement by a Black elevator worker before the election, was in my view a brilliant sum up of an attitude of African-Americans and workers, which does more to explain Bush's defeat and Clinton's victory than the millions of words written by pundits analyzing their electoral strategies. It shows historical wisdom. This election got more interest and discussion from workers I know than any I can remember, and there was genuine joy at work when Clinton won—or Bush lost, whichever way you want to look at it.

**John Marcotte**  
New York

\* \* \*

Your new president's tutor at Oxford was Dr. Pelczynsky, of the Hegel Society of Great Britain. It made me wonder about Bill Clinton's talk of "new beginning" in his victory speech. But then again...

**Correspondent**  
London

\* \* \*

Clinton chose to compare his economic plan to the National Security Council, putting the economy into a militaristic context and bespeaking the kind of sacrifice that workers, elderly, youth, minorities and the poor will be asked to make—something Perot said outright but Clinton only hinted at. The elections were certainly a rejection of Reagan-Bush but we can't dismiss the ominous turn to authoritarianism we've been seeing. Two days after the election, the beating death of Malice Green here confirmed that.

**Librarian**  
Detroit

\* \* \*

Marx once described Lincoln as an ordinary petty-bourgeois lawyer who acted extraordinarily. Maybe there's a potential with Clinton that wasn't there with Bush; maybe he can be pushed into doing things. It makes a difference that Clinton grew up working class. It's true that liberals have two faces and right-wingers only one. I'm sure he'll stab us all in the back in the long run but we have to work to bring out the right face.

**Black lawyer**  
Detroit

\* \* \*

Two years ago we were so burdened by the Gulf War but now, since the Los Angeles rebellion, there's an opening towards a change in atmosphere.

**Labor writer**  
New York

\* \* \*

We've had a change of guards with the election. But what kind of jobs are people going to have? GM is going to cut another 20,000 jobs. I think we're in for some major clashes ahead.

**Retired auto worker**  
Whittier, Cal.

\* \* \*

One election result that didn't get much national publicity but was important here was the way Detroiters threw out the school board members who had stonewalled during the teachers' strike, resulting in school being suspended for over a month. A settlement had been in place before the strike began. A lot of parents' jobs were in jeopardy because of child care problems. But statewide it's shocking that Republicans now control the legislature. We are in for a lot more punishment of Blacks, women and the poor.

**Worried**  
Detroit

\* \* \*

A recent TV program examined what the Free Trade Agreement means for Mexican workers and U.S. corporations. Zenith has had plants in Mexico for years, employing thousands of workers. It recently closed its last U.S. plant, laying off 1,500 U.S. workers. These jobs are a fraction lost, in the U.S. to "global competition."

One Mexican worker interviewed has been working for Zenith for 10 years and now earns \$40 a week. She lives in a shack in a shanty town, without electricity. The word shack sounds palatial

compared to the reality. A polluted stream runs a few yards in front of her home, a few feet from where using a pail and rope she draws her water from the ground. She lives in this shack with two other workers, a G.M. worker and an AT&T worker. They can live no other way.

The TV report concluded, because of President-elect Clinton's concern for enforcing the minor points of the Free Trade Agreement, it will make life better North and South of the border. It is the horror of what was presented and its consequences that staggers the mind when the revolutionary nature of workers at the point of production, North and South, is what is not heard.

**Angela Terrano**  
New York City

\* \* \*

Clinton didn't focus on L.A. or any question of Black or Latino America, but he did choose Vernon Jordan and Warren Christopher to head his transition team and made a spectacle out of walking for two hours in the Black community—where he assured a liquor store owner that small business was the key to America's future. At the same time, Black youth have showed an outpouring of curiosity about and identification with Malcolm X. It goes to the heart of youth's search—inseparable from the specificity of the L.A. revolt—for a future that can't be articulated within the narrow confines of what passes for "political" in degenerate capitalist reality.

**V.H.**  
New York

\* \* \*

Great social forces throw up leaders—Garvey and Malcolm had no philosophies, but could articulate a moment in history. The 40 million kids wearing Xs today give us an opening to talk.

**Robert Ellery**  
New York

\* \* \*

The pundits keep telling us that things will be better under Clinton because the Executive and Legislative offices will now be on the same "team." But my good sense tells me that we better not let our guard down. We'd better be clear on the exact nature of the state-capitalist age in which we live. Capital dictated Bush's "new world order" and will do the same with Clinton.

**Black student**  
California

### GOOD QUESTION

The pay in my garment shop is very low. I've been there nine years, and make six dollars an hour. You can't live on that in New York. We have no union. What happened to the great unions you used to have in this country?

**Latino garment worker**  
New York

### BLACK/LATINO UNITY

The powers that be understand very well how threatening Black/Latino unity is to them, and that has something to do with the large numbers of Latinos arrested during the Los Angeles rebellion—even more than Blacks. Some were arrested for "looting," even if they were out on the streets because the apartment building they lived in was threatened by nearby fires! The police didn't want Latinos to even think about the possibility of following Blacks into rebellion again. Now the freedom movement lacks cohesion, just when the rulers are devoting more attention to repression.

**Worker**  
Los Angeles

\* \* \*

There was a real sense of kinship after the L.A. rebellion amongst Blacks and Latinos—the feeling that we had done something important together. We smiled at each other on the streets, in the buses and stores. Then the leaders came in and have been trying to divide us again.

**African American reader**  
Los Angeles

\* \* \*

When I first came to the U.S., I was told by many people that Blacks and

## Readers' Views

other minorities are violent, that they are the source of the problems in this society. Now that I have been living here for many years, I've seen for myself that the sources of problems are not the victims of racism—and how extensive racism is. I've worked as a teacher in the high schools, and I've seen the different ways a "discipline problem" is treated, depending on whether the youth causing problems is white, or Black or Latino.

**Iranian reader**  
Pasadena, Cal.



### EDUCATION FOR WHAT?

The City Colleges that are being cut back touch people who otherwise wouldn't have access to important aspects of education. I took two classes at a city college. It wasn't the classes that were so important but that this place had a library. I could just disappear into the stacks and find things I would never have conceived otherwise. It doesn't just relate to that job you'll get in the capitalist system. It relates to how you live as a human being.

**Gerard Emmett**  
Chicago

\* \* \*

The corporate response to last spring's civil unrest here in Los Angeles has been to set up "Rebuild L.A.," headed by Peter Ueberroth. I call what they're aiming for nothing less than a neo-re-creation of slavery. Certain corporations are investing paltry sums of money in two superstations in South Central L.A., which will be "job training" centers for eighth to twelfth graders, to prepare them for menial jobs at just slightly over minimum wage. This is what they want Black and Latino children to aim for! To me, this represents the perpetuation of a slave labor class—but the perception generated by the so-called "objective" news reports is that the corporations are benevolently doing good.

**Young Black writer**  
Los Angeles

### THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

I have been receiving reports from comrades in Italy, where there is the general impression that even if the massive labor struggles do not succeed in bringing down the government and/or smashing the economic manœuvre, the present movement has represented a point of no return to the climate of the 1980s. The unions have been deeply discredited and the pattern for workers' self-organization has gained momentum and presents itself as the most credible alternative. Whatever the result of the present struggles, development of grassroots organizations will most likely be the main phenomenon of the Italian scene.

**Robert Borg**  
London

\* \* \*

I was recently sent a Russian journal that carried an interview with Gorbachev. His dissertations on "democracy" and "freedom" are at a lower level than that of the French illuminists. He for-

gets (or maybe has never known) that Lenin used to put as a fundamental condition the question: "Democracy and freedom for which class?" Athens was the cradle of democracy but it was the democracy of slave owners: 50,000 citizens enjoyed democracy and 400,000 slaves had no rights whatsoever. The Russians are in an awful mess but will never get out of it with chitchat of a Yeltsin or a Gorbachev, in which they show only contempt for the Russian workers and endless admiration for the gang of robbers and plunderers who are the Western political men.

**R. Radames**  
Italy

\* \* \*

The Yokohama Women's Association for Communication and Networking has been very active in encouraging women's independence and in raising consciousness about gender issues. We plan to display an exhibit of materials from various organizations around the world next year, including newsletters, video tapes, posters and literature, and wish to include material from you. We will be publishing English language newsletters by the end of the year and hope to establish an exchange with you.

**Women's Forum**  
Yokohama, Japan

### "MANAGING" NATURE

I hope N&L readers are as outraged as I am by the decision of the Alaska Board of Game to shoot wolves from airplanes over a huge portion of Alaska wilderness to provide larger herds of moose and caribou which hunters can in turn shoot and tourists can visit. Alaska is one of the very few places on earth where at least a small portion of nature creates its own balance. Hasn't our society already "managed" enough of nature to cause the extinction of species, the pollution of so much of our earth? What twisted logic of the Alaska Division of Wildlife Conservation provides for the killing of hundreds of wolves a year for the pleasure of those who would go on Alaskan safaris? Readers may want to lodge their own protests. One place to write is: Glenn Olds, Commissioner Commerce and Economic Development, Tourism Division, State Office Building, P.O. Box E, Juneau AK 99811.

**Nature lover**  
Chicago

### INDIGENOUS CULTURE

One of my favorite parts of News & Letters are the reports of radical demonstrations around the world. The Columbus Day stories in the November issue were good except for the references to the "Indians" in South American protests. It would have been better to have found out what tribes or peoples were involved, instead of calling them just "Indians." That term perpetuates the attempt to erase the indigenous cultures and identities of this land before white conquest.

**Student**  
Illinois

### HOLIDAY GREETINGS FROM OUR READERS

I detest the rampant commercialism of the holidays. Do you have some handbills I could slip inside my greeting cards to friends this year? I'd like different ads or price lists for a variety of your literature. The focus would be somewhat different for each of my friends. Can any of us believe that the election really means a new beginning? If change is to be, I must ask from what to what?

**Longtime subscriber**  
Massachusetts

\* \* \*

Every time a copy of N&L comes it is full of hope for a new world. It deals with the need to be human in a

difficult time. It gives a different view of America than that of a McDonald's burger. It's fresh and vital and never has there been greater need for its ideological clarity. But what is most striking about N&L is that it is so humble about its great work. I wish all of you a happy new year.

**Trade Unionist**  
England

★▲★▲★▲

**DON'T FORGET TO PUT  
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**PHILOSOPHY AND REALITY**

Someone I showed N&L to told me he felt it was at opposite ends of the spectrum with Raya Dunayevskaya's writings, which he could barely grasp, alongside letters from workers that said simply, "I am alienated from the product of my labor..." I disagreed because the letters from workers include their own philosophic interpretations, and because many of Dunayevskaya's writings are not inaccessible philosophic discourses but concrete analyses of a given idea/situation/event/philosophy, grounded in the Marxist-Humanist philosophy.

I consider each of Dunayevskaya's writings in N&L in the context of the issue in which they appear. But I had trouble with the November selection. The one message I did get that connected that review of works by Adorno and by Kosik to the Lead on Eastern Europe was the importance of having events in the real world involved in the development of our philosophies which the column showed; and the importance of grounding our activities in a philosophy which will lead to a revolution-in-permanence, which the Lead showed.

**New Marxist-Humanist  
Boston**

The article by Stephen Steiger on East Europe and the column from Raya Dunayevskaya on Karel Kosik in the last issue showed two very different realities and the philosophical work corresponding to each: Dunayevskaya on the East Europe of the 1960s (Prague Spring, especially) and the brilliant work of Karel Kosik's *Dialectics of the Concrete*; and Steiger on 1992, when we see deep economic and social morass just three years after the overthrow of Communism and a coexisting "total ideological void" in the intellectual sphere.

It would be easy enough to conclude from this that we won't see the intellectual creativity again until we have a movement that sustains itself—one that shakes us up so violently that history finds new philosophical expression. In fact I'm wondering if Karel Kosik thinks this is so, because the quote Steiger gives us from a new unpublished

essay is ambiguous on the point: he says the basic problem of today's unfreedom is that the overthrow of communism in 1989 did not become a sustained movement that "goes on as a source of political imagination and civic activity." I think he's absolutely correct but the question I want to ask is, what do we do? If the "political imagination" is not coming full blast from a movement, do we just wait? I am asking this because I think Dunayevskaya's review of Theodor Adorno's *Negative Dialectics* and Kosik's *Dialectics of the Concrete* poses an alternative.

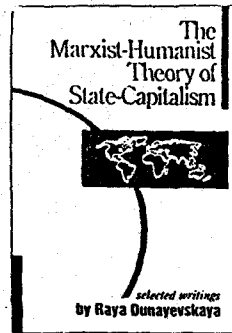
**Mitch Weerth  
Los Angeles**

**THEORY OF STATE-CAPITALISM**

Congratulations on the newly-found first written enunciation of Raya Dunayevskaya's state-capitalist analysis. It introduced a new concept that, after much opposition, was finally accepted as valid among Marxist theoreticians not blinded by Party affiliation. You are to be congratulated for having increased the motivation to find it through your publication of *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism*.

**Editor  
New York**

Dunayevskaya saw that the "laws" of development in Marx applied strictly to capitalism and not socialism and that, insofar as there was a transition leading to something different in Russia, it was through the practical, political and social power of the workers through their own organs. All others were pulled away from production relations and to property forms. It was a theoretical opening for her to work out how Marx's "economic law of motion" applied to Russia. But it also opened another theoretic battleground as she pointed to the inter-



nal subjective barriers in thought, including Trotsky's, that held such "superstitious reverence" for statified property.

**Ron Brokmeyer  
Bay Area**

The collection of Dunayevskaya's essays confirms the correctness of the state-capitalist analysis in terms of today's turbulent activities. The former Soviet Union is now undergoing another revolution and just as it took 1917 to 1928, it will take a decade to determine the actual political, economic and social composition of the former Soviet Union. Close to 40% of the economy is now run on a barter system, a direct exchange of goods and services without the use of money, which could have long term economic implications.

**Nick Ternette  
Canada**

**DISCUSSION IN CHINA**

Nearly 100 scholars and specialists attended a four-day conference, from Oct. 6 to 9, on the theory of human rights, sponsored by Beijing University, People's University and other units. They discussed the relationship between human rights and sovereign power and how to comprehend that the right of existence and the right of development are fundamental human rights.

The director of the Center of Philosophy of Human Study, Prof. Huang Nansen, gave an opening address, discussing how to put the talk Deng Xiao-Ping made when he inspected South China into practice. He proposed that our research must be more open; that to carry out the line of "Let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" we have to "seek the truth from facts"; that our study should be guided by Marxism.

Papers presented during the conference were each followed by animated discussion.

**Henry Peng  
Beijing**

When David McLellan toured China

this Fall he held a seminar at the Univ. of Jilin in Changchun, on recent developments in political theory in the Anglo-Saxon world, and discussion centered on the division between libertarian and communitarian approaches. At the Shanxi Teachers' University in Xian, the interest was on Hegel's political philosophy. At Beijing University, Prof. McLellan discussed various currents of Western Marxism and gave a well-attended seminar on the foundations of democratic socialism. Here the topics of most interest to the Chinese academic audience were the latest developments in rational choice theory, as expounded by the "analytical" school of Marxism, and the question of how far markets are compatible with socialism.

**University scholar  
China**

**AUDRE LORDE**

Audre Lorde meant so much to us in the revolutionary Women's Liberation Movement. I remember being at a National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) conference in 1988 where someone had come up with the disgusting idea of a fundraiser that christened you a "Daughter of the Feminist Revolution" if you gave big bucks to NWSA. For \$50 you got a poster and a button, for \$100 a "DFR" pin. Lorde said in her ringing voice at a poetry reading there, "I am not the daughter of a feminist revolution that it costs \$50 to join."

In a voice full of anger, Lorde asked what the over 500 women's studies programs that exist in North America mean to the lives of women sitting here? What kind of forces are they for social change? What do these 500 programs mean to the Nigerian Women's Center or the women in South Africa? "How," she asked the women sitting there, "do you use yourself in the power of what you say you believe?" No one used herself better—for all of humanity. We miss her already.

**Terry Moon  
Chicago**

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# Outrage at Detroit killer cops

**Detroit, Mich.**—The dilapidated abandoned storefront on West Warren at 23rd where Malice Green, a 35-year-old Black Detroit man, was beaten to death by four white police officers on Nov. 5 has been transformed into a memorial site by thousands of people who have left flowers, messages, art work, an African flag, and leaflets to rally community protest against police brutality.

Neighbors have painted and landscaped the building. But it is the haunting, beautiful mural portrait of Green (illuminated by a votive candle) painted by Detroit artist Bennie White that continues to draw a steady stream of visitors and slows traffic, day and night.

Green had dropped off a friend when plainclothes officers stopped his car as a suspected stolen vehicle. When ordered out of the car, Green reached for his glove box with a closed fist. Officers Larry Nevers and Walter Budzyn (well known to neighborhood residents as "Starsky and Hutch") lunged into the car and began beating Green with their metal flashlights. They dragged him out and continued to beat him. Uniformed backup officers had arrived and they kicked and punched Green who was by then on the ground.

When Sergeant Freddie Douglas (who is Black) arrived, he told the other officers to "take it easy." Emergency Medical Service (EMS) rushed Green to the hospital but he was dead on arrival. One EMS technician sent a computer message to his supervisor: "What should I do if I witness police brutality/murder?"

In less than 24 hours Mayor Coleman A. Young and his police chief Stanley Knox announced the suspension without pay of seven officers, and drew parallels to the beating of Rodney King. On TV Young stated: "A young man under arrest was literally murdered by police."

Later, however, Young turned on the media for hasty judgment: "This is a matter for the courts." On Nov. 16 Wayne County prosecutors charged Officers Nevers and Budzyn with second-degree murder, and Officer Robert Lessnau and Sgt. Douglas with lesser offenses.

Despite these orchestrated measures to defuse an outcry of racism and police brutality, 2,000 people come to Green's funeral shouting "Preach, Charles!" as Reverend Charles Adams of Detroit's prominent Hartford Memorial Church eulogized Green. "Racism killed Malice Green...and if racism is not destroyed, nobody in America is safe...They crushed W.E.B. DuBois, exiled Marcus Garvey, compromised Booker T. Washington, excoriated Malcolm X, persecuted Paul Robeson...slew M. L. King Jr.... bludgeoned Rodney King and they killed Malice Green!" But then Adams commended Young, Knox, and the Wayne County prosecutors for swift action which "kept the city from exploding..."

Neighborhood residents spoke of Nevers and Budzyn with fear: "You can't disrespect the police because they have a license to kill. If they tell me to get off the corner, I'm gone. We were always nervous of them." Over 25 complaints of brutality against Budzyn and Nevers (who had 24 years) were lodged, but none were ever "substantiated." One resident said, "It could have been me or my kids," and another felt Nevers "got what he deserved because he has been doing this to the community for so long." Many others all over the city see the case as an extreme example of police business as usual, and do not put much faith in the announcements of community leaders that better police training is needed.

A retired Black auto worker who lives nearby pointed out that Blacks had turned to armed resistance after

they faced armed white racists in 1943. "But there is no political structure in Detroit now, no thinking, no philosophy to meet the people's needs. You can't keep a civilization with guns."

## Aristide seeks U.S. support

**Chicago, Ill.** —

"If they can stop all the people fleeing Haiti in small boats, but can't seem to stop those huge ships carrying oil into Haiti, then something is wrong." So spoke Jean Bertrand Aristide, the popularly elected President of Haiti who was deposed in a military coup 15 months ago, of the poorly run economic boycott which has failed to weaken the military dictatorship currently ruining the country. He had come to speak about the current situation in Haiti and the possibility of a restoration of his democratically elected presidency.



He spoke of a country of 6½ million with 85% illiteracy; of less than 1% of the population controlling 45% of the national wealth; of only 1.8 doctors for every 10,000 Haitians and only 1½ hospital beds for every 1,000.

**He told of Haiti's history, of a revolution in 1804 by "a great people," but facing isolation because it was a Black revolution, and of 200 years of an army going from coup to coup.**

When he came to today, he described taking power in a non-violent way, an election "that was a beginning of democracy." But now Haitians face a certain kind of army, a military of 7,000 who consume 40% of the national budget. "We pay them to kill us."

Since the coup more than 3,000 people have been killed and more than 40,000 political refugees created. Thirty-four countries said they would stop the generals. But something is wrong because 14 months later, the embargo hasn't brought the military down.

Aristide proclaimed his hope in Clinton, that he believed the U.S. could restore democracy in Haiti. The embargo for him was a political embargo whereby the international community could express its solidarity. But meanwhile the generals and those around them are getting rich, particularly through drugs.

**Much of Aristide's appeal was for the U.S. "to pick up the phone" and remove the generals. When asked whether everything was relying on the U.S. through "picking up the phone," and not on the masses of Haitian people who had brought him to power without any phones, Aristide responded that change could not come without the international community.**

He agreed that a mass movement had brought him to power, but that the army had all the weapons. "We will never have a civil war in Haiti, we will have a massacre... In this geo-political context we need the international community."

## Black youth's thoughts on 'Malcolm X'

**Los Angeles, Cal.**—Spike Lee's "Malcolm X" is definitely the 1992 Hollywood pic which compels Americans to either address or scurry away from the question of the needed American revolution today.

As a Black revolutionary youth, I was anxious to see the movie. My first reading, in 1986, of the *Autobiography of Malcolm X*, while a college student in New York, became pivotal in my search for a full philosophy of freedom.

I was 19 years old and was inspired by the fighting spirit of my colleagues at Columbia University. In 1985, students and faculty members forced the University trustees to divest from corporations that had investments in South Africa.

After this, the mood changed into one of victory and complacency. Suddenly, it seemed that there was nothing more to fight for, even though the uptown Manhattan campus was surrounded by expanding poverty.

However, this mood was not shared by all students. Actually, the complacency of others prompted intense debate over the legacy of the 1960s generation. Students from diverse backgrounds questioned the possibility and necessity of a social revolution in this country that could rival the mass activity of two decades ago.

It was this deep questioning that led me to read the life story of Malcolm X. I was and continue to be enthralled by the many profound developments he made in his life, from street hustler to separatist Black Muslim leader to Black revolutionary spokesman for freedom in the U.S. and abroad.

Denzel Washington's portrayal of the many facets of Malcolm X was profound and heartfelt. Hearing Washington speak Malcolm's gripping words in front of crowds of African Americans conveyed a sense of Blacks in America with their eyes on freedom—an image that has since been suppressed.

**Not surprisingly, at the Black community theater where I saw the film, audience interaction with the movie during the rally scenes reaffirmed the deep**

**emotional bond with the slain Black activist. Many young Blacks shouted, "Preach, brother!" and "We want justice!"**

Undoubtedly, Spike Lee has produced a powerful motion picture that will be remembered in times to come. However, what I did not get a sense of are the changes made by Malcolm X after his split with the Nation of Islam and trip to Mecca.

What was missing was Malcolm X's concentration on changing social relations among Blacks and whites in the U.S., and how that would have an effect globally.

In his Dec. 3, 1964, speech "Any means necessary to bring about freedom," Malcolm X challenged youth to transform the miserable conditions in which we live with the goal of creating something better. "The young generation of whites, Blacks, browns—you're living in a time of revolution, a time when there's got to be a change. People in power have misused it, and now there has to be a change and a better world has to be built."

These words are no less true today than they were nearly 30 years ago.

**Challenges for Black revolutionary youth today include rethinking revolutionary concepts. We speak Afro-centric and retain European political models. Instead of arguing with the capitalist oppressors about recognizing the contributions of non-white societies, is it not time for us to build a new type of organization in the context of our struggle for freedom?**

The maturity of our age demands the concretization of the idea of freedom contained in the actions of the Black masses if we are to ever succeed in actualizing the American revolution. A better awareness of the attributes the movement created in Malcolm X can contribute to a greater awareness of the challenges posed by the Los Angeles rebellion, namely, his willingness to be critical of himself, his openness to change, and his desire for freedom by any means necessary.

—Maurice Miller

## Black World

(continued from page 1)

lower tariffs on imports. Even so uncritical a supporter as James Petras acknowledges the creation of a "dual economy—a dollar economy for tourists (and Cubans with relatives abroad) with access to meat, fish, fowl and autos, and a peso economy for most Cubans of austerity, greens, and crowded buses" (*In These Times*, April 1-7, 1992, p. 16).

Recently, however, the mild rebuff the UN gave to U.S. imperialism's attempt to tighten the embargo around Cuba, on Nov. 24, is less an indication of an end to the Cold War it's touted to be, than signaling a new stage of Cold War politics. The attempt by Bush and Democrats in Congress to tighten the 30-year strangulation of Cuba has been stepped up with the so-called Cuban Democracy Act of 1992, which illegally extends the jurisdiction of the U.S. beyond its boundaries by prohibiting subsidiaries of U.S. companies based abroad from trading with Cuba. Moreover, this latest imperialist intervention into international trade to bring about the collapse of the Castro government is enthusiastically supported by President-elect Bill Clinton (shades of his jingoist hero John Kennedy). Upcoming U.S. military maneuvers off eastern Cuba come at a most ominous time.

In concert with Washington's imperialist machinations is the right-wing authoritarianism of the Cuban exile community in Miami, waiting in the wings, ever ready to overthrow Castro. Over the summer, the human rights organization Americas Watch, which had documented human rights atrocities in Castro's Cuba, issued an unprecedented report on repression against political dissent in the Cuban-American community in Miami. The report documented that right-wing organizations, like the Cuban American National Foundation, and the city administration of Cuban-American Mayor Xavier Suarez had created a climate of political repression with bombings, death threats and brutal intimidation unlike anything found in any other U.S. city.

### CASTRO—WILL HISTORY ABSOLVE HIM?

For his part, Castro has struck out swiftly at any deviation from the Stalinist road he's traveled for 30 years. His purging of Carlos Aldana, the Party's chief of ideology, in September, is indicative of Castro's retrenchment in the face of both the Gorbachev-style reformism in the Party and the dissatisfaction among the people. In response to the reformists in the Party and the social discontent outside the Party, Castro and the leadership have turned to the ideology of culture. Where the Stalinists in the Eastern bloc made "democracy" the ideological fetish to stave off a real revolution, while making the transition from a command state-capitalist economy to a Western "market economy," Cuba's Stalinist elite have shown their ideological resilience by turning to Cuba's syncretic African culture and its nationalist past. Any move towards democratization is restricted to the Party apparatus and the largely ineffectual National Assembly. So disaffected are the Cuban masses that the local grassroots meetings which were to lead up to the Fourth Party Congress, one year ago, had to be cancelled as criticisms of the government grew. In the end the Congress had to be held behind closed doors.

According to Sam Farber, writing in *Peace & Democracy News* (Winter 1992): "A few months ago, the Communist Party began to organize paramilitary 'rapid response brigades,' the purpose of which is to forcefully break up popular demonstrations or protests. It is important to note that last summer, hundreds of workers at factories in or near the Havana area refused to join or support these brigades and walked out of speeches attempting to recruit them for these activities" (p. 30).

Whether or not "The end of the blockade would open the road for a fragmentation of the totalitarian regime and the beginning of an open and authentic political life" (p. 30), as Farber imagines, it is certainly true that the continued order-mongering moves of U.S. imperialism evoke strong anti-imperialist, nationalist sentiments among the Cuban masses. It is that which continues to give the U.S. Left the illusion that the Cuban masses still desire to live under Castro's state-capitalist regime calling itself "Communist."

If there isn't an attempt to work out the revolutionary humanist beginnings of the Cuban revolution Castro himself articulated in 1959 as neither capitalist nor Communist, before being pulled into Russia's state-capitalist orbit, then Jean-Paul Sartre's conclusion that the Cuban masses made the revolution because capitalism gave them "their misery in the form of a destiny" becomes as compelling in Castro's Cuba today (see, "Ideology and Revolution," *Lunes de Revolution*, March 21, 1960, p. 7).

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## Essay

## The new forms of appearance of state-capitalism

by Andrew Kliman

Political crises reflect the general absolute law of capitalist production differently in different historic periods. Thus, the Great Depression... proved to the capitalists that they cannot get out of economic crisis unless they couple production with employment.... Today, modern profit-hungry capitalists, both private and state, think they can do the exact opposite—that is, “uncouple” employment from production.

—Raya Dunayevskaya<sup>1</sup>

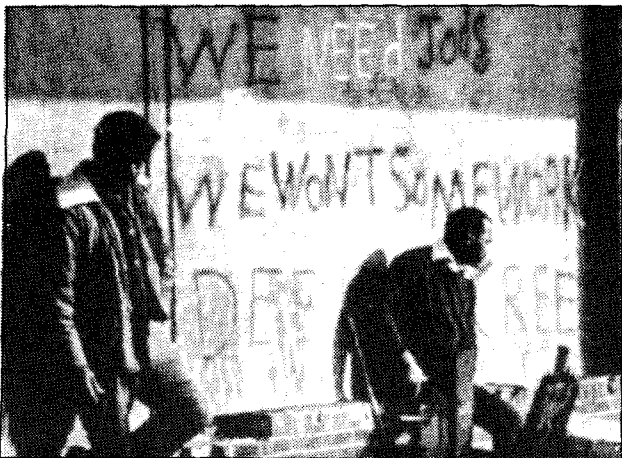
In consequence of the collapse of “Communism” and the global shift toward privatization and the “free market,” bourgeois pundits have proclaimed the end of history, the victory of “human nature” over Marxists’ failed utopian experimentation. Many on the Left have concluded that these changes, together with today’s unprecedented internationalization of capital, have led to what M. C. Howard and J. E. King call the “decline in the economic role of the state.” Though once sympathetic to the concept of state capitalism, these authors consider it no longer relevant, as if we were in the midst of a return to competitive, *laissez-faire* capitalism.<sup>2</sup>

There can be no denying that momentous changes have taken place in the world political economy. Yet a Marxist-Humanist analysis of these changes cannot start from the contrast of forms of property or distribution or relations among capitals, but must explore the historical development of the relation of rulers to the ruled, the two worlds within each country.

## INFERNO OF STATE RESTRUCTURING

Clearly the state’s role as direct producer and owner in many countries has ended for now, and deregulation in the West represents a lessening of one particular form of state intervention. Yet such changes are part and parcel of a heightened role for the state in “restructuring” the various national economies and, as the rebellious masses of Los Angeles can testify, Reaganism’s smashing of the welfare state goes hand-in-hand with greater state military repression.

Throughout the world, ostensibly “free market” aims coexist with state interventionist methods. Commenting on the drastic austerity measures instituted by the now-discredited Collor government in Brazil in order to establish “free market” reform, ex-central bank president Carlos Langoni said: “The great paradox is that to get to the free-market paradise, we have to go through the inferno of more intervention, more control and more bureaucracy.”<sup>3</sup> For apologists for the International Monetary Fund (IMF) such as Naomi Chazan, the fundamental “democratic” challenge facing Africa “is how to streamline the state, to delimit its scope without diminishing its control.”<sup>4</sup>



Black unemployed in U.S. city.

Similarly, the “free market” reforms introduced in Chile in the 1970s by Pinochet’s fascist regime are now regarded as a model, not only by most of Latin America’s rulers, but also by Russia’s Yeltsin and China’s Deng. Indeed, 95% of Yeltsin’s “reforms” have been imposed by means of his “emergency powers,” without even the consent of Parliament. And at the same time as Italy’s “Socialist” Prime Minister Amato proposed sweeping privatization (and austerity) measures, he too asked for emergency powers to impose them—to which the response was the most massive protest of rank-and-file Italian workers in two decades.

To comprehend why the unity of these two opposites, privatization and heightened state intervention, is taking place, it is helpful to recall Marx’s analysis of the “so-called primitive accumulation” of capital. Protracted and often bloody institutional change was first needed before the “self-regulating” tendencies of the capitalist system could come into play. In his chapter in *Capital* on “Bloody Legislation Against the Expropriated” Marx wrote:

The silent compulsion of economic relations sets the seal on the domination of the capitalist over the worker. Direct extra-economic force is still of course used, but only in exceptional cases. In the ordinary run of things, the worker can be left to the “natural laws of production”.... It is otherwise during the historical genesis of capitalist production. The rising bourgeoisie needs the power of the state, and uses it to “regulate” wages,... to

lengthen the working day, and to keep the worker himself at his normal level of dependence.<sup>5</sup>

Does not the present moment of global economic crisis constitute an “exceptional case” of the sort to which Marx referred, in which the overt compulsion of the state is needed to restructure the institutional framework so that the silent compulsion of “free market” unemployment and austerity can then function? East European economists implicitly confirm this view, conceding that mainstream Western economic theory offers little guidance in the transition to market economies be-



Woman scrounging for food in Moscow garbage dump.

cause its models tacitly assume the existence of the institutional structures needed for markets to function.

## CHANGED APPEARANCE OF CRISIS

As Gorbachev admitted in 1985, Russia was not exempt from the economic crisis—especially the slowdown in growth and productivity—which has plagued the Western world (and Japan) for the last two decades. The severity and breadth of the global crisis has nonetheless been slow in coming, largely because it differs greatly, in form, from the Great Depression of the 1930s which has served as the common paradigm of economic crisis. One key reason for the changed appearance of crisis is the unprecedented global integration of the capitalist economy.

In one sense, crisis always appears to be due to lack of effective demand. That appearance was the primary one in the 1930s, given the fairly closed economies then in existence. In today’s increasingly global economy, in contrast, the crisis typically appears to be due primarily to foreign competition. Whereas, in a closed economy, capitalists experience a slump in business as a failure of consumers to buy, in an open economy, they experience it to a much greater extent as the purchase of foreign as against domestically produced goods.

Hence, while state planners who attempted to save capitalism in the 1930s implemented “Keynesian” policies—promoting employment and consequently stimulating incomes and effective demand—even neo-Keynesian economists now widely concede that such domestic “demand-management” policies are largely ineffective in a global economy. Thus, the changed appearance of crisis helps dictate a changed strategy on the part of state-capitalist planners and corporate managers to overcome it: enhance international “competitiveness” by lowering costs and raising “productivity.” (The role of imperialist intervention, which helps secure favorable “terms of trade,” is also far from unimportant.)

Obtaining cost reductions (in the capitalist sense) largely depends on lowering wages and benefits. Increases in “productivity” are either gained by intensifying labor, or they are increases in productivity in the proper sense, gained largely by mechanizing, automating and robotizing production. Lower pay and greater productivity both depend greatly on the ability of capital to weaken workers’ power. In the U.S. and Britain, for instance, this has been accomplished largely through greater unemployment; union-busting, sometimes government-initiated; runaway shops and threats to run away; divide-and-conquer strategies based on race, gender, nationality, etc.; reductions in the “social wage” that increase the hardship of unemployment; and, lastly, *laissez-faire* ideology that legitimizes the above as iron necessity and/or means to future prosperity.

The increase in unemployment and decline in median living conditions in most of Eastern Europe are undisputed. There is not yet widespread unemployment in Russia, though living conditions have declined severely. Consumer prices rose between 3½-fold and 7-fold in January and February of this year, while the minimum wage and pensions only doubled, pushing 85% to 90% of the population below the poverty line.

5. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I (New York: Vintage, 1977), pp. 899-900.

The Marxist-Humanist Theory  
of State-Capitalism  
selected writings  
by Raya Dunayevskaya  
To order see lit ad, page 7

Not all such changes are intentional. It is, however, worth noting that, in Eastern Europe and Russia, the IMF and the World Bank are making new credits and grants. They are restructuring existing debts (dependent on the elimination of subsidized goods and services), revoking guarantees of employment, reducing social service spending and privatizing industry in a manner that will not give significant ownership (much less control) to workers. Similar conditions have of course been imposed on much of the Third World in the past decade.

A serious global shortage of capital (surplus value) does exist, placing severe limits on spending for human needs. Yet the decline in living conditions and the deterioration of working conditions has not resulted automatically from a slowdown in economic growth or productivity. The imposition of austerity and unemployment—“restructuring”—has been, and is, critical to the survival of each national capital, especially those most devastated by crisis. “Free markets” and privatization are the primary ideological and distributive forms under which austerity is currently being imposed, though it has also taken the form of “four modernizations” in China and “perestroika” under Gorbachev. Rather than constituting evidence of a “new world order,” the imposition of restructuring is a desperate expression of, and response to, an unending worldwide crisis.

Despite the rhetoric of privatization and “free markets,” unemployment and austerity have been imposed in the West largely, and in the East almost completely, by the one power capable of exercising the violence needed to enforce them: the state.<sup>6</sup> Just as the emergence of the monopoly stage of capitalism appeared as its opposite, the dispersion of legal ownership among large numbers of shareholders, so today, privatization and “free markets” are forms of appearance of their opposite, the state’s increased involvement in the restructuring and maintenance of the capitalist system.<sup>7</sup>

## PERMANENCE OF THE STATE &amp; REVOLT

Viewed in light of the law of value as Marx analyzed in *Capital*, the current strategies aimed at enhancing “competitiveness” and productivity can be seen to have a certain, though strictly limited, validity. While all new value and surplus value is only new “congealed” labor extracted out of the labor force, individual capitals and capitalist nations appropriate new value not only by extracting it from their own workers but also by means of competitive redistribution.<sup>8</sup> The more productive capitals appropriate more social value and surplus value than the individual value and surplus value they extract, and conversely for the less productive.

To the extent that the less productive competitors catch up, however, such superprofit is eliminated; this process only redistributes the substance of value. Apart from its secondary effect in lowering the value of wages, greater productivity neither generates additional profit nor raises the rate of profit for capital on a world scale. The same amount of abstract labor is merely spread among a greater number of articles. Moreover, the mechanization of production that is largely responsible for greater labor productivity produces a tendency for the rate of profit, the “self-expansion of capital,” to decline, as value-transferring means of production are substituted for value-creating living labor.

Hence, the quest for global “competitiveness” restricts capital’s ability to give greater employment to labor, while failure to do so restricts capital’s ability to grow. Under such conditions, any renewal of profitability depends largely on increasing surplus value at the expense of variable capital (living labor, wages). Austerity is consequently not a temporary way-station on the road to “free market” prosperity, but the future of the continuing global economic crisis.

In his analysis of the Paris Commune, Marx concluded that the development of capitalist production and the class antagonisms it engendered had impelled the development of the state as the “national power of capital over labour...an engine of class despotism.”<sup>9</sup> Raya Dunayevskaya’s state-capitalist theory was unique in that it did not focus on the particularities of Russia’s property forms or “planning.” Rather, in continuity with Marx’s perspective, she theorized that capitalism’s crisis tendencies and class antagonisms had developed to such an extent by the Great Depression that, though property forms varied, the state had throughout the world assumed the permanent role as the “national power of capital over labour.”

This “economic role of the state” is surely not now in decline. If, moreover, the above analysis is correct, then we should not expect the heavy hand of state intervention to wither away, or *laissez-faire* capitalism to return, after a period of “shock therapy.” Not only is the future of “free market” restructuring very uncertain at this moment but, if it results in a continuation and deepening of unemployment and austerity, both repressive state intervention and revolts from below will certainly intensify.

6. This is in no way meant to imply that the agents of a nation-state act in their own particular interests, in independence from demands of imperialist powers and their institutions such as the IMF and World Bank.

7. “Essence must appear, and the form of its appearance reveals not only the inherent contradiction but the historical origin and development.” Raya Dunayevskaya, op. cit., p. 90.

8. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III (New York: Vintage, 1981), pp. 281ff.9. Karl Marx, “The Civil War in France,” *Collected Works*, Vol. 22 (New York: International Publishers, 1986), p. 329.

1. Raya Dunayevskaya, *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State Capitalism* (Chicago: News and Letters, 1992), p. 149.  
2. M.C. Howard and J.E. King, *A History of Marxian Economics: Vol. II, 1929-1990* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1992), p. 388.  
3. Quoted in *New York Times*, May 20, 1990, p. A12.  
4. Naomi Chazan, “Africa’s Democratic Challenge,” *World Policy Journal*, Spring 1992, p. 302, emphases added.

# Bush defeat shows deep social crisis in the U.S.

(continued from page 1)

agenda, whether or not Clinton may now waffle on his promise to immediately lift that ban. It is true that, while voters in Oregon defeated the anti-Gay Measure 9 in that state, voters in Colorado dared to bar homosexuals from being protected by anti-discrimination laws. A boycott of Colorado was organized at once and has been gaining strength.

Bourgeois elections, of course, never resolve any of the intractable class, race and sex contradictions in a capitalist society. But elections are a measure of the intensity of those contradictions as they jam up against each other. Bill Clinton comes to the oval office with all of these contradictions hanging around his neck like the allegorical albatross. Moreover, he doesn't have an "evil empire" to hide a four trillion dollar national debt behind, as did Reagan for eight years and Bush for the first few in his regime. Instead, the ending of the "cold war" has brought in its wake explosive new social and economic realities.

It is precisely this situation that brought forth one of the most retrogressive features of the whole campaign—the "appeal" of a billionaire capitalist like Ross Perot parading as a "populist" and promising to resolve the economic problems with an authoritarian "iron hand." We have not seen the last of Ross Perot.

Nor have we seen the end of all the contradictions within the forces for change, which were exacerbated by 12 years of Reaganism and will continue even with Bush out of office. It is all contradictions that have to be confronted if the new openings are to move forward.

## WHAT KIND OF CHANGE WITH CLINTON?

There is no question that Bill Clinton's victory over George Bush was not a mandate for him but a referendum on the 12 year Reagan/Bush regime by urban workers, African Americans and women who wanted to turn around the pushing back of all their hard-won rights and end the myth of "trickle down" capitalism which has brought nothing but ever growing unemployment, homelessness and poverty. The question is: what kind of change will Clinton bring to Washington?

Clinton is no enigma hiding behind a populist veneer. We can be sure that the kind of "change" he will bring to Washington is the new conservatism of the Democratic Party and its willingness to implement the conservative policies of Bush regarding public housing, welfare and financial aid to the decaying environment of the inner cities.

Elements of that were fully articulated in the Clinton-Gore pamphlet, *Putting People First*. There, the opposite of the hypothetical "forgotten middle class who paid taxes, raised children and played by the rules" (the profile of the "Reagan Democrats" they were trying to win back) is spelled out as "dead beat parents." In the encoding of racist U.S. politics this is taken to mean Black mothers on welfare. It is an inescapable element of Clinton's "get tough" proposal to cut welfare benefits to unemployed single mothers after two years.

The mining of the deep vein of racism in American so-called civilization is being done in a populist way that

## 'Rethinking Marxism'

New York, N.Y.—At least 1,000 people from around the country attended the "Rethinking Marxism" conference at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Nov. 12-14, with the theme "Marxism in the New World Order: Crisis and Possibilities." There was important international participation.

One striking feature of the conference was the range of attitudes toward Marxism—from those who implied that Marxism remained a "tool" to understand contemporary reality and was therefore primarily reactive; to those who recognized that the crisis of Marxism was itself internal to and a cause of the world crisis. Many of those who wanted to engage in a discussion on the latter basis were student youth and activists, who raised questions from the floor in the more than 100 sessions spread over three days.

The main points made by the first three speakers at the opening plenary included the following: Julie Graham postulated the actual non-existence of capitalism, exploring whether it was not a gigantic theoretical construct that has served to put down struggles for freedom in the here and now. Immanuel Wallerstein judged that the Left ought to have learned by now to drop the theory and practice of revolution. Ernest Mandel concluded his lengthy address, with special attention to the Third World.

Yet, within such a conference one could also experience, in a single session, both Ralph Miliband questioning the editors of *Socialism and Democracy* on their "balanced" views of the relationship of theory to practice in the period 1989-92; and the intervention of a student youth, who said that in his reading of Marx's *The German Ideology* he understood that Marx had already rejected the possibility of socialism in a single, poor country. He elaborated that his understanding of Marx was that unless a society allowed for full self-development of the individual, it was not a new, different society.

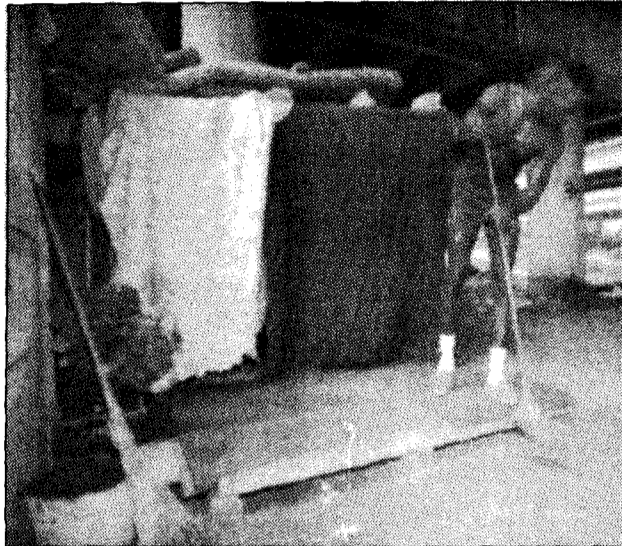
However one assesses the conference, it would be hard to argue on its basis that "Marxism is dead." To many, it remains a polarizing force—although the task of developing how and why has become a challenge ever more difficult to meet.

—Victor Hart

borders on the symbolic practice of participatory democracy, even to stealing Ross Perot's idea of an "electronic town meeting"—an orchestrated question and answer TV show—before his inauguration. This "man of the people" image is cultivated to hide the real class and race conflicts in this country while Clinton tries to stop the unravelling of the capitalist economy.

## STATE-CAPITALISM 1992-STYLE

It is obvious that will be the top priority of the incoming administration. All the hype about an "economic summit" was aimed at getting some kind of public consensus on "shared responsibilities"—a euphemism for



Homeless under Interstate 397 in Miami.

how much it will cost in human labor and reduction of living standards to regenerate the process of capital accumulation so enough profit can be made to expand production. Clinton speaks broadly about the "free market" but the message directed to the executives of high-tech firms has been that he realizes how much government must enter directly into planning the development of those industries and assuring them a world market.

Robert S. Reich, from the JFK School of Government at Harvard, has been his adviser in developing this new working agreement between industry and government. At this moment in history, he writes, "drawing a sharp distinction between government and market has long ceased to be useful. Government creates the market by defining the terms and boundaries for business activity....Business, meanwhile, is taking on tasks that once were the exclusive province of government, involving responsibility for the work communities..." (*The New American Frontier*, p. 5.)

This is a description, of course, of what Raya Dunayevskaya had analyzed as early as the 1940s as "the age of state-capitalism." What Clinton and Reich are projecting is a new coalescing of government and industry with highly skilled workers (whom Reich calls "human capital") operating high-tech machines for a world market, while all the sweated labor, from mining and steel production to repetitive production work, is left to underdeveloped Third World countries. Aside from whether labor will accept that scheme as an exchange for "prosperity," no such changes in the technical composition of the capitalist mode of production fundamentally alter what Marx called the absolute law of capitalist production—unemployment.\*\*

While Clinton has embraced Reich's fetish of high tech, and accepted the projection that all the social policies of the government should be designed to meet the needs of production, all of his proposed "investments in America" are focused on public "infrastructure" and not on the regeneration of the decaying inner cities.

## FROM DETROIT AND LA...

Take Detroit. Last July, Moody's Investors Service dropped Detroit's credit rating to non-investment grade, and *Newsweek* reported that Detroit was viewed "as the tumbling first tile of an urban domino." The disinvestment of Detroit was based on the intractable social and economic problems of "an unemployment between 12 and 14%, high debt burden, declining housing stock and an economically distressed population." In the context of the fact that the auto industry has gone to Texas and Mexico, Moody projected that within 20 years, Detroit will have a population of only 400,000, predominantly Black and poor.

Detroit is on the verge of becoming a third world city, and it is not an exception. The same problems exist in every inner city. South Central LA and Detroit are twins, not only in terms of deteriorated living standards but in acts of police brutality against African Americans. Two days after the election, the visage of the vi-

\* It was this unique theory that she developed into the full philosophy of Marxist-Humanism over the next 40 years. See the collection of essays we have published as *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism*. \*\* See Andrew Kliman's essay this issue, p. 9, on "The New Forms of Appearance of State-Capitalism."

cious police beating of Rodney King reappeared in the beating death of a Black Detroit, Malice Green. (See story, p. 8.)

## ... TO SOMALIA

Given the long history of the deep racism and exploitation the U.S. is known for around the entire world, there is good reason for the widespread distrust of Bush's intervention into Somalia, despite the great desire of the peoples of the world to stop the suffering and starvation there. Whatever Bush's motives for this first invasion by the U.S. into sub-Saharan Africa, it is clear that the intervention will not change the political and economic policies of U.S. imperialism which is at the root of the devastating famine there.

Indeed, a Marine Corps reserve colonel familiar with Somalia, Bob Agro-Melina, interviewed about what to expect when the Marines land there, unwittingly brought the question right back home when he described the various bands in Somalia as similar to "gangs like the Bloods and the Crips in Los Angeles," adding: "To secure the area, we've got to disarm them." (*Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 4, 1992.)

In a moment of reflection, George Bush had called the L.A. rebellion "the deadliest domestic upheaval since the Civil War," likewise unwittingly connecting it to the unfinished American revolution in this country. Faced with what Marx had called "new passions and new forces" in revolt, both Clinton and Bush stressed the theme of "law and order." But it is those "new forces and passions" which will reconstruct society on "new, truly human beginnings." That is what makes all the new openings we are seeing today so important to develop, and all the contradictions, from without and from within, so urgent to confront.

## Clinton's toxic legacy

While President-elect Bill Clinton has never been a favorite of environmentalists, his defeat of George Bush, combined with his selection of Al Gore as Vice-President, has managed to engender some illusions about the greening of the U.S. government. Judging by one of the last acts of his administration of the state of Arkansas, such illusions are in for a rough ride.

Dismissing protests from nearby residents, the state began incinerating dioxin-laden waste in a test run at an abandoned herbicide factory in Jacksonville, Ark., just before the election. Due to a lawsuit by community groups, after Nov. 10 the incineration had to be put on hold until independent scientists had a chance to evaluate the tests.

The community is up in arms because, along with whatever else the incinerator spews out, 150 to 800 grams of dioxin are to be released into the air, a large amount for a substance that is toxic in very small quantities. Despite the controversy, it never became a presidential campaign issue because the state and federal governments worked hand in hand on the project. Both Clinton and Bush support incineration as a means of cleaning up toxic waste sites.

## DEADLY WASTE, AND DEADLY LIES

Behind this lies the fact that, as with nuclear waste, there is no known safe way to "clean up" toxic waste dumps. Incineration is being pushed because it seems less expensive than the more thorough methods. The only real solution is not to create these messes in the first place. No such radical measure is on Clinton's agenda; the message from his top environmental adviser, Kenneth Smith, is that the public must accept a "degree of risk."

However, the risk we're exposed to is always far more than we're told. Sharon Golgan of Jacksonville declared, "We've found them lying to us about how good this incinerator is in destroying dioxin."

It's not only that the incinerator will give off much more dioxin than the residents were led to believe. The latest lie is that dioxin really isn't so dangerous. Industries that produce that chemical, like paper mills, have mounted a campaign to weaken regulations on it. Producers of tampons and sanitary napkins would rather convince us not to worry about dioxin than switch to chlorine-free bleaching, as they have been forced to do by women in Britain.

In September, a government panel of scientists re-evaluating dioxin's danger tried to downplay its hazards. The panel based its conclusion on just four studies out of a total of about 400 that have been done on dioxin! A number of scientists quickly debunked the panel's claims.

## AVOIDING THE TRUTH

Why does the government have money to pay for studies intended to prove to us that dangerous things aren't dangerous, yet can never find the money to do studies that would show us just how exhaustively capitalism is poisoning us? For instance, the National Research Council, an arm of the National Academy of Sciences, reports that the government has no full inventory of toxic waste sites and no program for finding new sites, and that almost nothing is known about the effects on human health of most chemicals found in hazardous waste sites.

When some studies to find an impact on people, they are studiously ignored. There are a host of questions that are simply taboo. The state and industry just don't want to know what capitalist production is doing to us, and they don't want us to know, either.

—Franklin Dmitryev

## Youth

## City College students ask, 'Education for what?'

by Jim Guthrie

The ongoing protests of Chicago City College students against class cuts and for the ouster of Helene Curtis president, Ronald Gidwitz, from his post as City College board Chairman, served notice that the Black, Latino and white working-class youth, who are the victims of the latest scheme to balance the budget and re-educate the masses, are not going to let it happen without a fight. The students are fighting not only budget cuts, but also an ideological attack on the very idea that working people were ever meant to get a higher education at all.

Gidwitz, an arch Republican well known as an advocate of high-tech innovation in industry, became involved in the City Colleges through a vocational training program called "Productive Chicago" which spent \$3 million to train workers for American Airlines. Gidwitz became an outspoken critic of the mayor and the system for not taking that type of program far enough. The mayor responded by appointing Gidwitz Chairman of the board of the whole City College system.

In January 1992 Gidwitz introduced a plan to create a two-tier educational system where students considered unqualified for a two-year college degree would be steered into vocational training programs. According to the City Colleges' own statistics, the plan would discriminate against the Latino, Black, Asian and Native American students who make up 73% of the colleges' student body. Students and teachers protested immediately.

If Gidwitz ever believed he was being appointed Chairman because he was the Man With The Plan to re-train Chicago's work force, the nearly \$10 million budget deficit made it clear that his real job was to be a hatchet man. His ruthless class cuts are, as predicted, hurting minorities the worst. At Harold Washington College Black enrollment plummeted by 15% and Latino enrollment by 7.8%. And the vocational training for day care workers and substance abuse counselors were drastically cut.

Gidwitz is using a bait and switch con game,

## Harassment in Kalamazoo

**Kalamazoo, Mich.**—Kalamazoo College (KC), a private liberal arts institution, has a "liberal" reputation. So in October, the campus Women's Equity Coalition (WEC) launched a low-key campaign to encourage the campus to think about definitions of feminism. The signs we posted around campus were, frankly, nice. Almost apologetic, they boasted, "Feminism is not man-hating" and "I'm a feminist and I love men."

In a so-called "response" to a poster which read, "What's your definition of feminism?" a man on campus posted an anonymous misogynist sign. A woman resident took the sign to show Dr. Marilyn LaPlante, KC's Dean of Students. She left a note explaining that the poster would be returned.

Later, a new poster was hung in the same place. It read: "Dear Femin-Nazi, You asked for my opinion so I expressed it with class. You couldn't handle it, so you took away your freedom of expression by ripping my poster down! Are you scared of men?... Is your penis- envy so severe that you must vandalize different people's views?... Feminism—the act of a minority of women (who suffer of severe penis envy because they realize their inferiority to men) passing around flyers about their low self-esteem problems, which stems from the fact that they can't get laid by a real man, but hey, we can't help it that you're unattractive....P.S. We love women!..." By a drawing of a penis at the bottom of the poster it said, "Have a nice day, c —!"

The same woman took this sign to LaPlante. The Dean expressed her concern, advised her that she had little to be truly concerned about, recommended that she try to calm down, and sent her away. WEC sent copies of the poster to all teaching faculty with a plea to discuss what these threats mean to the women of our campus. Thirty non-WEC members showed up at a meeting, expressing reactions ranging from fear to confusion to rage.

Two WEC representatives met with Dr. Lawrence Bryan, President of KC, and told him WEC felt an administrative response was necessary. He made his feelings perfectly clear: the sign was "classic misogyny." But he stated he would have to think about whether a response from the administration was necessary.

Only after a parent called President Bryan and after 11 students went together to "convince" him of the poster's threatening nature, did he issue a strident open letter to the campus assuring us that "freedom of expression must not be used as some impregnable defense for ignorance or threat."

A welcome response. However, Dean LaPlante defends the posters as simple free speech and declined to discipline or punish the author who had turned himself in when so many students began to denounce his actions.

Now 126 out of 950 students at KC have signed a petition explaining our disappointment in Dean LaPlante's decision that no penalty was necessary and 29 women are bringing sexual harassment charges against the man.

I've learned that part of KC's "liberalism" is the administration letting hate propaganda stand as free speech, and the authors of the propaganda garnering more respect than the victims.

—Angry woman student at KC

where he promises in the media to teach "high-tech job skills" to Chicago's ever growing unemployed work force; while he slashes programs which were providing real educational and occupational opportunities.

The bourgeois belief that the social and economic ills of the inner cities can be solved by teaching "high-tech job skills" has taken on a greater ideological importance since the crushing of the Los Angeles rebellion. It is based on the illusion that high-tech, roboticized production is the cure-all for the nation's economy, and that the mass unemployment is not a permanent feature of the crisis in capitalism where the dead labor of machinery increasingly dominates the living labor of human beings. Unemployment is instead assumed to be a symptom of the backwardness of working people.

Yet to buy into this Grand Illusion we have to forget that mind-numbing sweated labor is the irreplaceable foundation of the whole capitalist system. We must believe that higher labor productivity can come out of a computer. We don't have to look any farther than Gidwitz's non-union factory to see the lie in this. He has a two-tier system that uses day laborers as a large part of the work force. Mostly Blacks and Latinos, they get minimum wage with no benefits and no guarantee they will work each day. (See N&L, March 1992, p. 3.)

When automation was introduced to the automobile industry in the 1950s, the rank-and-file workers



Members of the Radical Faeries were among the 500 marchers who followed a horse-drawn hearse up Michigan Ave. in Chicago, re-creating a Victorian funeral to memorialize artists and others lost to AIDS. The procession, which was part of Day Without Art on Dec. 1, World AIDS Day, was followed by an angry protest at the State of Illinois building where ACT-UP demanded an increase in the state AIDS budget.

## Battling homophobia in the military: WWII and today

**Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two**, by Allan Berube. (New York: Plume Books, 1991), 377 pp.

The Bush administration's efforts to perpetuate the military's anti-gay policies have been headlined nearly every day in the press since Clinton announced his intention to reverse these 40-year-old regulations. This attack ranges from a new Navy ROTC pledge against homosexuality to pressuring the Supreme Court to permanently legitimize discrimination. It makes it crucial to understand the historic struggle of gay men and lesbians against the military's homophobic policies.

Published two decades after the Stonewall Rebellion in New York unleashed a gay liberation movement across the U.S., Allan Berube's **Coming Out Under Fire** argues that the roots of radical gay consciousness were forged through the experiences of gay men and lesbians during World War II. Berube's book made me laugh and cry, but it made me angry too, because the horrifying tactics and ideology the military deployed against young gay men and women are echoed in today's policies.

World War II recruits' first hurdle was a new psychiatric and medical exam designed to exclude homosexuals. The exam employed absurd stereotypes, so most gays "passed." Once on military bases, where physical and emotional intimacy between men and between women was commonplace, they came under the scrutiny of psychiatrists who devised new ways to figure out who was "healthy" and who was a "sexual psychopath."

Many gay men made it to combat, partly because the military needed more and more men for its fighting force, and thousands then experienced anti-gay witch hunts overseas. They were locked up in psychiatric hospitals, and interrogated until they signed "confessions" and implicated friends. In the South Pacific, dozens were interned in "queer stockades." Nearly 10,000 men and women received "blue discharges" stamped homosexual and found themselves excluded from the GI Bill's benefits.

In the midst of a war against fascism, gay men and women increasingly saw themselves as victims of injustice, often comparing their experiences to racial discrimination. The "slave mart" is what some men dubbed the interrogations. One called stockades "the nearest to segregation I have ever in my life known as a white man."

knew it meant ceaseless speed-up and mass layoffs and opposed it, but the union bureaucrats sided with the bosses using the slogan "every worker an engineer." Today our generation is confronted with "every worker a computer programmer," and the City College students are not going for it.

A sign at the Oct. 12 protest outside Helene Curtis which said "Opportunities \$4.25 an hr. Jobs" above a cartoon of a human being who is transformed into a robot as he enters a door labeled "Truman College" and comes out a door labeled "Gidwitz University," really caught the dehumanization inherent in Gidwitz's assumptions about education. (See N&L, November 1992, p. 11.) Students at the protest were raising the question: education for what? This question could have a profound impact on the future of both education and labor because it shows the need to dive deeper still into a philosophy of revolution that can envision the end of this inhuman society with its crippling division between those who are to think and those who are to do.

## Youth in Revolt

by Tom Parsons

International protests have erupted in opposition to the Japanese government's shipment of 1.7 tons of plutonium, the largest ever, from France for the stated use as fuel for nuclear power plants. According to Greenpeace, the cargo could make 120 crude nuclear bombs. Plutonium is so deadly one particle can cause cancer.

Greenpeace and hundreds of activists attempted to block the loading and departure of the Japanese freighter at the French military harbor in Cherbourg. French naval commandos seized Greenpeace boats at gunpoint. Students in the Philippines took to the streets to protest at the Japanese embassy in Manila as the freighter and its deadly cargo approached Philippine waters en route to Yowahama.

1,000 students occupied the main administration building at Alabama State University, demanding a stronger voice in campus decision making. The students, who took over all three floors, refuse to leave until they are given a voting seat on the University Board of Trustees. They also want more money for work-study programs, to improve dormitories and cafeterias.

Black youth in Chicago have filed complaints against the police for continually harassing them for wearing "United in Peace" buttons. Roughly 50,000 buttons have been distributed citywide to symbolize the peace treaty reached by all the Black street gangs soon after the killing of 7-year-old Dantrell Davis. The cops tear the buttons off Black youth's jackets and smash them on the ground. One youth only took his button off after a cop shoved a gun in his mouth.

The forms of gay resistance Berubé describes range from simple emotional support and "camp" mockery of sexual stereotypes, to illicit publication of a newsletter and demands for upgrading undesirable discharges. Gay men rounded up in French-run New Caledonia named themselves "Daughters of the French Revolution." Through these experiences, Berubé argues, gay culture took on new political meaning for many who were part of the generation of gay youth that preceded the 1960s.

Berubé's own writing of this book adds a new dimension to the legacy of struggle he describes. He is not an academic, but part of the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project. To fund his work Berubé took a slide show to gay and lesbian audiences around the country, meeting veterans to interview on the way. His audiences included a new generation of youth fighting the homophobic policies of ROTC. It is this legacy, not Clinton's politicking, against which the Bush administration dug in its heels.

—Laurie Cashdan

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## Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

The Irish parliamentary elections on Nov. 25 took second place to a referendum on changing the country's suffocating anti-abortion laws. Voters passed by a 3 to 2 margin a proposal allowing Irish women to legally travel out of the country to have an abortion—something 4,000 Irish women already undertake every year. It also allowed women to have access inside Ireland to information on abortion procedures and how to obtain an abortion outside Ireland.

By a slightly larger margin, 2 to 1, a proposal was rejected which would have allowed abortion only when a woman's life was in physical danger. Many feminists opposed this because it was not strong enough omitting cases of rape or incest, and rejecting the risk of suicide.

The Fianna Fail governing coalition was weakened by charges of corruption, and its handling of an abortion rights case which gained world attention last February helped its final downfall. In that case, a teenager who had been raped went to England for an abortion, but was initially ordered by the Irish government to return until the baby was born. She eventually had the abortion.

Going to Britain is a reality for Irish women, who pay

## Bosnia "extermination"

In a report delivered to the UN, former Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki concluded that the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina are "virtually threatened with extermination" unless something is done to relieve Sarajevo and other cities before winter arrives. In Sarajevo, 99% of the windows have been shot out and people are without heat, leaving thousands of already traumatized people facing death from cold and disease. The Bosnian government calculates that 100,000 people, mainly Muslims, have been killed since last spring in Serbian attacks.

Mazowiecki also helped uncover what is now being documented by a UN war crimes commission: the massacre and mass burial of 300 Croatian civilians and wounded soldiers taken out of a hospital by Serbian troops as the town of Vukovar was overrun in November, 1991.

Meanwhile, the UN has announced a sea blockade of Serbia. This has only symbolic importance, since much of Serbia's supplies arrive by land through Bulgaria. The UN arms embargo is strongly enforced, however, and it still absurdly cuts off arms to the Bosnian resistance, driven off over 90% of their land, and faced, in the UN delegate's own words, with "extermination" at the hands of the well-armed Serbian forces. Small-scale Bosnian armed resistance is growing, in some places holding off Serbian soldiers with captured weapons; but in the meantime literally hundreds of thousands of civilians face death this winter.

Few countries have been willing to take in refugees, even ones from Serbia's notorious concentration camps. Of 8,000 survivors of those camps, 6,000 are still detained by Serbian forces because no country will take them, although even the Serbian forces have offered to release them. Such scenes are ominously reminiscent of the 1930s, when Hitler offered to let Jews leave, but few could obtain entry visas from "democratic" countries such as the U.S., France or Britain.

## Abortion vote in Ireland



Pro-choice demonstration in Dublin.

anywhere from \$600 to \$1,000 for travel and the abortion procedure itself. There is no sex education in the Irish school curriculum and many pharmacists are harassed for dispensing contraceptives. Until the referendum, only anti-abortion organizations were allowed to give out information.

## Coup attempt in Venezuela

The unsuccessful military coup in Venezuela staged Nov. 27 left at least 230 people, most of them civilians, dead. Military officers and soldiers attempted to seize power from President Carlos Andres Perez, who survived a similar attempted military overthrow in February.

Although Perez is widely detested for policies which have brought misery to most Venezuelans, the officers involved in the coup did not receive the popular support they called for during their uprising. Anti-Perez civilians said that much as they hated the government, they did not favor a military dictatorship as the alternative. However, the attacks against Perez became the occasion for anti-government protests in Caracas and several other cities.

The Perez government first came under attack in 1989 for its so-called "free market" measures—raising prices and cutting social programs—which resulted in a massive rebellion. Venezuela's economy has grown at a rapid rate—8.5% this year—and experienced record foreign investment. Yet the accumulation of wealth has remained at the top. Living conditions deteriorated so badly in Caracas that water is now rationed.

Perez quickly ordered a crackdown which included the immediate police action of killing at least 60 prisoners who had seized a Caracas prison. In Latin America's oldest "democracy," Perez's hold on power has been greatly weakened by two coup attempts in one year. Although he has refused to resign until his term ends in February 1994, it seems likely he will soon face another serious challenge to his office.

**Selections from Raya  
Dunayevskaya's writings on  
the Middle East  
\$12.50**

Order from literature ad, p. 7

## Ongoing Kurdish conflict

With the absence of a significant revolutionary movement in countries where Kurds live (Iran, Turkey, Syria and Iraq), these reactionary governments have a free hand in colluding and manipulating their politics against the Kurdish people.

Iran and Turkey, competing for a bigger share of the world capitalist market, suddenly joined hands in reviving the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), the biggest economic bloc after the European community. In November, foreign ministers of Iran, Turkey and Syria—the Iraqi minister was invited but declined—met in Ankara, Turkey. They released a statement, expressing anxiety over the formation of any independent state in northern Iraq and warned the U.S. against interventions in the internal affairs of Iraq.

Meanwhile, the Iraqi Kurds have held elections and have built a functioning government of their own. On Oct. 4, their parliament voted in favor of a federalized system in Iraq.

The Turkish parliament is now said to be poised to reject the renewal of Operation Provide Comfort established in Spring of 1991 to allow U.S. aircraft to use Turkish bases to patrol the skies of northern Iraq.

Partly to encourage the Turkish government to continue this operation, and partly due to internal conflicts, the newly-formed Kurdish government staged a military attack against the PKK—The Kurdish Workers Party. This war lasted for two weeks and incurred heavy casualties on both sides under the pretext: "kill Kurds to save Kurds."

Here in the U.S. members of the Kurdish National Congress (KNC) related, in an interview with us, that this war was a serious blow to the spirit of the people, and the Kurdish masses then took to the streets and demanded an immediate end to it. Thanks to the masses, the war was stopped and both sides reached a compromise that allows the PKK to freely move about in free Kurdistan and, in turn, the PKK will not use Kurdistan as a military base against Turkey.

KNC members report that there are very serious economic problems in Kurdistan. For instance, a liter of gasoline costs three Dinars—each Dinar is worth three dollars—in the capital of Kurdistan, Solaimanieh. Unless these economic problems are addressed, the future of free Kurdistan will be uncertain.

—Ali Atesh

## Class struggle down under

At least 100,000 people rallied in downtown Melbourne, Australia on Nov. 10 in a one-day strike against proposals to gut current labor laws. Thousands more took part in demonstrations across Victoria State in the largest protests since anti-Vietnam War marches in the 1960s and '70s.

The changes proposed by Victoria State Premier Jeff Kennett of the newly-elected conservative Liberal-National Party coalition would, in effect, destroy the power of unions. At the center is a plan to "allow" management and workers to enter into a contract without mandatory union participation—union-busting.

The proposals also include broad anti-strike regulations that would limit strikes to five days; pickets could not exceed six people, and unions that didn't comply would be heavily fined. In addition, the present system of state-set minimum wages and working conditions would be scrapped.

Victoria, Australia's industrial center, has been hard hit by economic recession. Kennett's party coalition won an electoral landslide in mid-October after promising during his campaign that workers wouldn't be hurt by any "reforms" in labor practices. But after the election, Kennett introduced his agenda of measures against Victoria's trade unions, which is an attack on all Australian workers.

## Fundamentalism in Egypt

The October earthquake in Egypt not only caused massive destruction in the old city Cairo, but it also severely undermined the power of the state, and boosted that of the main opposition force, the Islamic fundamentalists. In the days following the quake, relief teams from Hosni Mubarak's government were hard to find, but "Islamic" groups were everywhere, dispensing aid and helping people set up shelter. Minor riots broke out on the streets against the government's inaction.

Economic conditions for the masses are worsening daily even without the earthquake. Although the country is large in territory, the desert takes up 96% of it, with virtually the entire population of 48 million living on a sliver of land along the Nile which is smaller in area than the Netherlands. Only 15 million of Egypt's people have sufficient food in their daily diet.

Since the quake, fundamentalist support has grown despite a government crackdown. They have won control of key professional organizations such as those of lawyers, doctors and engineers, displacing Nasserians and the pro-Western secular Wafd Party supporters in elections held over the past several months. The most violent Islamic extremists have declared war on Egypt's \$3 billion tourist industry, all the while continuing their murderous attacks on Coptic Christians, Jews and secularist opponents.

## Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-87), founder of the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism, became Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees from its founding to 1987. Charles Denby (1907-83), a Black production worker, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper from 1955 to 1983. Dunayevskaya's works *Marxism and Freedom...from 1776 until Today* (1958); *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (1973), and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982) spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally, as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa. These works challenge post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism.

The new visions of the future that Dunayevskaya left us in her work from the 1940s to the 1980s are

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.