

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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Lost faith in workers lets U.S. drop Carey



by John Marcotte

Just four days after the UPS strike victory, the government voided Ron Carey's election as president of the Teamsters. Two days after the AFL-CIO and the Teamsters took the lead in defeating Clinton's "fast track" for a trade deal to expand NAFTA, the government barred him from running for re-election.

New York area UPS workers know Carey not only as the International president, but as their Local 804 president of many years, who has led them on strike many times over the years, years when the corrupt International rolled over for UPS, and only Carey and New York walked out. One New York UPS driver put it this way: "I have to think the strike and the government removing Carey is related. To put it very simply: the government put him in, the government took him out." He explained that he didn't mean the government really put him in, but made it possible for him to win by holding the first ever general election for Teamsters president in 1991. He added, "The fact is they don't like any labor leader getting too powerful."

Other drivers, when questioned, felt there had to be some connection between Carey's successes and the government's actions. They questioned why, after investigating Carey for so long, they are only just starting to investigate Hoffa now. Jimmy Hoffa Jr. lost the election for union president last year against Carey, and drivers asked, "What about the several million dollars that Hoffa received supposedly from bake sales, why wasn't that investigated?"

There is no doubt the Teamsters have made powerful enemies. Alan Greenspan and Wall Street live in fear that American workers will win higher wages. This is why they are happy when more of us are out of work. The UPS victory for part-time workers—which is where all of America is headed—kicked them right where it hurts. This was followed up by a punch to the gut, denying Clinton the "fast-track" authority every president since Ford has had, to make a trade deal at the expense of U.S. and foreign workers and the environment.

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Black World

Charles Denby and the idea of Marxist-Humanism



by Lou Turner

Precisely because we had brought out [the] total concept of Absolute Idea which extended the idea of revolution to the party-concept, [we] began with the proletariat as leader whether it was the editorship of the paper, or the [Resident Editorial Board and National Editorial Board].

—Raya Dunayevskaya, 1974

Charles Denby's autobiography *Indignant Heart* was originally published in 1952 under the pen-name Matthew Ward in order, as Denby stated in the Foreword to the 1978 edition,

to protect individuals from the vicious McCarthyite witch hunt then sweeping the country, which resulted in the persecution and literal destruction of many people. Few who did not go through that experience of national repression of ideas can fully understand the truly totalitarian nature of McCarthyism and the terror it produced.

The McCarthyite witch hunt to which Denby refers took place against the economic backdrop of the U.S.'s first post-war recessions associated with the new production methods called automation. The 1953-54 recession, automation, and competition with Ford for second place among the Big Three automakers, led to a significant drop in employment at Chrysler, from 100,000 to 35,000, in the 1950s. But for his seniority at Chrysler, Denby would have been among the ranks of workers displaced by this first post-war restructuring of the U.S. economy.

West Virginia coalminers of the United Mine Workers of America were the first to battle the new technology with a general strike in 1949-50. Denby recorded the worker solidarity he witnessed when the striking coalminers came to Detroit UAW Local 600 to appeal for relief: "...workers not only gave several thousand dollars outright, but pledged

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Right wing bares its teeth

by Olga Domanski

The dangerous rise of the Right is evident today in the proliferation of new attacks on all the freedom forces as new forms of the retrogression we have suffered for two decades keep appearing not only from within fundamentalist organizations but more potently from within the institutions of government. Even as Newt Gingrich's dominance of the reactionary right in power seems to have diminished, two quite different recent events demonstrate the determination of the Republican Right to wield its formidable will. One was the refusal of the Republican-controlled Judiciary Committee to allow the Senate to vote on the nomination of Bill Lann Lee to become Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights. The other was the federal election monitor's barring of Teamster Union President Ron Carey from running for re-election next year.

Nothing is more blatant than the attack on Bill Lann Lee, the first Asian American ever to be nominated for such a post, whose qualifications for the job were so high that no one even tried to contest them. Nor could anyone deny that the legislative branch of government has historically allowed a president to choose his own cabinet. The sole reason Utah Republican Senator Orrin Hatch offered for refusing to permit a vote on Lee was that Lee is a "defender" of affirmative action. It is not the first nomination stalled over what are called "social issues." Clinton's choice of David Satcher for Surgeon General has been held up over his position on abortion. And even his choice of business executive James Hormel to be Ambassador to Luxembourg has been stalled by the Republicans because he is openly gay. Yet the attack on Lee has been so extreme that it is a warning that the Republican Right is out to demonstrate its power in every way it can.

Even more critical is the warning embodied in the barring of Carey—that Big Business and its government have no intention of allowing the new openings promised



October 22 National Day of Protest Against Police Brutality in Chicago.

by the victory of the Teamsters UPS strike this summer to become a turning point in labor's never-ending struggle with capital. While Carey is the prime target now, the real target of the reactionary Republican Congress is all of American labor—in particular the AFL-CIO that at long last, after John Sweeney's election in 1995, had made some first small steps toward organizing the unorganized.

The *Wall Street Journal* gave the real target away a full month before the hearings led by Republican Congressman Peter Hoekstra into charges that Carey misused union funds to assist in his 1996 election which ended with Carey being barred from a new election next year. On October 17, under the title "What's become of labor?", the *WSJ* launched a virulent red-baiting attack on what they depicted as a U.S. labor movement and its leadership "simply drifting leftward and away from the mainstream of the country's life." They wound up linking Carey to a whole array of "left-wing political groups" from

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Messages of struggle in East Timor

Editors note: Nina Maria da Costa's letter, excerpted here, was read aloud at a demonstration in front of the Indonesian consulate in Chicago on Nov. 14. An activist who works among her fellow East Timorese refugees in Sydney, Australia, Nina Maria da Costa left her island homeland during the brief civil war which took place after the collapse of Portugal's colonial administration in 1975. The second message, transmitted by e-mail directly from East Timor, was also read aloud at the Chicago protest.

Dear Friends,

I would like to thank each and everyone for taking time to come here, to commemorate this special day in honor of all those young East Timorese who gave their lives in another attempt to bring the world's attention to the act of genocide being committed by the Indonesian government against the people of East Timor since December 1975.

At the age of 14 I was forced into exile to silently watch the brutal Indonesian invasion of my country, East Timor. As the Indonesians went in, they killed, they raped, they tortured the people of East Timor indiscriminately. That was how my own aunt and seven cousins were killed and thrown into one grave. My adoptive brother was forced to watch the rape of his wife by the Indonesian soldiers before they shot him.

My grandmother, on the other hand, managed to survive the invasion, but she was mentally disturbed. I remember when she came to live with us, the many nights when she would scream loudly that the Indonesians had come, that they were burning all the houses, that we should run and run. Through moments like these, we managed to get the glimpses of what my grandmother had to endure during the invasion.

In 1995 I was fortunate enough to be able to return to East Timor for the first time after 20 years in exile. It was a very memorable and painful experience. I traveled extensively over the island and spoke to numerous people from all walks of life. I was told of the many massacres which took place before the Santa Cruz cemetery massacre in 1991, where hundreds of innocent people were either killed or buried alive. I was shown places believed to be mass graves. Everywhere I went there

was always a sad story.

The deteriorating conditions of my country as a whole shocked me. It was very hard for me to reconcile the East Timor of the present with the East Timor I remembered. The beautiful green and red vegetation, the vibrant and colorful wild birds, the warm, easygoing and friendly people were no longer there. Instead I found a city full of foreigners, dirty shops, no running water to many houses, the whole country bare and dried, numerous orphanages (something unknown in the past), the East Timorese malnourished and no longer smiling.

I expected the conditions would be that of a war-torn country but I was not prepared for the near total destruction of our society. I discovered the meaning of a traumatized people. It was as though there was only these 20 years of suffering, the past gone and the future not very clear. The young people, especially, could not see a way out while Indonesians remained in East Timor. That's when I understood why they were not scared to die. To die was to free oneself in East Timor. The youth saw it as their duty to free the country.

Dear friends, today we commemorate the sixth anniversary of those who gave up their lives to let the world know of the true situation in East Timor. Just yesterday, I heard of the killing of three East Timorese young women at a vigil to commemorate the Nov. 12, 1991 massacre [in the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili].

The Indonesian government is a very evil government. It uses all sorts of ways to gain what it wants. Not content with killing more than one-third of our nation, it introduces programs such as the Family Planning

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ON THE INSIDE

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Heterosexism and sexism in Engels

by Jennifer Pen

The relationship between the Women's Liberation Movement and the Lesbian and Gay Liberation Movement of the past 30 years has been historically crucial, as they sparked mutually new developments in each other. At the same time, the reliance of much of the organized Left on Engels's *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* as the primary

Woman as Reason

Marxist text on gender issues proved to be theoretically inadequate not only to the immediacy and totality of the Women's Liberation Movement, but in Engels's heterosexism as well. The determinism of much post-Marx Marxism, combined with the prudery and heterosexism of most Leftist organizations, provoked many gay and lesbian activists to eschew Marxism entirely (see review of *With Friends Like These*, in *N&L*, March 1997).

Raya Dunayevskaya was one of the few Marxist theoreticians to grapple with Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*, when they were published in transcription in 1972. She discovered a gulf between Marx's reading of anthropological authors such as Henry Lewis Morgan, and Engels's use of these same authors in *Origin*. Her reading of Marx's notebooks revealed how a full Hegelian-Marxist dialectic would produce multiple revolutionary subjectivities and pathways to revolution across human history. She contrasted this with Engels's reduction of the anthropological evidence to a unilinear determinism.

Dunayevskaya proceeded to expand her contrast of Marx and Engels, especially concerning the Women's Liberation Movement of our time. Dunayevskaya saw that Engels's rigidity about historical movement was a philosophic error which muted Marx's dialectics and led to biologism: the belief that our biology determines our fate. Engels's theories about gender in *Origin of the Family* were too inflexible, hence not open to the subjectivity of the actual Women's Liberation Movement when we loudly declared that biology is **not** destiny.

Does Engels's narrowing of the dialectic cast a shadow over the development of a Marxist theory of les-bi-gay liberation? Exploring this question illuminates the common ground as well as the distinctions between the Women's Liberation Movement and revolutionary subjectivity in movements based on sexuality.

ENGELS WED TO 'MOTHER-RIGHT'

Engels attaches himself to theories of ancient matriarchies and the idea of "mother right." He attempts to prove that the respect accorded women in ancient societies flowed from the material base of their reproductive powers. This already reduces women's subjectivity and universality, since it implies that women are seen only through their child-bearing capacities.

Dunayevskaya was deeply critical of Engels's conclusion that "the overthrow of mother-right was the world-historic defeat of the female sex." Dunayevskaya pointed out that this was not Marx's phrase, because it made a mockery of women's force and Reason since this reputed defeat. But this so-called defeat also portends danger for non-reproductive sexualities; if "woman" is conflated with "mother," lesbians as sexual beings, lesbianism as a form of human relating, are silenced.

Biological determinism is vulgar materialism, not historical dialectics. False naturalizing is a by-product of biologism. Categories of "natural" and "unnatural" are consistently formulated and used against les-bi-gay people, and against all women who defy the pretensions of bourgeois morality. So, it is hardly surprising that when Engels does refer to homosexuality, he categorizes it as a "perversion," "degradation," and an "unnatural vice."

MODERN INDIVIDUAL SEX LOVE

When Engels develops his formal, highly valued category of "modern individual sex love," he tries to envision a non-sexist future, men and women as equal partners,

Mernissi's Capitalism

Fatima Mernissi, *Women's Rebellion and Islamic Memory* (London: Zed Books, 1996).

In this recent book, Mernissi, noted author of *Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society*, addresses the problems of women in the Arab world after the Gulf War. To Mernissi the war revealed the superiority of the so-called individualism of American society as opposed to the fundamentalist traditionalism of Arab society. She argues that American society is freer and more democratic and thus stronger than the Arab world, which suffered a devastating loss of lives and pride during the Gulf War.

Seeing an affinity between women's freedom and American-style individualism, Mernissi posits capitalism as the way to liberation: "The common denominator between capitalism and new models of femininity is individualism and self-affirmation." Mernissi's capitulation to capitalism as the only alternative to fundamentalism and the resurrection of traditional social forms shows the serious consequences for Third World women of the Left's failure to project a viable socialist vision of the future.

—Maya Jhansi

Readers: What books do you want to talk about? Send in your short reviews.

their love unconnected to economic or social exploitation. He advocates a voluntary serial monogamy as the ideal of human sexual relating. But once again, Engels has left the dialectic behind in his utopic projection.

"Modern individual sex love" as introduced by Engels fits the definition of heterosexism: he asserts that the only legitimate sexuality is heterosexuality. When he tries to prove how "modern" this "individual sex love" is, he does so by laughing at ancient bisexuality: "Sex love in our sense of the term was so immaterial to that classical love poet of antiquity, old Anacreon, that even the sex of the beloved was a matter of complete indifference to him." Given that Anacreon is writing to a beloved one, Engels's problem with him is not about the **individual** nature of the sexual love. What is incompatible with his formal category is the idea that the ancients could choose either a man or a woman as their singular beloved.

Likewise, while Engels's critique of the sexism of ancient Greek men is important and necessary, he reveals his heterosexism by claiming that "this degradation of the women was avenged on the men and degraded them also till they fell into the abominable practice of sodomy." Leaving aside his venting of homophobic spleen, what Engels claims here is that sexism produces homosexuality. This conclusion is historically unsupportable; it reeks of moralism instead of dialectics.

The complexity of human social relations cannot be contained in rigid categories or strictly functional conceptions of gender. Engels's philosophic error in reducing the dialectic is one he shares with many post-Marx Marxists; it becomes easier to label defeats and obstacles than to hear the subjects of revolution.

How can we embody philosophic opposition to sexism and heterosexism? We need a philosophic basis that won't limit us, that won't restrict in advance the totality of the uprooting of this exploitative society. Rather than updating any old system of human relating, perhaps we can imagine something entirely new by re-creating the dialectic, and holding to our history-in-the-making.

Women Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

More than 100 workers—including pregnant women—suffered nausea, blackouts and convulsions, Nov. 11, after being poisoned by toxic chemicals at the DINDEX garment factory in El Salvador. Health officials cited conditions for the workers—more than 90% of whom are women—at the overcrowded, improperly ventilated factory as "slave-like and not fit for humans." They are demanding that conditions be improved before the plant is allowed to reopen.

Women in Fuerza Unida seek support to force Levi Strauss & Company to negotiate a just severance package for them comparable to that given to the 6,400 workers laid off, Nov. 3, at 11 of their plants in three states. Fuerza Unida is a grassroots organization of 1,150 mainly Mexican women workers in San Antonio, Tex., laid off in 1990 when the company decided to move the plant to Costa Rica. Many women lost everything, including cars and homes. They state: "We are the ones who have been pricking the conscience of Levi's in front of the workers, the community, the consumers and the general public for the past seven long years. We are the ones who have been out there on the street with our children and grandchildren in every kind of weather demanding justice from Levi's, even enduring a 21-day hunger fast."

Mail delays expose inhumanity of prisons

Oakland, Calif.—Most progressive reports from prisons concentrate on abuses perpetrated against prisoners. These abuses are pervasive, shocking and deserve a lot more exposure and attention. However, one might be led to believe that they were isolated incidents that could be reformed. One might then miss what is wrong with the whole "principle" that governs prisons.

At my recent visit to Valley State Prison for Women in Chowchilla, Cal., inmates talked about how every woman prisoner speaks about the delays in getting mail. The guards open (and presumably read) all prisoners' mail before they deliver it. Thus a letter that the post office delivers in a day, takes 7-10 days to be delivered to prisoners. Sometimes mail is sent back to the sender and the prisoner is only notified that mail came for her and was sent back.

Mail is the women's primary link to their families and loved ones. Delaying mail aims at their social ties. As an ex-prisoner pointed out in a *Women's Review of Books* article, "Aristotle said we're all political animals, political in the sense of social, that we need other people." What makes us human are relations with other human beings. Denial of those connections is a direct denial of our humanity.

Mail delay exposes the institution's systematic denial of what is fundamental to women's humanity. It shows the lie of Teena Farmon's (Central California Women's Facility warden) statement that "I work for a department that wishes to be, wants to be, a humane organization..."

Black mothers speak out

ON THE MILLION WOMAN MARCH

Editor's Note — Below we print excerpts from an interview with Georgiana Williams, founder of Mothers Reclaim Our Children and the LA4+ Defense Committee.

Los Angeles—The Million Woman March touched me when I got a call asking if I wanted to be a coordinator. First I said no, I don't want to be bothered. Then as I thought about it and they kept calling me, I decided to get involved. I was supposed to talk on youth in Los Angeles on Oct. 22, but I wasn't going to be there on that day.

But what touched me most about the march was that there were so many young people there under the age of 25 and not just Black kids. It was multiracial. I even saw a punk-rocker, with rings in her nose and eyelids and loud colored hair. I don't know if they were supporters, but I



talked to a lot of college kids and autographed a lot of posters. And I found the same problems we have here in California, we have all over.

I do know that in the 21st century there are going to be major changes in the Black community because our young people are going to school and going to college and being educated. They will be able to do the things that me and my momma and grandma weren't able to do. They'll have gone to school and learned everything they need to learn about the laws and the system and society.

When I was asked to be a speaker I wanted to talk about mothers, because so many mothers will not go, as old people used to say, to bat for their children. Kids get arrested and their parents don't try to get them out on bail, won't go to court with them. They just believe what the police say. I was like that as a mother.

I wanted to encourage mothers to come out and to get involved, to get in some kind of grassroots group and to find out what is going on in the criminal justice system. The ladies on welfare, they need to come out and get involved. We need day care places for our children.

And we need some really good counseling centers for our children to come and talk. I think a lot of them are hurt and angry. Many of these young men become gang members because they are so angry. It would be good if we could have a place where they could come a couple of times a week and vent their anger.

The march showed how everybody wants change. There was so much love and respect. If they bumped into you they would say excuse me, sister, where are you from sister, oh I love you sister. I am floating with joy, with peace, with happiness to know I can expect big changes in the African-American community, long overdue. It is an honor to know I have seen some of the suffering, and I'll be here to enjoy some of the freedom and the justice.

ON SPECIAL EDUCATION

Chicago—What do the slogans "Kids First" and "Stay in School" really mean to poor people? For my child who is in special education it means being pushed from one level to another not because of his ability but to make room for younger kids coming into the class. This means moving him and other children around so the schools can bring in more money with new students.

What will happen in the future for these kids who already have delays? Will they eventually become just another statistic—homeless, jobless, a street person for America to point its finger at? These children are set up for failure at a pre-school level.

Special needs should not mean switching and combining learning, speech, and behavior disabilities into one room. Attention should be individually given to these disabilities. Where will these children go from here? "Kids First!" Whose kids? —Rose

The prisoners' complaints point to the fact that the whole prison system must be abolished. Yet the anti-human prison system is not out of place in this anti-human society. It is its logical extreme. All that a lot of people, who end up in prisons, need is help. The so-called war on drugs never deals with why people turn to that escape, it just puts hundreds of thousands in prisons. Many mental health hospitals are now closed, and the population in need of help was turned out onto the streets and from there, sometimes, into prisons.

Frantz Fanon, when undertaking running of a mental hospital in Algeria, first removed the chains in which the patients were kept. He insisted that they form explicitly social relations: with each other, as a community running the hospital, and with their families, who he brought right into the hospital. As a revolutionary humanist, he clearly saw that strengthening social ties brings out the humanity in everyone.

Frantz Fanon broke with treating society's problems as psychiatric therapy the minute a revolution started in Algeria and more total alternatives became possible. He maintained that it was not so much that his patients were not fit to live in society, as that society was not a fit place for people. Prisons are where we now put people the criminal system judges not fit to live in society. Isn't it time to create a society fit for people?

—Urszula Wislanka

Adapted from *The Fire Inside*, a newsletter for and by incarcerated women. Address: CCWC, 100 McAllister St., San Francisco, CA 94102.

Docker solidarity stymies scab ship

Oakland, Cal.—Several hundred came to a rally called by the Liverpool Dockers Defense Committee outside the Alameda County Courthouse, Nov. 18. We were celebrating the victory of having kept the Neptune Jade from unloading its scab cargo in Oakland at the end of September. Part of the Singapore-based Neptune Jade's cargo had been loaded by scabs in Thamesport, England, where the Mersey Docks & Harbour Co. (MD&HC) is the port authority.

MD&HC locked out 500 dock workers in Liverpool in 1995 because they refused to cross a picket line there. The International Longshore Workers Union (ILWU) honored the picket lines set up spontaneously in Oakland by labor, Left and student supporters. The Oakland picket line had been set up as part of an international action campaign in solidarity with the Liverpool Dockers. Not only was the Neptune Jade not unloaded in Oakland, it was also turned away from Vancouver. Japanese dockers unloaded only cargo that could be reached without touching scab containers.

An employers' group is now going after any picketers they can identify, claiming they violated a temporary restraining order limiting the number of pickets. They singled out whoever they could identify to take legal action against: picket captain Robert Irminger, a member of the

Inland Boatman's Union; Jack Heyman, Local 10 ILWU executive board member; the Labor Party's Golden Gate Chapter; the Peace and Freedom Party, and even the Laney College Labor Studies group. Irminger was offered a settlement of a suspended one-day jail sentence and a payment of a \$2,000 fine for employer's legal fees if he would name the other individuals and organizations on the picket line.

This McCarthyite tactic is being used against all the defendants. The chair of the Laney College Labor Studies Department, Albert Lannon, has sent out a special appeal. He said the Laney Labor Studies Club participated in a picket line only before the temporary restraining order limiting the number of pickets. Now he's being asked to inform on his students and isn't getting any support from the college administration. He's asking for community support.

The bosses are taking such extreme measures against academic freedom, the First Amendment right to peacefully demonstrate and to free speech because this speech had a dramatic effect. As Irminger said at the rally: "There is a global assault by shipping companies to break unions worldwide. They are going after the ILWU no holds barred because it is a beacon to all dock workers. We put our thumbs on the pulse of commerce. Stopping work at the point of production really inflames them." —Ron B.

Cross-border worker unity

Tijuana, Mexico—Mexican and U.S. workers met together here in November, in a dialogue aimed at promoting cross-border solidarity. The Mexican workers were from two maquiladoras: the Han Young plant where the fight for an independent union continues, and the Useong plant where 20 workers have been fired for attempts at organizing and one woman has filed a lawsuit charging sexual harassment.

Despite clearly winning their long-sought election for an independent union at the Han Young plant (see N&L, November 1997), the workers there told us that the Mexican labor board still refuses to recognize their choice. Meanwhile, workers fired for union organizing (firings prohibited under Mexican labor law) have not been rehired, and the company is bringing in new men from faraway Veracruz in an attempt to break up the worker solidarity that developed during their struggle.

It's "modern slavery," we were told—20 men from Veracruz housed in one room, mattresses on a concrete floor, beholden to the bosses as they work to pay back the travel tickets the company purchased to bring them to Tijuana. "Any time workers try to rise up and organize, they bring in workers from far away. Big money looks at workers as a thing," a Han Young worker said.

The women from the Useong plant echoed the stories of poor working conditions, intimidation, and firings of militant workers. Despite gases generated by the soldering process used in their production of washers, they were not provided with masks, nor did the plant have proper ventilation. Some women passed out from the fumes. On the night shift, 6 p.m. to 6 a.m., the workers were locked in the plant, and even the supervisor didn't have a key! This last horrendous policy has finally been changed by management, due to worker pressure, but the other conditions remain the same.

Nor are these experiences atypical in the foreign-owned, border-based, production-for-export factories known as maquiladoras. On the contrary, poor wages and unsafe working conditions are the norm. This is why not only the company but also the Mexican government are going to such lengths to nullify the Han Young workers' victory since independent workers' unions would threaten the "labor peace" sought by foreign corporations, and give the lie to the pretense that "free trade" agreements signal prosperity for the people.

Since the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), we were told, conditions of maquiladora workers have worsened. Their average wage used to be the equivalent of U.S.\$60 per week; now it is \$20 per week. Simultaneously, prices have risen, with a gallon of milk almost tripling in price. "You can half-eat on the wages we earn," one worker said. And many maquiladora workers have second, and even third, jobs.

Asked how they saw the relationship of their struggle to what the Zapatistas had initiated in Chiapas, one young worker replied: "We don't have a direct relationship to them, but we're being affected by the same things. Their revolt started the day NAFTA went into effect. They're concerned about land and the rights of the Native people, who have the most poverty. We have a focus on labor. It's a good thing that happened there. They have



Maquiladora in Nogales, Mexico.

forced a dialogue." A Black woman worker and union organizer from the catfish industry in Mississippi shared with the Mexican workers her own organizing struggles, noting that the company's use of fear and firing was the same as they had recounted. Now the catfish owners were bringing in workers from Mexico to Mississippi to break up solidarity, and they were also threatening to move their operations to Mexico entirely. "That's why us talking here together is so important," she said. "Because if we're organized where we're at, and you're organized over here, then the company can't get away with that. We've all got to be strong, and not lose the concept we're fighting for." —M.L.

Workshop Talks

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This is the tragedy. Just when the labor movement won these two victories, it was dealt a tremendous blow by its own internal contradictions. By the time Carey had stepped down as union president, and then been brought up on internal union charges of stealing \$885,000 from the union treasury to finance his own re-election schemes, it was clear "Mr. Clean" was not so squeaky clean after all. The tragedy is that Teamsters for a Democratic Union, the courageous rank-and-file group that battled for over 20 years to clean up their union and stood up to goons and intimidation, put all their eggs into Ron Carey's basket, becoming little more than a re-election committee for Carey.

CHOOSING CONSULTANTS OVER WORKERS

These rank-and-filers were the ones responsible for Carey's 1991 election, the first democratically elected president of the Teamsters. Yet Carey lost faith in the rank and file, and turned to media consultants and Democratic Party operatives for his re-election, and finally to stealing from those who trusted him to finance a money-laundering scheme that apparently involves the Democratic Party, and goes all the way up to AFL-CIO President Sweeney and Secretary-Treasurer Trumka. Whether or not the government's moves against Carey have some connection to the recent labor victories, the fact is it is Carey's actions which opened the door to the government intervening, and it was Carey who invited the Feds back in to monitor all the union's finances, after five years of being free of such control. The fact of TDU, a genuine rank-and-file reform movement, and labor facing an internal contradiction at the very moment of victory makes it all the harder for labor to see a way forward.

This is much worse than just an attack from outside. Carey was elected as the reformer. His philosophy of unionism has been to organize, such as at Overnite, and to recognize that rank-and-file workers are the best organizers. As opposed to this, Hoffa stands for retrogression—a moving backwards to a kind of unionism based on a powerful labor dictator. His message to workers is sit back, don't organize, I will walk in there and deliver the goods for you. Hoffa was put up to run by corrupt and mob-dominated locals. Yet Carey and Hoffa are not absolute opposites.

If Carey really believed in the rank and file he would not have turned to media consultants instead of to them, much less stolen from them. And while Carey did remove the leaders of some 60 corrupt locals, corrupt locals that supported him were not touched, which is what has

Kaiser one-way partnership

Oakland, Cal.—The California Nurses Association (CNA) staged another 24-hour strike on Nov. 10, virtually shutting down clinic appointments, surgeries, and transferring most in-hospital patient care to other facilities. Many from other unions came out to picket, even though their union officials didn't endorse the strike.

SEIU Local 250 leaders flaunted a "bargaining breakthrough" with Kaiser management's "Letter of Intent," a so-called guarantee of no further take-aways. Yet right in the "Local 250 Bulletin" it says Kaiser's demand for sick leave take-away and benefit changes will be discussed. Local 250's Sal Rosselli told the S.F. Chronicle that "this is a new day for the bargaining relationship—no adversarial bargaining." This non-adversarial bargaining approach was announced simultaneously with a new heightened adversarial relationship with CNA. Rosselli took pride in this pre-negotiations agreement as a sign that the "partnership is real and Kaiser wants to put contract fights behind us..." The same bulletin admits that "in July, Kaiser stated across the CNA bargaining table that the benefit take-aways being demanded from the registered nurses (RNs) were intended for all of the other unions next year." It was CNA's uncompromising approach which led the fight against take-aways.

It has become clear what AFL-CIO President Sweeney's "strategic partnership" with Kaiser management is all about. It is to undermine rank-and-file solidarity. Kaiser is using a divide-and-conquer approach. After a tremendous show of solidarity on April 14 where 96% of all Kaiser workers walked off the job, management knew they couldn't take on such a powerful force—rank-and-file solidarity across jurisdictions. They needed a partner.

Sweeney came through with timely help by announcing the "strategic partnership" immediately after the successful strike. Many Local 250 members had been looking forward to the day when their contract would expire and they could more forcefully join the multi-union fight against Kaiser's restructuring plans. Now Rosselli's pre-negotiated agreement puts the matter to bed a year before bargaining even begins.

Local 250 Shop Stewards Blanch Bebb and Jing Villareyes, in a letter circulated to the rank and file, urged the strongest support for the nurses struggle, decrying that "Local 250 passed out a disgraceful leaflet directing our members to not support the CNA RNs. This treachery on the part of Sal Rosselli hurts all of us." They also exposed Local 250's official lie that the RNs did not support the Local 250 strike in 1986.

Those of us who have worked here since 1986 know all too well that the solidarity created by service workers, nurses, and clericals was betrayed only by our own union officials accepting a two-tier system. Today, we rank-and-filers need to show the firmest solidarity with the nurses whose struggle over quality care questions the very nature of work in this restructuring. —Kaiser rank-and-filer

Carey's choices

enabled Hoffa to spin the Big Lie, presenting himself as an outsider and a reformer. If your local leaders were lousy but they supported Carey, you were just out of luck.

Yet if Carey is a reformer, this mess is less a question of abstract corruption than of where the logic of a kind of philosophy of unionism leads you. Sweeney, with help from Carey, became the "reform" head of the AFL-CIO, and what have they done? They've spent 30 million dollars trying to buy Congress back from the corporations. The victory over "fast track" was bought with three-quarters of a million of union money going to line politicians' pockets. Carey's fall from power shows the limits of their philosophy as labor leaders. They want to play the corporations' and politicians' own dirty game but how can workers win at that? You lay down with dogs you get fleas, and it looks like Carey got the fleas—and a few jumped on Sweeney and Trumka too.

Neither Carey nor Sweeney has ever broken with the AFL-CIO's history of giving only lip service to civil rights for Blacks. I wrote in my last column that a labor movement that ignores and does nothing about a large percentage of American workers being criminalized by both the criminal justice system and the immigration laws cannot be a new beginning. Labor is still in need of a totally new beginning. There are possibilities within the UPS strike victory to build on, but they do not lie in old-style unionism, neither Carey's brand nor Hoffa's.

DANGERS AFTER REFORM VICTORY

The question facing us after this blow to labor coming from within, is how do we ensure that some new bureaucracy does not take over after we win our union or our reform slate gets in? Workers and rank-and-file movements over the years have had too many experiences with this, which the reader could find in the bound volumes of N&L going back to 1955, and even before that in the autobiography of Charles Denby. Or as a freight driver said about Carey, "It's a shame. As soon as they get in, they start to put their hands in the money. And Hoffa's waiting to get in. You got the fox in the chicken coop." This can be very demoralizing.

The alternative N&L holds out is for workers to be armed with a philosophy that understands what labor is under capitalism and what it could be—human self-activity, creative human power that is its own end—in a new society, a philosophy that sees beyond the narrow horizon of bourgeois wealth and getting a piece of the pie to the possibility of a new human society, where labor would be something altogether different. And no one would do our thinking for us.

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Editor (1955-1983)

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

Editor's Note

The 30th anniversary of the death of the Latin American revolutionary Che Guevara has brought forth a series of remembrances of his life and work. We print below Raya Dunayevskaya's In Memoriam to Che, entitled "Che Guevara, Revolutionary," as it appeared in *News & Letters*, November 1967. Dunayevskaya also discussed Che's contributions and limitations in such works as *Philosophy and Revolution* (1973) and *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution* (1985). Footnotes to this text were supplied by the editors.

Che Guevara has joined the ranks of immortal martyrs. What makes his martyrdom unique is that he chose not to remain part of the new state power, although he had been a leader of the successful revolution in Cuba. He gave up his post as head of the economic ministry and embarked anew on the hardships of guerrilla fighting in still another country, Bolivia.

Che's death in Bolivia at the hands of the U.S.-trained-and-led Bolivian Rangers was a case of outright murder. He had been wounded and surrounded by a force of 180, armed with automatic rifles. He was alive. From Quebrado del Yuro, where he had been overwhelmed, he was carried five miles on a stretcher to the town of La Higuera. There the Bolivian army junta was asked what to do with him. Assured of American support, they ordered him shot.

Although Bolivia has no official death penalty, Che was executed within two hours of arrival in La Higuera. Seven bullet holes were clearly visible, including one through the heart, administered after he became a prisoner. His fingers were then cut off to identify his fingerprints, obligingly sent to the Bolivian military by the Argentinean junta. His body, strapped to a helicopter, was then flown to Valle Grande and taken to a Catholic hospital where the body was put on public exhibition.

So afraid was the Bolivian military of even the dead Guevara that, though it is against all custom in Catholic Bolivia, his body was nevertheless cremated. Even that didn't end the macabre ritual. As if that would stop Che from becoming a beacon for all Latin Americans struggling for freedom from their own oligarchy and U.S. imperialism, they then scattered his ashes to the wind.¹

WHEN THE TIME WAS RIPE

In vain are all these frantic efforts to erase the memory of the revolutionary martyr. Pure delusion is the thought that, with his death, the revolt against the exploitative regime has ended. Bolivia has more than doubled its military budget during the Barrientos tyranny.² In view of the fact that Bolivia is at war with no one—that is, no outside enemy, large or small—it is clear that the 17% of the national budget spent on "defense" is spent on arms to fight its own masses. When the time is ripe, the cold-blooded murder of Che will be avenged by the Bolivian masses who will put an end to this oligarchal regime.

The Bolivian masses had once before succeeded in riding themselves of a military junta soon after the end of the world war. But they also found that it is insufficient to succeed "at home" unless they also overthrew U.S. imperialism's iron grip on the country's economy. It is this which Che's fight has highlighted.

To prepare themselves for the uphill struggle on two

The double tragedy of Che Guevara

fronts it becomes necessary to also have a clear head, that is to say, a revolutionary theory, fully integrated with the self-activity of the masses. It is for this reason that we must not blind ourselves to the double tragedy of Guevara's death. Bravely he lived and bravely he died, but he did not do in Bolivia what he had done in Cuba: relate himself to the masses.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION AND GUERRILLA WAR

Guevara's isolation from the mass movement arose from a certain concept of guerrilla warfare as a substitute for social revolution. The impatience with the masses who do not rise at the call of the guerrilla leaders, the disdain for the city, which Castro had called "a cemetery

with theory have been fixed by the cement which is practice."

However, the theory and practice of guerrilla warfare as if that were the only road to revolution led Guevara to disdain other forms of class struggles—from a minor strike to a general strike, from political struggles to theoretical development, including the separation of true Marxism from Communist perversions.

Because Guevara could not separate the one from the other, he became impatient and looked for shortcuts to revolution. Yet he himself did, at certain critical periods, understand that only when the working class and the peasants are united, "the first step toward definite liberation is taken."

SPONTANEITY AND THEORY

This is what the guerrilla fighter forgets when he becomes impatient and wishes to substitute himself for the masses. At those moments, Guevara argued against the statement of Lenin: "Without a revolutionary theory, there is no revolutionary movement."³ Instead he held that "even if theory is not known, the revolution can succeed if historic reality is interpreted correctly and if the forces involved in it are utilized correctly."⁴

But it is not a question of "utilizing" the forces. A revolutionary who appreciated the elemental surge of the masses learns from them because he sees them as reason, not only as mass force and energy. The fatal flaw in the concept of guerrilla war, whether that be the concept of Guevara or Mao or Giap⁵, is that it is taken to be the equivalent of social revolution.

It is impossible, however, to create revolutions from above. They arise from the spontaneous, creative self-activity of the masses. The theoretician who learns this prepares himself for the revolution.

To work out a new relationship of guerrilla fighting to social revolution, of theory to practice, of the class struggles of the factory workers and those of agricultural laborers remains the task. In this way alone can the death of Che Guevara become a

movement toward so total a revolution that it will abolish decadent capitalism and create a totally new, humanist foundation for life and labor and thought—a new society.



Che in Bolivia shortly before his death, in 1967

for revolutionaries and resources," the scorn for theory—all adding up to isolating Guevara from the Bolivian masses at the moment he decided the time was ripe. His tragic death makes it imperative that these facts become widespread because there is no other way to uproot oppression once and for all.

Che himself admitted, in tracing the development of the Cuban revolution, that "The men who arrived in Havana after two years of arduous struggle in the mountains and plains...are not the same men, ideologically, that landed on the beaches of Las Coloradas....Their distrust of the *campesino* has been converted into affection and respect for his virtues; their total ignorance of life in the country has been converted into a knowledge of the need of our *guajiros*: their flirtations with statistics and

1. Contrary to this report at the time, it was later learned that Che's body was buried in a secret grave.

2. Gen. René Ortuno Barrientos seized control of Bolivia in a military coup in 1964, and ruled the country through an oppressive dictatorship until his death in 1969.

3. This phrase is from Lenin's *What is to be Done* (1903)

4. This statement is from Che's *Notes for the Study of the Cuban Revolution* (1961).

5. Vo Nguyen Giap (b. 1912), Vietnamese military and political leader who led the guerrilla war against the French and later the U.S.

Explore Marxist-Humanism's writings on Latin America's unfinished revolutions

"Long before we created the phrase 'trilogy of revolution' with the completion of *Rosa Luxemburg*, *Women's Liberation*, and *Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, we did not fail to give our support critically only, not even if the subject was so great a hero as Che Guevara...The 20th century revolutions, whether of the early 20th century—1905, 1917, 1919—or those of post-World War II, no matter how more relevant to our day, need to be measured against the philosophy of revolution of the founder of all of us—Karl Marx." —Raya Dunayevskaya, "Not by Practice Alone: The Movement from Theory" (1984)

- Writings on the Cuban revolution of 1959-62: "Cuba's Revolution Highlights Mass Unrest in Latin America" (*News & Letters*, February 1959), "The Cuban Revolution: The Year After" (*News & Letters*, December 1960), plus "Preliminary Statement over the Crisis in Cuba" (April 22, 1961) and "Marxist-Humanism vs. the U.S. Blockade of Cuba" (Oct. 25, 1962) in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, microfilm no. 2906 ff.

- Critique of Che Guevara and Regis Debray's *Revolution in the Revolution* in chapter 9 of *Philosophy and Revolution, from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (1973).

- Correspondence with Argentinean Marxist theorist Silvio Frondizi and Peruvian feminists as well as an essay on Latin America's unfinished revolutions, in chapter 20 of *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution* (1985).

- Lecture on "The Philosophic Foundations for the Struggles for Freedom in the Latin American and Afro-Asian Countries" (October 1960), in *Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, microfilm no. 13782.

- Discussion of the Bolivian Revolution of 1952 and the search for a "new sense of objectivity" in today's Latin American revolts, in "Not by Practice Alone: The Movement from Theory" (1984) (see *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism*).

To obtain these and other Marxist-Humanist writings on Latin America, see lit ad, page 7.

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Essay Article

(Continued from page 1)

\$500 a week for as long as the strike lasted, and sent a whole caravan—five truckloads—of food and clothing. The strike didn't last too long after that show of solidarity." Denby would mobilize the same kind of material support and solidarity a decade and a half later, in the midst of the Civil Rights Movement, when he organized the Michigan-Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights to aid Black sharecroppers evicted from white-owned plantations for registering to vote.

NORTH/SOUTH DIALECTIC

In his articles on his home of Lowndes County, Alabama, and the fierce struggle of Black farmers there, Denby never missed the opportunity to make the connection to the struggle against racism in the North, especially on the shop floor. In only a few years, the industrial working class resistance to racism which had for the most part gone unrecognized during the 1960s as the southern Civil Rights Movement took center stage, would emerge full-blown with the radical caucuses of Black workers in the union. Such is the way in which the unity of civil rights and labor for which Denby had agitated for more than a decade finally manifested itself.

A high point of Denby's political efforts in this period was the role he played in initiating and helping to organize a mass solidarity rally at Detroit's Cobo Hall, June 19, 1966 where Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. spoke. Part of the proceeds from the rally went to the Lowndes County tent city to buy land for displaced farmers and their families, and to provide food, clothing, and shelter. Tent cities like the ones in Lowndes County, in Greenville, Mississippi, and on many other civil rights battle fronts spontaneously sprang up, providing the original impetus and inspiration for King's 1968 Poor People's Campaign.

King came again in 1967 to a Detroit Cobo Hall rally from SCLC's Chicago campaign. Chicago was his and SCLC's initial foray into the urban North. Unlike Chicago, however, the focus and strength of Black organized labor in Detroit gave King a new appreciation of the importance of unionization for Black working people. It would influence his decision to participate in his last freedom struggle with the Memphis sanitation workers' strike in the spring of 1968. Taken together, the rural tent cities as the dwelling places of displaced agricultural and domestic workers, the urban battles over segregated schools and housing, the struggles of the Black working poor to organize for better wages and working conditions, and the power of Black organized labor to effect a new kind of solidarity backing and leadership for all these struggles that had been so organic a part of Denby's political consciousness as a Marxist-Humanist for a decade were beginning to emerge in King's social vision at the end of his life.

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION: FROM NEW CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS TO ALIENATED SPIRIT

As the vitality of the '60s Civil Rights Movement waned, its watershed reached with the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. and the ensuing urban rebellions which swept the U.S. in 1968, a new stage of Black labor militancy arose from the point of the production process itself. The years 1967-68 saw continuous mass urban revolts from Newark to Detroit to Chicago. Altogether new forms of organization appeared in 1969 with the spontaneous creation of Black caucuses within industrial trade unions, especially within the UAW. Denby participated in these Black worker organizations, wrote about their developments in the pages of *News & Letters*, and provided space in the newspaper for workers to discuss and debate the issues the caucuses were fighting in the plants and in the union. He also edited one of the many shop newsletters generated by the Black caucuses movement, the *Chrysler Mack Stinger*.

One of the significant actions *News & Letters* reported in 1969 was a Black workers' walkout to commemorate Martin Luther King's birthday one year after his assassination. (See *News & Letters*, February 1969.) Not only was it the first celebration of King's birthday as a working class holiday, the absence of Black workers actually shut down production.

It was a month after the assassination of Martin Luther King that DRUM (Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement) was formed, May 1968, over the summary firing of seven workers (five Black and two white) at the Chrysler Dodge Main plant in the Detroit enclave, Hamtramck. That DRUM was formed a month after King's assassination demonstrated in yet another way what Denby had been articulating for more than a decade regarding the relationship between the labor and civil rights movements in the minds of Black workers.

According to William H. Harris, an historian of Black labor and the scholar who wrote the introduction to the 1989 edition of Denby's autobiography, "After DRUM's success, several other groups of revolutionary black workers sprung up in automobile plants, among them FRUM at Ford and GRUM at General Motors. Later in 1968 these groups, whose leaders shared a pseudo-Marxist-Leninist [i.e., Maoist] view of the world, came together to form the League of Revolutionary Black Workers." Another scholar of Black labor history, Philip Foner, described the social basis of the new militancy that entered the Detroit auto shops at the end of the 1960s. Foner went on to quote at length from the article Denby wrote on the Black caucuses and their demise when he was the editor of the *Chrysler Mack The Stinger*.

The event that began to determine a new manner of writing by Denby, at this time, however, occurred in theory, not practice. The publication of Raya Dunayevskaya's

Charles Denby and the idea of Marxist-Humanism

work *Philosophy and Revolution*, in 1973, had a marked influence on Denby. This is evident in a 1975 "Worker's Journal" column that also served as a lead article, "Black intellectuals probe role of Marxism and American workers" (*News & Letters*, August-September, 1975), in which Denby took up a debate then underway in the intellectual journal, *Black Scholar*, about nationalism, separatism, and Marxism. The Black workers Denby spoke to about the debate dismissed it as remote from the

Indignant Heart A Black Worker's Journal

By Charles Denby

"To some of my fellow workers who have struggled all their lives and are continuing to struggle, I want to take this book and say, 'Look, read this. Here you are.' To those who are beginning to struggle and open their eyes I want to say, 'Here is a book in which you will find some of yourself.'"

—Felix Martin



Charles Denby and Felix Martin (the West Coast labor editor of *News & Letters*) in Detroit in 1976.

To order, see lit ad, page 7

new onslaught against labor capitalism was just beginning to unleash with its restructuring. Denby tied this to the demise of the Black caucuses in the union whose leaders' Maoist brand of Marxism and nationalism, the Reutherite union leadership exploited in order to discredit them in the eyes of Black workers and sympathetic white workers. His article demonstrated the concreteness of the issues of nationalism and Marxism that the intellectuals in the *Black Scholar* debated as abstractions.

Denby understood, painfully, the consequences of the ideological pitfalls that led to the demise of the Black caucuses movement on the threshold of the most far-reaching economic restructuring of capitalist production relations in this century. He understood that the two—the ideological and the economic—were linked. The radical challenge by labor to capital spearheaded by young Black workers calling themselves revolutionaries, and the potential it had to call forth rank-and-file white labor, had so threatened industrial capitalism that it could not possibly have regained its equilibrium without the aid of the union bureaucracy. Once the ideological battle waged by the union leadership against this worker militancy succeeded with the discrediting and defeat of the Black caucuses, capitalist restructuring commenced its great industrial purge of Black labor from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s.

The ensuing mass unemployment of the Black workforce, and the alienation of the succeeding generations of young workers from the labor market, became a major concern of Denby's from the mid-1970s onward. On the one hand, he criticized the abstract discussion about nationalism among Black radical intellectuals, when Black and white workers were preoccupied with the question of forging a new unity to beat back the company purges of Black workers and union concession that paved the way for capitalist restructuring. On the other hand, the growing problem of Black unemployment, which he thought was not really understood by Black intellectuals, was producing a militant spirit among the Black working class, a spirit, however, that was deeply alienated. It bothered him that both this Black militancy and alienation had not developed to the point where it could recognize in Raya Dunayevskaya's, *Philosophy and Revolution*, the philosophical ground for the growth of the movement and his own organization, News and Letters Committees. What grew instead was the desire for more activism and the notion that it alone would bring on the revolution. "It isn't so," Denby explained at an editorial board meeting of *News & Letters*, June 15, 1975. "But we have to know that the unemployed are desperate and they want to upset the whole system, and when they can't have the revolution now, they can become disillusioned unless we make it clear that working out the philosophy is also the way to revolution. We have to find a way to work out philosophy as it relates to our daily lives."

Denby strove tirelessly to have Black working people and intellectuals engage Dunayevskaya's work. As early as 1969, four years before *Philosophy and Revolution* was published, he had convened a "Black-Red Conference" in Detroit of Black workers, activists and intellectuals, along with Marxist-Humanists, to discuss the work-in-progress Dunayevskaya presented on the book at the Conference. For Denby the Conference provided a means to unify thought and action in a way that could even lead to "a committee for the study of philosophy in the revolution." (See "The Black-Red Conference" bulletin, Detroit: *News & Letters*, January 12, 1969, p. 2.) By 1975, the need for philosophy in the movement had become dire in Denby's estimation. The disintegration of the Black caucuses movement, which was not due to any lack of militancy, was proof enough of this. To Denby's way of thinking, "You can't have a movement in the street that you can have in the plant and [it's] nowhere in the plant now."

Something new had appeared with the capitalist restructuring that began in 1974-75 which threw masses

of Black workers into unemployment lines, many permanently. The alienation of the working class had a new face, permanent unemployment, which by the end of the decade would also have a new name: the so-called "underclass." This is what made the political in-fighting among all the intellectual tendencies merely another manifestation of this new condition of Black life and labor. Denby recollected that when such conditions existed back in Depression years of the 1930s, and workers and Black

people talked of revolution, it was the non-revolutionary character of the Communist Party that prevented one from actually occurring. The situation in the 1970s was entirely different, in Denby's view, because when the unemployed "can't have the revolution now, they become disillusioned." Inside the factory, unity among Black and white workers was needed to fight the capitalist restructuring and the union bureaucracy's concessions to the companies that paved the way for it. What made the Black intellectual discussion about nationalist separatism abstract was that it came precisely at the moment that unity was needed among Black and white workers in order to fight the onslaught.

Denby is among the very few writers on race relations in the American society who displayed a persistent grasp of their class contradictions and ambiguities. Never one for taking the latest appear-

ances of the white backlash and retrogression on race matters as the leading characteristic of a historic period, Denby didn't let go of what the Civil Rights and labor movements had achieved, especially in regard to the transformation of social relations and consciousness among working people themselves. For Denby, anything won through arduous struggle and often in blood could not be easily rolled back. So, even as he acknowledged the latest expressions of racial and class oppression, or trade union concessions, he also found expressions of continuing militance, insisting on how fundamentally social relations and consciousness had changed. His favorite expression for this condition of historical ambiguity was the movement's arrival at a "crossroads."

ORIGIN OF TODAY'S BLACK LEADERSHIP CRISIS

Denby teaches us how to look dialectically at social and political developments; how, in other words, to face new retrogressive realities while holding on to, or preserving, the high points created by the movement that the power structure seeks to overturn or negate. "No one can take away from the greatness of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s in Lowndes County and all across the South.... But what we have to see in 1982 is how much more total a revolution is needed to get to freedom. Whenever the movement is not complete, a way is left for the old oppressors to get back in. That is what the white system is doing behind Black faces today. Instead of ruling by KKK terror, they are strangling Black farmers and workers economically." (*News & Letters*, June 1982)

It was after his last trip to the South in 1982 that Denby, alarmed at the unprecedented internal crisis he saw emerging inside the Black community and the racist resurgence against the Black community coming from the outside, made a point of retelling the story of his encounter with Stokely Carmichael over the direction of the movement in Lowndes County in 1965. He explained to a group of young Black leaders in Lowndes County "how SNCC [Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee] came into Lowndes County, and [that] no one there had ever heard of SNCC. They asked me who they should work with, SNCC or SCLC [Southern Christian Leadership Conference], and I supported SNCC as a grass-roots organization. I supported Stokely because he raised the consciousness of the people in so short a time. But I explained why I split from Stokely too.... This was the beginning of the division between leaders and ranks in the freedom movement in this country."

For Denby, in other words, the crisis in Black leadership, in 1982, originated in the high point of the social movement of the '60s over the direction of the struggle and in defining the relationship of leadership and organization to the masses, in the face of state repression. It was only when the persistence of that "division between leaders and ranks in the freedom movement" gained an objective basis in the Reagan era of the 1980s that it assumed the dimensions of the crisis that currently exists.

Meeting these crises in the Black and labor movements in what would be the last months of his life meant rising to the stature of a new level of articulating the meaning of his life and struggles. Only after the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism developed by Raya Dunayevskaya had been rounded out in 1982 with the completion of the third of her major works on Marx's philosophy did Denby express in the most unequivocal terms, not only what his life story had meant, but that its inherent philosophy also represented the perspectives and ground needed to confront the race and class crises of the 1980s.

It is as if he now saw his life, the story of the developing social consciousness of an American Black worker, as the very embodiment of Marx's philosophy of human emancipation. The universality of a historically working-class people is what one feels in Denby's story. What he was reaching for at the end of his life was the expression of that universality in the unequivocal terms of Marx's philosophy of revolution as it spoke to the Black dimension.

THE GLOBAL MARKET AND A WORLD IN CRISIS

I was discussing Andrew Kliman's lead article on globalization with another revolutionary socialist here, who said he found it brilliant but "scary." As the news of the Tokyo crash was just coming in, I had to agree.

**Marxist
Britain**

Four trillion dollars a day are transferred around the world in search of instant profit. Whether it is in currency speculation, looking for higher interest rates, or buying cheap stocks, this incredible amount of money is not invested at all in any kind of productive endeavor, but strictly used for speculation. Sometimes huge amounts of money change location two or three times a day, if there is even a one percentage point more to be made. The recent wild fluctuations in the markets make questionable the definition of "market driven economies." To put the fate of six billion people into the hands of a few currency speculators, multinational corporations, junk bond dealers and the whims of the market is nothing short of criminal.

**Radical thinker
British Columbia**

I was very glad to see your November lead on "Globalized capital in crisis." We need more accurate information about the world economy, but it's hard for the truth to get "marketed," to use their term.

**Anti-sweatshop demonstrator
New York**

The November lead was too much on capital and its problems. Workers are not only in a dilemma. Globalized capital has seen new forms of cross border solidarity emerge. Take the international movement in support of the Han Young workers in Mexico. In the discussion by bourgeois politicians about opposing "fast track" I didn't hear anything about supporting the Han Young workers.

**R.B.
Oakland, Cal.**

The Youth column in the November N&L about Nike made a big impact on me. It made me realize that something as simple as boycotting makes a statement that there are people really serious about this question. We're almost breaking down international barriers by looking at labor conditions halfway across the world as well as here. It speaks to the idea that we are all in this together.

**Teenage activist
Tennessee**

"Fast track" or slow track doesn't make any difference. The real business is done in the negotiations behind the scenes in Paris, on the Multilateral Agreement on Investment, and at the APEC meeting in Vancouver, just as it was done during the FTA, NAFTA and many other agreements. All Clinton and the corporate community were aiming for was the denial of public discussion of what was being worked out.

**Disgusted
Vancouver**

It was a surprise to see that right in the heart of capitalism people like you exist, fighting without compromise. My ideas about U.S. opposition to the Establishment were full of prejudices. I believed that the force of capitalist ideologies couldn't allow your existence. In Italy, too, globalization, repression and intellectual devastation are driving the country on the road of social individualism. We lose all the social and political advances our parents' generation won with their struggles when capitalist global thinking triumphs. I'm really grateful to you for existing.

**New correspondent
Milan**

I heard Jürgen Habermas speak yesterday to an overflow crowd at San Francisco University. It was really depressing. He was taking the measure of the 20th century and singling out 1945 and the victory of the allies as the seminal turning point. He's bemoaning the demise of the welfare state and calling for new transnational institutions

to tame the excesses of the global market the way the post-WWII nation state was able to do. He sees the market, of course, as necessary to insure efficiency.

As one person coming out afterward said, "He doesn't have a clue." Reality has passed these guys by. The postmodernists at least know they need to look again to Marx vs. those who continue to wax on abstractly about modernity, and skip over that little concrete entity, the commodity and its total contradiction. It was a great opportunity for discussion with those coming out and we sold quite a few copies of N&L.

**Marxist-Humanist
Bay Area**

REALITY CHECK IN BRITAIN

There's not a lot to report on non-virtual reality on this island. The state of play reminds me of the part in the Ancient Mariner, where the ship is becalmed and the dead albatross is hanging from your neck. The Left doesn't know what's hit them, in the face of some very strategic thinking from the Blairites, backed up by big business and inspired all the way by Clinton. The Labour government, in excusing its actions/inactions, keeps referring to its "pledge to the people" to keep within "spending limits" — as if those limits were set by the people rather than the Maastricht Treaty of the European Union.

The current stick and carrot approach is illustrated by the attack on social security benefits for lone parents accompanied by a plan to use the national lottery to finance "after-school clubs" in which children will be locked up to do homework while their parents are working. A few years ago working mothers were demonised and now the system is attempting to co-opt feminism to help drive women into low-paid jobs with unsocial hours. The government has been trumpeting the "Wisconsin Experiment," but recent reports say it has now been shown that workfare is more expensive than welfare and of dubious effectiveness in getting women back into the workforce.

**Dave Black
London**



**WELFARE
WARRIORS**

Since Clinton signed welfare over to states' rights, moms all over the country are being forced to drop out of school and are ending up in shelters, or doubling up, or returning to abusers. In Wisconsin three little boys were burned alive while their young mom was away all day at her pretend work for W2. A combination of no heat, a dangerous space heater, inadequate childcare and welfare cuts caused those deaths. We must keep building a movement to stop these violent economic attacks on U.S. moms, children, and low-income workers.

We've made up a beautiful 1998 calendar with 110 photos of mothers, children, and real families to sell for \$7, with proceeds used to help victims of poverty keep hope alive and continue to fight for justice. Please let readers know they can order one from us.

**Welfare Warriors
2711 W. Michigan
Milwaukee, WI 53208**

I think the Village Voice had it right when they looked at all the gifts showered on the McCaugheys, and asked "What if the septuplet affair had happened to a welfare mother?" They were right that she would have been demonized, not valorized. And they were also right to smell a racial issue, pointing to the case of quint, who were the survivors of the first known case of sextuplets, born to an American Black couple, and completely ignored by everyone.

**Sheila
New York**

Readers' Views

When I showed up for an appointment with the welfare office, I found a sign on the door that they were closed. A week later I got a letter saying my benefits were canceled because I didn't show up for my appointment. My case-worker just laughed but she did allow me another appointment so I could plead my case. I told them I need to go to work and wanted to start going to Day Labor but they told me I couldn't because I didn't have a high school diploma and had to sign up for GED classes. Now they're threatening to cancel my benefits if I don't do it. I have to work, I have kids to support. If I sign up for GED, how am I supposed to live? Why are they treating us this way? It's like we are not even human.

**Welfare mother
Chicago**

COLEMAN YOUNG

The death of former Detroit Mayor Coleman Young on Nov. 29 has opened floodgates of historical memory of Young's defiance of Senator Joseph McCarthy's House Un-American Activities Committee in 1952. TV and radio have played lengthy excerpts from the tapes of that committee's hearings which reveal that Young did not simply refuse to incriminate himself but insisted on invoking his First Amendment right to free speech and privacy of his political beliefs.

Detroiters are laughing and cheering as they listen to the tape of Young refusing to let his interrogator off the hook for mispronouncing the word "Negro" as "Nigra," and hear him assert, "You must have me mixed up with a stool pigeon," when asked to inform on others.

Although Mayor Archer was just re-elected, to most Detroiters "the Mayor" is still Coleman Young. Unfortunately, Young's legacy is also that of a Black politician in a capitalist society, who initiated city development projects regardless of their human and social costs. Many praising Young's achievements are at the same time worried that Mayor Archer's development will once again bypass Detroit's Black population.

**Susan Van Gelder
Detroit**

POST-ELECTION FRANCE

I am surprised that "Our Life and Times" has not taken up the French political situation after the May election. The most important aim of the government is a reduction of unemployment. (France has one of the highest rates in Europe.) Two steps taken for this call for attention. One is the introduction of a 35-hour work week with 39 hours paid. This will have to be introduced in big companies, in protracted negotiations between employers, trade unions and government, fixed differently in different industries. Another remarkable step is the creation of government-guaranteed jobs for young people between 18 and 30 years of age. While mostly for one year only, these jobs seem to raise some hope among unemployed youth, and it is widely regarded in France as a political success.

While these measures only help to keep up the capitalist system, not topple it, they show both the "possibilities" as well as "impossibilities" of Socialist governments within this system, and will be worth watching.

**Stephen Steiger
Prague**

THE ISRAELI LEFT

Netanyahu's leadership of the country is in serious jeopardy. But we on the Left cannot rejoice if he falls until we see who replaces him. The medicine could be more toxic than the disease. As he totters, the Left is coalescing against his policies and making its voice heard on behalf of peace. The gathering in Tel Aviv in November, intended to be a memorial for Yitzhak Rabin, turned

into a massive rally on behalf of peace. Those of you abroad may not have blinked to hear that 200,000 Israelis turned out to demonstrate. Consider that this is the equivalent of 8.6 million people going to a demonstration in the U.S. That's a lot of attitude.

At the same time, women here are turning out in greater numbers than ever to make ourselves heard for peace. On Nov. 23, 38 women's peace vigils — most of them new — appeared throughout Israel. Bat Shalom ran an ad in the largest newspaper listing the location of these vigils, with the names of groups that organized them: Bat Shalom, Mothers and Women for Peace, Peace Circles, Religious Women for the Sanctity of Life, TANDI, Women in Black, and Women's Forum for Peace in Haifa. It was an incredible experience.

**Gila Svirsky
Jerusalem**



**WORKERS
LIVES AND
STRUGLES**

In response to the article in the November N&L on an attempt to unionize the American Catfish plant in Itta Bena, Mississippi, I understand the writer's sentiments wholeheartedly. I am a student, originally from Mississippi where I worked in chicken processing. The author makes an excellent point about the attitudes of the owners and the workers alike. The only difference I see now, as opposed to earlier times, in the interaction between the two races is that the racism is still there but not as blatant as before.

Fear of losing their job is the primary reason many workers have had no interest in unionizing. It is well known that if they quit or are fired there will be at least ten people waiting to take their place. Even if it means improved working conditions and treatment, many just don't want to take the risk. It's not like the Delta is the land of opportunity.

**Student
Illinois**

Lately, companies from Kodak to Kimberly Clark have been showing their Christmas spirit by spreading holiday cheer in the form of thousands and thousands of projected layoffs. And all this is in what they call a good, growing economy! What will happen when there's a "downturn"?

**Wondering
Memphis**

The market economy, according to the Supreme Court of California, is more important than human workers. I just read that they let stand a lower court ruling that allowed companies to lay off older workers and keep younger employees to save money. This court action means that throughout the state of California, working people will be bound by this ruling. William Quakenbush, a labor and appellate lawyer, said it will be "devastating for anyone 40 or older if this remains law" because "employers are now going to be free to arrange their restructuring and business decisions around this case." I'd like to add to that a reminder to the 20 year olds that in 20 more they'll be 40 too. I think any worker, mental or manual, who cares about the right to live should help to shut the state of California down.

**Retired worker
Whittier**

The problem of sweatshops discussed in the Youth column on Nike exists right here. When we did a leaflet for Women's Action Coalition it was originally proposed to be on women in Nike's Asian sweatshops. I said we don't have to go that far, it's right here in Memphis and Fayette County. So we made a leaflet that took up both, to distribute at the malls. It is sometimes easier to organize a boycott rather than go out to

a picket line in your own backyard. But people are excited about working with our leaflet.

**Women's Liberationist
Tennessee**

"Di Base" is written by comrades who have different experiences in the working class movement, to try to develop autonomous workers' actions against capitalism. At present we're translating into French and English an article on the last illegal wildcat strike of bus drivers in Rome. We're also writing an article on the UPS workers' strike that includes some of the material in your journal as well as the information found in the IWW web site. The description of the UPS workers everyday life is important to understand the strike. We hope to exchange issues with N&L.

**Di Base
Bologna**

**MORE ON THE MILLION
WOMAN MARCH**

One striking thing in the November N&L was how much the voice of a Black participant in the front page article, "Million Black Women Unite in Philly," is in harmony with the "Woman as Reason" column. In different ways, both stress the grassroots nature, the political demands, and the rejection of male chauvinism in Black men.

**Subscriber
San Diego**

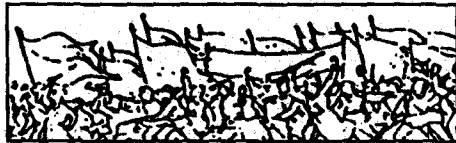
I went to Philadelphia for the Million Woman March and thought it a big improvement on the Million Man March which I also attended. It was very grassroots, the sisters were a lot more working-class. The speakers were better, they really represented our people's interests more.

**Black man
Chicago**

The Million Man March seemed to be all about numbers. The Women's march started from nothing and wound up getting a million women marching together in Philadelphia, but it wasn't

the numbers they were interested in. It was the ideas they wanted to talk about.

**Martinetta
Chicago**



**CELEBRATING THE
RUSSIAN REVOLUTION**

The way N&L celebrated the 80th anniversary of the Russian Revolution is unique. Who else would center it on Lenin's return to Hegel and his philosophic break? Without that, the revolution would never have come to the point of "all power to the soviets." Yet, as Anderson pointed out, post-Marx Marxists' disregard (or worse) of Lenin's philosophic break has contributed greatly to the disorientation of 20th century Marxism.

**Franklin Dmitryev
Memphis**

**THINKING ABOUT
REVOLUTION**

I think about revolution a lot, but parents and the schools don't make it known that revolution is a possibility. It's stifled. The religious Right are the "just say no" people, so if kids want to be rebellious they see drugs as the revolutionary thing to do, instead of doing something productive. People who have a tendency to care about what's going on are the ones who pass out flyers.

**Woman high school student
Memphis**

History shows that when the true revolutionary movements have compromised with statist forces, the state always ends up screwing the rank and file, the people. That is why there is no way out of smashing the state and working for socialism simultaneously. I believe the Mexican Revolution is a good example of what happens when

the revolutionary forces begin to collide with counter-revolutionary statist forces. The Mexican people have been under the boot ever since. Those who believe in reforming capitalism in the meantime have to agree that when the time comes, the state, politicians and capitalism must all be abolished together.

**Prisoner
Texas**

FREE MUMIA

Upwards of 2,000 people packed the Blue Horizon theater in Philadelphia for the International Tribunal in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Dec. 6. This was the presentation of a powerful indictment of the legal system that has condemned Mumia to death for a crime that he did not commit. Those attending the day-long tribunal included everyone from local community people to well-known national and international figures, and represented a very different America that understands Mumia's life as a vital part of its own life and development.

This could also be seen in the tremendous ovation given to freed political prisoner Geronimo ji Jaga Pratt whose release has been a great inspiration to the whole movement for freedom. The extent of that movement could be seen the same day across the country in San Francisco where some 10,000 staged a mass rally in support of Mumia. As the appeals process in his case is going on and his fate is by no means certain, there needs to be a continuing effort to build support for Mumia's freedom. News & Letters will have more on the case next issue. — Gerard Emmett

**WHO SUBSCRIBES TO
N&L?**

I always enjoy hearing from the perspective of the individual, rather than reports filtered through the media. The article about Charles Denby in the November issue prompted me to read

his book, **Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal** which I had bought but never read. It was excellent! Together with my own renewal, I'm enclosing a gift sub and the names of three others I'd like you to send a sample copy of N&L.

**Supporter
North Hollywood**

Thanks for the materials I asked for. As soon as our new payroll goes on the books, I can subscribe to N&L. The donor you found on my behalf could better spend his or her funds on one of the brothers or sisters around the country who may not have funds available. In fact, I will try to donate an extra \$5 for that purpose myself, as soon as I see how my budget looks. I believe that prisoners have to take a stand for themselves if they wish to get the support of advocates in the community-at-large. As a Black man and a long-term prisoner, I believe self-sufficiency begins with education and coming together as people united to conquer a common foe.

**Prisoner
Wisconsin**

I especially appreciate your articles on labor and racism. Yours is always a perspective I can trust. My renewal and a donation to help you continue your work are enclosed.

**Longtime reader
San Francisco**

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Black/Red View Dellums' liberal ups and downs

by John Alan

Last month at a jam-packed press conference in Oakland, Cal., the African-American Congressman Ron Dellums announced that he would resign on Feb. 6, 1998, ending his 27-year tenure on Capitol Hill as the representative from, what conservatives once called, the most "radicalized congressional district in the country."

Both liberal and conservative political commentators have speculated that Dellums' resignation means that the Democratic Party has little hope that it can gain control of Congress in the next election, and Dellums' chance to be the next chairman of the House National Security Committee is nil.

However, Dellums' resignation does offer the current post-Civil Rights Revolution generation of African Americans an opportunity to look at his political journey from a radical/liberal Berkeley city councilman to highly regarded member of the former House Armed Services Committee.

RADICAL BEGINNINGS

Dellums' political journey began in the 1960s with the radicalization of the city of Berkeley by an unparalleled radical student movement at the University of California-Berkeley. Many of those students had gone South to participate in the Black Civil Rights Revolution. Upon returning to Berkeley after experiencing Southern racist brutality, they began to demand their own right to free speech and the end of the war in Vietnam.

The majority of Berkeley's voters supported the spirit of that student rebellion by purging from its city council many of the old-line white conservatives and electing radical/liberals and Blacks to fill their places. Young Ron Dellums was among those radical/liberals. Recently he characterized his political origin by saying: "I came from a generation that said, 'What do we want? Freedom! When do we want it? Now!'"

As a city councilman, Dellums vigorously opposed the U.S. military engagement in Vietnam, supported the U.C. student civil rights activities, and on one momen-

Uncovering toxic racism

Memphis, Tenn.—Adamantly, for the last two years, the criminal regime at the Defense Depot has insisted the toxic chemicals at the federal facility were as safe as the chemicals under everyone's kitchen sink. The white racist officials at the Depot ridiculed Defense Depot Memphis, Tennessee—Concerned Citizens Committee (DDMT-CCC), an environmental justice group, at every opportunity, insisting Blacks in the committee were out to frighten the public.

The toxic contamination at the Defense Depot is so much worse than even the harshest critic of the facility ever thought possible. Luckily, at the unwavering persistence of Doris Bradshaw, the bitter truth is slowly beginning to be revealed. Ms. Bradshaw, president of DDMT-CCC, has insisted from the start that the severity of the contamination has been kept secret.

"It's all a cover-up," Ms. Bradshaw said. "The officials at the Depot have been hiding something. I knew all along it was some radioactive poisonings at the Depot. The building by the cafeteria has radioactive [warning] signs all over it."

Recently, when she got a reply to her inquiries, Ms. Bradshaw's worst fears came true. Not only was the radioactive contamination so bad at one building that it couldn't be used, but the source of the contamination and its container were lost.

How could Depot officials be so dumb? How could they be so sloppy, so reckless in the way they handled dangerous materials and their records?

Evidently, white officials had no regard for Black people in the area. If the area had been populated by white people, the officials would have done a professional job in handling radioactive material and would have kept accurate records of its whereabouts.

Making matters even worse, an official offered Ms. Bradshaw a personal visit to inspect the records. This is ridiculous. All records about the contamination should be located at a public place in the Black community where all Black people can see them.

Always trying to deceive Black people, white officials described the horrible radioactive contamination as low-level. But Blacks don't believe the lies. Showing a total insensitivity to the Black community, the corrupt officials of the Depot instituted plans for economic redevelopment and reuse of the 640-acre site and most of the buildings. Yet the racist cover-up is unraveling.

The horrible results of the tests conducted by government agencies show severe toxic contamination. While officials tried to whitewash the incriminating evidence, the extremely high level of toxic chemicals couldn't be hidden any longer. The levels of the pesticide dieldrin skyrocketed off the slick chart the white officials made to convince Blacks at the monthly Restoration Advisory Board meeting that the Black community was safe from toxic exposure. And just as members of DDMT-CCC have claimed from the beginning, arsenic, lead and other heavy metals greatly exceeded EPA levels for human health and the environment.

Long ago, Federal officials should have told the truth about the toxic contamination at the Defense Depot, then relocated all of the Black residents in the area, plus provided them with a free clinic with experts in treating chemically induced diseases.

—Kenneth Bradshaw, Staff Writer, DDMT-CCC

tous occasion, he chaired a campus meeting for Fannie Lou Hamer. In other words, Dellums quickly established himself as the "movement's" political leader. Indeed, he became so popular among the white radical/liberal voters of the seventh congressional district, that they nominated him as their candidate for Congress in 1970.

At that time the leaders of the Democratic Party thought that Dellums had only a slight chance of winning against a fellow Democrat, a 12-year white liberal incumbent who also opposed the Vietnam war. Dellums denounced his opponent's liberalism as being "expedient liberalism" and won that election and all subsequent elections for the next 27 years.

GROWING ISOLATION FROM MOVEMENT

Brushing aside the platitudes about Dellums' exemplary service in Congress by both Newt Gingrich and President Clinton, it is Dellums himself who has caught the fundamental transformation he went through once he entered Congress when he recently told journalists: "I walked in here [Congress] with a big Afro and bell bottoms ... ready to kick the door down. ... But one thing this institution taught me early on was the lessons of patience and humility. I came here thinking like a sprinter, and then learned this was a marathon."

This political "marathon" which Dellums obviously accepted has been his 27-year focus on trying to reduce the military spending by eliminating unnecessary weapons systems. There is, of course, no indication that his efforts to reduce the military budget have made even a small dent in the ominous military power of the United States. But his concentration on military spending has meant that he had systematically separated himself from the social movements of the 1960s which originally inspired him to go to Congress and "kick down the door."

For a long time Dellums has taken his present constituents for granted. He seldom spends any time in his district and rarely says in public anything about welfare, housing and affirmative action, all issues that his constituents are most concerned with today. His past radicalism, his race and his longevity in office seem to have placed a protective aura around him causing only few to criticize or oppose him.

But his long history as a Congressman, as well as the history of the recently deceased Coleman Young, the former mayor of Detroit, once again reveals the limits of political emancipation for African Americans, namely that politics alone is not enough because the whole economic and political essence of American civilization must be changed from top to bottom and consequently, the whole way of life in America.

Voices From Within Prison Walls

Lives of women prisoners

Marysville, Ohio—With great interest I noticed the two segments which WBNS News Team recently aired on improved living conditions for inmates at the Franklin Pre-Release Center (NEPRC) in Columbus. I drooled when I saw the food being served at that facility because what we are fed here at the Ohio Reformatory for Women (ORW) bears no resemblance to the taste-tempting delights I witnessed on the news-casts.

The burgeoning population stretches the food budget to the maximum. Whatever cottages are called last to eat usually receive only half portions or often nothing at all. For example, last night they ran out of rib patties so only one hamburger, the same weight as one rib patty, was served to the last two cottages. Inmates have little choice but to fill up on bread (which is usually stale), so many are obese.

The food is so poorly prepared and the supply so meager that a black market exists. I recall many evenings when I went to bed hungry and drank Metamucil to quiet my stomach cramps. Vegetables are often cooked to mush: the broccoli is brown, the lima beans are white, and the cauliflower is gray. Needless to say, the nutritional content is virtually nil.

Living conditions in general also cause a great deal of unrest at ORW. We are seriously overcrowded; approximately 1,800 women populate a prison designed for 750! They are in the process of erecting a new building which we have been advised was designed to hold another 500 women. How, we all wonder, will the cafeteria, the laundry, the law library, the yard, the gym, and the chapel accommodate them all! We are always told that some of the old buildings will be demolished, but the new beds are simply filled while these dilapidated structures remain standing and occupied.

There are 96 beds crammed into the basement dormitory where I live. The bed area has only two small windows, so fresh air is a problem. There is no heat in the showers or the toilet-sink room. A scant 36 inches of space is between each bed even though the American Correctional Association requires a minimum of 25 square feet of unencumbered space per person.

Our bed was designed for children. It is approximately 30 inches wide; I cannot sit up on my bunk because my

Moving Blacks off the land

Fayette County, Tenn.—In the 1930s in Fayette County many people got into a financial bind where they lost everything. From the 1930s to now the banks made a practice of loaning money to the poor African-American landowners, and when they weren't able to meet those loans they had the land taken from them. In this area a lot of the land is still owned by poor African Americans. The people who benefited were the banks and local government—people who were in control. This is when a lot of these people became big landowners.

Today local government officials are going back to this same strategy, bringing the value of the land down so that people can't sell it for the price they want. They end up stuck with devalued land.

To bring down the value of the land they are denying people insurance. When they have fires in an area, insurance companies might decide they are going to quit writing policies for that area, but it is illegal to cancel out on customers they've already got. They are doing that here. I called the Property Assessor's Office and found that we're not fire-prone in this area at all.

Now the Property Assessor is saying people's land is worth less than it is. What bothers me is that the land right next to the devalued property is selling for \$17,000 to \$35,000 and it's the same land, just different owners.

We used to have good garbage collection here that was free. But now they're charging us \$8 a week. Many people will not be able to afford that extra bill. We used to get police security patrols. Now, they only come if we call them about a problem.

If you can't get police patrols, fire, housing or car insurance, you are left with the option to stay without benefits and lose everything in a fire, or sell and move out.

We're not being represented by our state representatives the way we should. Lt. Gov. Wilder is not making sure that the people who should get services are getting them.

Our state representatives are aware of what is going on. They are trying to eliminate all our benefits and leave us with one option. It's not only about race; it's also about power and control. They are trying to move all the Blacks out and become all white. I was told that was the goal of the Christian Coalition here. At one of their meetings they were saying that by the year 2000 it would be all Christians in Fayette County and, to them, all Christians are white. They are going back to the strategy of divide and conquer.

—Candace



The Five Inside

head hits the springs above, and I am only 5 feet 6 inches tall. There are five sinks, eight showers (three do not work) and eight toilets (two do not have doors) for all of us! You can imagine the problems this scenario creates. Toilet paper and sanitary napkins are always in short supply and stealing is rampant.

Everything we personally own, aside from bedding, must fit into 2.4 cubic feet of space! This places a tremendous hardship on inmates because we are often cold or faint from the summer heat due to lack of adequate clothing.

Another cause of unrest is the inconsistent rules. They change overnight and vary from one officer to the next. Cottage officers are often demigods who run the place with an iron-fist. Ninety-five percent of the population at ORW are battered women.

Filing grievances is a waste of time because 1) they frequently are not answered, 2) the institutional inspectors only interview the staff and take their word for everything, and 3) retaliation is not uncommon.

All of this is just the tip of the iceberg of why Ohio inmates are upset.

—Woman prisoner

The struggle to be human

Beaumont, Texas—Much of what I know I've learned in prison—to read and write, to think and feel. What I understand about society and life in general I've learned while incarcerated. Most of it is theoretical, since I've had little chance to put my ideas into practice. I grew up incarcerated. From the inside I've learned about human existence outside of myself. Once the world was me; I had no other understanding aside from that.

The first 20 years of my life were lost in delinquency and a drug "limbo." In the past 23 years of my 43 years, I've spent only 7 1/2 outside this steel, concrete and wire jungle.

The walls that inhabit me are a listening post to me. I see and hear those that pass through here, compare what they reveal with what I read and hear from a vast array of media and different types of journalistic and editorial views, and arrive at my facts and determine my philosophical reality.

I am a revolutionist. I believe and fight for change and betterment of myself and for my surroundings, in full consciousness of how it affects others. When I act, I include every person, regardless of race, sex, belief, sexual orientation or financial stature.

I consider myself and many others with me political prisoners, because it was politics that put us here. Laws written by politicians have created an "open season" on anyone not in the mainstream of prefabricated social norms.

—Mario, Latino prisoner

Right wing bares its teeth

(Continued from page 1)

Teamsters for a Democratic Union to New Party, Democratic Socialists of America and ACORN.

The the "specter" of a new McCarthyism, emanating from the worry Big Business interests have exhibited ever since the UPS strike, is no illusion. It is born out by the extent to which the employers' Pacific Maritime Association has lashed out at the international solidarity that recently prevented ships carrying cargo loaded by scabs in Britain from being unloaded in Oakland, Calif. this Fall. The attack the employers launched on the Oakland demonstrators in remembrance of the witch-hunts of the 1950s McCarthy era (See story, page 3).

ALL FORCES OF REVOLT UNDER ATTACK

Most chilling of all in the rise of the Right we are experiencing at this moment is its multi-faceted character as it seeks to silence all potential forces of revolt. While student activism is a far cry from the turbulent days of the 1960s, new student groups have begun to arise, a number of them focused specifically on issues of labor abuses by capitalism. Protests of Nike's exploitation of tens of thousands of Southeast Asian workers have sprung up from the University of North Carolina to Michigan, Notre Dame, Illinois and other campuses. Other protests that have received little media attention but are a measure of the kinds of activities student youth are organizing around today include everything from the protests at the University of Mississippi against white supremacist attempts to bring the Confederate flag back to wave at athletic events, to the public burning of copies of the arch-conservative student paper at Cornell University which carried a vicious cartoon likening a planned parenthood "abortion clinic" with the KKK and the Nazis by asking "which one of these kills more Blacks?"



University of California-Berkeley protest against affirmative action rollbacks.

At the same time, the Center for Campus Organizing (CCO), a five-year-old organization dedicated to supporting social justice activism and alternative journalism on hundreds of college campuses across the country, has just released a 132-page book, **Uncovering the Right on Campus**. The result of four years of research, it is aimed at exposing that, far from the claim that right-wing student movements have grown "naturally" on campuses, they have been backed by millions of dollars in corporate funds in an attempt to control the debate on affirmative action, financial aid, feminism, and gay rights. (The CCO web site for those who want to read excerpts is: <http://www.envirolink.orgs/right>)

The attack on the struggle for freedom has most notably taken the form of an attack on what has been contemptuously dubbed "political correctness." It has been accompanied by an attempt to eliminate ethnic and women's studies from the curriculum and minority student associations from the campus. At the same time that bigotry has been disguised as "science" (as in the publication of **The Bell Curve**), the very concepts of "civil rights" and "feminism" have been twisted and perverted to mean their very opposite. Nowhere has this been more effectively used by the Right, especially in its governmental form, than in the affirmative action struggles that have become a measure of how deep is the racism and misogyny of the land, most notably the way in which no less than 26 other states have in the works bans similar to California's Proposition 209,

which passed last year to ban the use of race or gender in hiring, contracting and college admissions.

More, however, than the enflaming nature of the wording was involved in the recent vote in Houston—where, instead of calling it "preferential treatment" as was done in California, the proposition asked simply whether city-sponsored affirmative action should be banned. Signalling that the battle is not over, voters in Houston rejected the ban, 54% to 46%. At the same time, many who approved the passage of Proposition 209 in California are reported to be having "second thoughts" as they have learned it has already resulted in the exclusion of almost all Blacks and Mexican Americans from the state university's graduate schools. Adding its voice, the Association of American Medical Colleges, in reporting on the four states where affirmative action can no longer be used in higher education admissions (California, Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas) has warned that the drop in minority applications "is an ominous sign for the medical community."

So lethal is the issue, and so surely would the Supreme Court open the floodgates had they ruled against the school board in the recent New Jersey case—in which the board, faced with a decision over which of two teachers with the same seniority to keep, kept the Black teacher to maintain "diversity"—that civil rights groups raised over \$300,000 to pay off the white teacher and keep the Court from being able to establish a precedent with this case. It became a matter

of buying time in a situation in which the supposed "balance" between the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government has become non-existent as all three have been dominated more and more heavily by the Right.

RELIGIOUS RIGHT'S DANGEROUS AGENDA

Along with the new attacks on labor, the Black dimension and youth, has come a heightened backlash against the historic Women's Liberation Movement and the drive to wipe out all its gains—which has been going on with increasing force ever since the Reagan retrogression took center stage in the 1980s. Nowhere has it been expressed more ominously today than in the recent rise of the Promise Keepers (PK). Founded in 1990, the PK have by this year succeeded in recruiting enough new members to count an estimated 2 million followers, with an annual budget of \$117 million.

Preaching that wives should "submit" to their husbands, that gays must become heterosexual, and that Christianity is the only true religion, the PK is by now a lucrative big business operation, selling books, CDs, T-shirts and pins. Most significant of all, the PK has a definitive political agenda. It is being called the "third wave" in the religious Right's political development, with Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority considered the "first wave" and Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition the "second wave." What distinguishes PK from the prior fundamentalist movements, as the Center for Democratic Studies puts it, "is its organizational prowess, theological extremism, and the extent to which it wants to comprehensively restructure America's social order." In this aim, the religious Right stands as one. They kept a lower profile in the Republican Party during the elections last year because they were looking ahead to take over the Republican Party via the "grassroots" in the next election. Meanwhile, they have been gaining ominous "grassroots" influence in school boards, especially in the South.

It is worth noting that the PK has already announced that it is gearing up to hold rallies simultaneously in every state capital in the year 2000.

It is also worth noting that so far only women's and gay groups have been drawing attention to the dangers of this rabid organization.

The rise of the Right today within governmental institutions and in the proliferation of fundamentalist organizations has created an atmosphere in which we are witnessing skinhead violence in Denver, and what could only be called police "storm troopers" massed in a courtroom to intimidate a victim who had lodged a police brutality complaint in Chicago (See story, page 11). It is seen in the rise of open Web hate sites and in an increase in the kind of daily radio broadcasts Oliver North is sending out to 2.5 million listeners, having racked up more than 100 affiliates in a little more than two years.

THE 'SPECTER' OF MARX

It is a rise that makes it urgent to find our way out of this degenerate society because its many forms are making themselves known at the very time capitalism is in a profound economic crisis—which is historically when capitalism has moved toward fascism in its effort to perpetuate its rule. At the same time, the depth of the crisis has moved a number of non-Marxist intellectuals and writers to take a new, long, hard look at Marx again. Even **The New Yorker**, in its special issue looking at the next millennium, sees none other than Karl Marx as the only thinker who, though "he was wrong about Communism," was "right about capitalism" (See "The Return of Karl Marx" by John Cassidy, **The New Yorker**, Oct. 20 & 27).

From the multi-billionaire, George Soros, who warned of "The Capitalist Threat" in **The Atlantic Monthly**, to journalists for the **Chicago Tribune**, who saw, on the 150th anniversary of the **Communist Manifesto**, a todayness in Marx's prediction of "a rising of the haves-nots against the rule of the rich and famous," the picture they paint reveals the "specter of Marx." What must be confronted, however, is its accompaniment by a potential "specter of fascism."

It is what makes important a return to look again at the crackdown on Carey—not only because it is one of so many signs of a resurgent Right today, but because of the importance capital puts on any new developments for labor such as the UPS strike seemed to promise. What needs to be asked is whether the red-baiting of a labor leader like Carey, who, though no saint was a genuine reformer as against the reactionary corporate lawyer Hoffa, will stifle the movement forward just as it was beginning to discover itself.

To answer that question what needs to be confronted is whether "reform" is all that is needed, when the attacks on every single force of revolt show the need for finding the absolute opposite of the exploitative, racist, sexist, heterosexist, class-ridden society we suffer under capitalism. What must also be confronted is that it is not the Left but the bourgeoisie that is discussing Marx. For while the bourgeoisie feels Marx is still alive because they know that "economics" matters, the Left has not only bought the illusion that Marxism is dead, but has no grasp that Marx's Marxism is still on the agenda because for Marx every economic category was a philosophic one that could not be separated from the struggles for freedom, of workers, women and the Black dimension, in all of which he participated in his lifetime.

As we expressed it in our Marxist-Humanist Perspectives this year: "The problem isn't that new struggles aren't emerging. The problem is that because of the lack of a projection of a goal of a new society, the struggles become hemmed in by non-revolutionary tendencies before they even have a chance to breathe.... The crucial point is that to reach their potential a direct encounter with the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism is essential."

That is what **News & Letters** seeks to project as we participate in all the freedom struggles, never separating the mass activities from the activity of thinking.

SECOND NEGATION: NOTES ON THE DAY AFTER THE REVOLUTION by Sam Friedman

As crowds party loudly on glass-glittered sidewalks and dodge around potholes while promenading the Bowery, and offices and sweatshops echo crescendos as workers debate how they should now run them, and what wonders to build with their minds and their hands, I wander alone, alone among revelers, with notebook in hand while I mutter and scribble, jotting elation and jotting my fear.

The TVs in the windows replay the Week of the Wonders—how, after the years of the cynics, when words of revolution led only to mutters of "not in my life time," we began having strikes again in New York and in Jersey; and how, a couple of weeks ago, a boss in a tall box near the river said "girl" to one of the secretaries—and everybody—mailroom clerks, secretaries, truck drivers, even analysts—walked out, but then walked back in again and sent the bosses home.

Then, of course, the mayor called the cops the governor called the National Guard and the President the Army—but everybody had been there, everyone had been called "girl" or "boy" or "Kike" or "Polack" or

something else—like "rookie" or "grunt"—so they called up the cops, and they called the Marines, and they called and they called and they called, but workers and neighbors argued with cops, joked with the Guard, and sang solidarity with the soldiers, and the workers and soldiers beat the few who would not see reason, they all went home—or joined the crowd.

So the American peoples said "Enough! It's all over!" and workers stopped working and crowds seduced armies and only 18 died, across the green globe.

By the flickering light of the Tubes in the windows, I wander through littered streets littered streets built by the defunct civilization that brought us Agent Orange, pet stones, and AIDS for the millions, and I rejoice as I dread and I dread as I rejoice.

And as I wander, I wonder: "What the hell do we do next?"

I mean, after the subtle pleasures—like making the bosses work 4 or 5 months doing some of the real fun jobs, like repairing the tops of blast furnaces or changing the linens in the ICUs; and letting the ex-cops sleep on the park benches

and on the floor of the bus station, so we can cheerily poke them awake, crying, "Time to move on, now," with a big grin and a big stick.

I mean, what the hell do we do next?

The spectre of Uncle Joe hovers over my shoulder, talking of thousands of Communards gunned down by Reaction, and of Rosa and Karl murdered by the goon squads of social democracy, while the memory of the telephone exchange in Barcelona—where Uncle Joe himself "reached out and gouged someone" and throttled the soul of a revolution—dances with dreams of ice picks in my fear-torn, grinning head.

I mean, what the hell do we do next?

Sure, the market's got to go, but what do we replace it with?

How will we get the food grown and have all the candy, bread, and roses we need for the photo-journalists and for our children?

How will we live our meanings, and not just numbers?

How do we unleash the sleeping poetry? the smothered power to create that waits like crabgrass

in the brains and hands of everyone, even in the slit-eyed grimaces of the naysayers who wear red tape instead of suspenders?

Like crabgrass, these five billion poets will shoot forth trillions of pages filled with tripe and doggerel which someone—probably me—will have to read, pages filled with crackpot ideas redolent of disaster, but salvation scattered throughout—if we can find it.

So here I wander, thinking of these Galileos and Miltons we need to create our new world, and the humongous arguments that will fill our ears as they shout forth their insights against each other, and I ponder the monumental mistakes our revolutionary democracy is undoubtedly making even as I rove, wander and scribble through the rubble, the wonders, and the showing salvation as crabgrass pushes aside the arid asphalt of Madison Avenue to seek its sun and in so doing pushes the fears from my heart (but not from my next-day mind) and I walk grinning into the nearest party to join the celebration and raise glass after glass in toasts of global unison with friends in Santos and Grenada, Bangkok and Kampala, Melbourne, Tacoma, Portland, and Detroit.

Editorial

In the latest international crisis over Iraq all parties are claiming victory—all parties, that is, except the Iraqi masses.

We may never know what exactly precipitated Saddam Hussein's Oct. 29 ordering of U.S. inspectors out of Iraq and threatening to shoot down surveillance flights by U.S. planes over Iraq. It could be—as Richard Butler, the Australian chief of the United Nations' weapons inspector team in Iraq claimed—that the UN was on the verge of discovering a major cache of biological and chemical weapons. Perhaps the removal of the inspection team and the shutting off the cameras gave Saddam a brief respite to move around and reshuffle the weapons of mass destruction he still holds.

There is no doubt that Saddam holds such weapons and intends to use them as he has in the past. But so do all the other parties in this deadly game. The papers have been full of features on the threat of biological weapons of terrorism. A gram of anthrax is said to be enough to kill ten million people. Yet last year the U. S. Congress budgeted over \$1 billion for its production. The Russians and French, who are making many business deals with the Iraqi regime, are also actively developing and stockpiling such weapons of mass destruction.

The latest crisis has noticeably strengthened Hussein's hand in his confrontation with the U.S. He was able to drive a wedge into the international coalition of U.S., Russia, Europe, and many Arab governments that wrecked havoc on the Iraqi people during the Gulf War. In part, his success is due to increasing anger in the Arab world over Israeli President Netanyahu's sabotage of the Israeli-Palestinian peace accords. Early in November an

Messages of struggle in East Timor

(Continued from page 1)

Program to control the East Timorese births and the transmigration program which has already resulted in the settlement of 150,000 Indonesians in East Timor. What the Indonesian government wants is to wipe out the East Timorese and repopulate East Timor with Indonesians. Perhaps then they will abide by the UN resolutions and allow for a referendum [on the future of East Timor] in the certainty that they would win.

That is why I must hold your government, the government of United States, also responsible for the death of my countrymen, women, and children. Not only did your government turn a blind eye to the invasion, it also contributed the weaponry and military aid to Indonesia which was used against the people of East Timor. On top of that it also made sure that no UN resolutions in favor of East Timor could be effectively implemented. And what I think is worse is that your government lied to you by omitting these facts through an ever-growing tightly controlled media coverage.

Just yesterday, I was watching your news and it appeared to me that the American public was in favor of bombing Iraq because Iraq did not want to comply with the UN resolutions. Indonesia has not complied with UN resolutions for the last 22 years. Why is it, I ask, that the American public is not surveyed about what should be done in the East Timor case?

I am certainly not asking that America bombs Indonesia out of East Timor. However I do ask that America does, the right thing by the people of East Timor, that is, that America allows us to exercise our right to self-determination through a UN-supervised referendum, in a climate free of fear and intimidation.

Dear friends, only you can influence your government to do that. We, on the other hand, cannot even hold a vigil without having to die as well. I am sorry to say this, but the future of East Timor is really in your hands. I therefore ask that you do something to stop these further killings in East Timor, help us free East

Report from Kosova: students fight for schools

San Francisco—I work with an organization called Peaceworkers. I just came back from Kosova. Kosova was an autonomous province in former Yugoslavia, bordering Macedonia and Albania. The population in Kosova is about 90% Albanian, but all the political, economic, military and police power is in the hands of the Belgrade Serbian regime. Many people liken the situation of the Albanian people there to the situation the Jews faced in Nazi Germany.

Back in 1990, the 1974 constitution of Kosova which granted it autonomy was abolished. About 80 to 90% of the Albanian people were fired from their jobs. All the schools and universities were closed to the Albanians. The health centers were no longer open to the Albanian people. Many Albanians were drafted into the army to fight in Bosnia. As a result of that, over 100,000 young men left the country. Over 80% of the people are unemployed now. The response has been not to cooperate with the oppressive regime.

There are alternative schools, an alternative university. They meet in private homes. Professors sometimes just get paid from voluntary contributions. The same is true for the hundreds of thousands of young people in school from kindergarten to the twelfth grade. Sometimes the government comes in and arrests and sometimes kills teachers and professors for illegally teaching people. In addition, there is a whole network of

economic conference sponsored by the United States in Qatar and attended by Madeleine Albright was nearly boycotted by all Arab governments.

Russia as a permanent member of the UN Security Council took the initiative in resolving the crisis. Russian Foreign Minister Primakov negotiated an agreement with Hussein and pushed it through by demanding that security council members gather in Geneva at a 2 a.m. meeting. Many are wondering if there were secret agreements signed with Saddam.

Elaine Sciolino in the *New York Times* (Nov. 21) believed that the events of the previous few weeks meant U.S. policy has now shifted to allow Saddam to remain in power and eventually allow the sanctions to be lifted. Hussein was able to bring the issue of the sanctions into the international spotlight and get the backing of Russia, France and other UN Security Council members to spell out what it will take to lift them. Russia has already asked that the UN declare Iraq in compliance with two provisions of the disarmament requirements dealing with long range missiles and nuclear weapons.

Exactly what are the sanctions on Iraq intended to accomplish? Is inflicting pain on the Iraqi people different than the sacrifices that Hussein has exacted from them in the present and the past? The blockade has caused massive death and suffering for want of food and medicine. There are estimates that a million people have perished in the aftermath of the Gulf War due to its effects. Even the Iraqi National Congress, a major opposition force, has had to distance itself with the way the sanctions purposely target the Iraqi people without having any detrimental effect on the grip of Saddam Hussein.

Timor, so that those for whom we are here today have not really died in vain. —Nina Maria da Costa

Please know that the level of repression remains severe in Dili and throughout East Timor. Between June and mid-September, there have been 167 arbitrary arrests, 26 known incidents of torture and at least five disappearances documented by high-level church sources. The people live in an atmosphere of fear, but continue to exhibit an astounding level of courage. Kopassus and other militant units are visible everywhere. Your presence at the consulate today means more to the people of East Timor (and the Timorese in exile!) than you can possibly know. I have shared your presence with many. There will have been commemorations in Jakarta and Dili by this time today as well as around the world. Thank you so very much.

—Unsigned



Chicago—Participants from three states gathered here on Nov. 14 to demand an end to U.S. military aid for the Suharto regime in Indonesia which invaded East Timor in 1975 and has met all aspirations for freedom with bloodshed. In front of the Indonesian consulate, activists read aloud the 271 names of those mowed down by occupying soldiers on Nov. 12, 1991.

alternative medical centers because all the doctors and nurses were fired from their jobs.

I was there for three weeks in September and two weeks in October. The students said we are going to begin acting non-violently to get our university buildings back and have the right for everyone—Albanian, Serbian, Turkish—to attend the university and learn in their own language.

On Oct. 1 there was a demonstration of 20,000 students. This was the most disciplined non-violent demonstration I've ever been in. Everyone was dressed in white with the emblem of the alternative university so no outsiders could disrupt things. They were totally silent. There were 80,000 people who lined the march route.

At the end of an hour the soldiers started rushing the students and firing tear gas into the crowd. The students tried to sit down. The leaders, including the rector of the university, were badly beaten up. Everybody else got tear gassed so badly they had to retreat. The students were some of the most courageous people I've ever met.

They are determined that somehow they are going to open their university. They are going to continue to demonstrate both to try to pressure their government but also to try to awaken the consciousness of the international community to put pressure on the government.

—David Hartsough

Masses suffer in crisis over Iraq

One of the primary goals of U.S. policy has consistently been to keep the presently constituted Iraqi state intact. This they have accomplished by at times maintaining Hussein in power and at times distancing themselves from him and calling for his eventual overthrow.

No sooner did the U.S. fight Hussein in the Gulf War than it refused to support the Kurds, Shi'ites and Marsh Arabs who rose in revolt against him. Then as now, U.S. threats to use military force against Hussein are less important than its determination to prevent any independent and revolutionary movement from coming to power in Iraq. The points of affinity are much too great for the rulers to consider that something deeper is needed to dislodge the murderous course of the Iraqi regime.

The checkered history of the Iraqi opposition forces and most specifically last year's outright alliance between the Kurdish leader Barzani and Hussein who has orchestrated campaigns of genocide against the Kurdish population, have done much to undermine the development of a principled opposition movement from within Iraq. Yet this does not mean the overthrow of Hussein can be entrusted to the designs of the U.S. In fact, much of the U.S.'s recent backing-off from a direct attack on Hussein may be due to its fear of growing mass unrest in the region, especially in Iran.

Seismic changes are happening inside Iran that have a bearing on the recent developments. Important to watch is the diversity and virulence of the attacks coming from within the supporters of the regime itself upon the powers and legitimacy of the office of the Supreme Religious Guide. Iran is in the midst of a profound political and social crisis threatening the foundations of the Islamic Republican regime.

In response to this, Hussein has been sending not-so-subtle messages that he hopes "to keep Iran at bay and Iraq's reputation high." Is the U.S. now toying with letting Hussein hang on so as to ensure "stability" against such "disturbances" from below?

Continuing unrest in Iran

The eighth conference of leaders of Islamic nations, which took place in Tehran for the first time, Dec. 9-11, has stirred much commentary about whether the Iranian government is breaking through its isolation to exert itself as a major power in the region. The conference included representatives from long-time enemy governments, namely Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Egypt. The government spent \$80 million to host the event and, in an unprecedented act, closed down Tehran—a city of 12 million—for the entire duration of the conference.

Whether the Iranian government does emerge stronger as a result of the conference remains to be seen. What needs to be examined are the volatile developments within Iran.

The Islamic Republic is still shaking from the June 1997 Iranian presidential elections in which 22 million people (70% of the electorate) voted against the candidate backed by the Supreme Religious Guardian, Khamenei, and for Mohammad Khatami. The nature and powers of the post of "Supreme Religious Guardian" are being questioned by factions of the Islamic Republican Party (IRP).

On Oct. 20, the chairman of the Union of Islamic Students (UIS) addressed over 2,000 student members in front of Tehran University to call for making changes in the constitution in order to make the post of "Supreme Religious Guardian" a popularly elected post with term limits, and not a lifetime position chosen by the clergy. In November, the offices of the UIS were attacked and several of their members were beaten and arrested.

On Nov. 10, Ayatollah Ghomi, a prominent Mullah from Qum, the theocracy's ideological headquarters, and a former prosecutor who had ordered the execution of hundreds of opponents of the regime, published a 34-page open letter to President Khatami. He suggested replacing "Supreme Religious Guidance" with guidance which gives priority to civil laws and not the laws of the Sharia (Islamic religious laws). Following the publication of this letter and a subsequent letter from him to the ministry of information and security, Ghomi's home was attacked by Khamenei supporters and he was expelled from his teaching position.

Even more significant was the speech delivered by Ayatollah Montazeri on Nov. 14. Montazeri was considered a successor to Khomeini up until 1989 when he fell from grace. In his speech he admonished Khamenei, the Supreme Religious Guardian, for ruling the country like a king and not sharing power with the president. He called on Khamenei to limit his post to enforcing religious laws. Soon after, a demonstration of over 2,000 opponents of his views was organized in front of his house. He was attacked and arrested.

On Nov. 15, Hezbollah goons cancelled a speech by the Islamic thinker Soroosh, who used to be part of the Khomeini government but now advocates a non-monolithic interpretation of Islam. He recently declared his opposition to the post of Supreme Religious Guardian.

There have been reports of unrest in 15 Iranian cities. Deep anger and frustration within the Iranian population was revealed earlier in December when hundreds of thousands used the occasion of the Iranian soccer team's victory to pour into the streets and dance. The faction fights among the clergy reveal a much deeper dissatisfaction within the Iranian population. —Sheila Fuller

Youth

by Kevin Michaels

Anarchism as a current of radicalism has maintained a presence since at least Marx's time. It continues to exist today in a fairly wide variety of forms and draws some toward it because of the scarcity of thoroughgoing challenges to the alienating reality that confronts us under capitalism.

Marx himself critiqued many of the figures now recognized as the progenitors of anarchism, Max Stirner and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon among them. But it was for the Russian radical Mikhail Bakunin that Marx reserved an especially penetrating criticism. Bakunin had a long career as a revolutionary, first as a proponent of a radical pan-Slavic nationalism and then as a champion of, at least in public, individual liberty. Bakunin was an extremely contradictory figure who criticized Marx's leadership in the first International as authoritarian while at the same time he maintained a number of secret societies within the International with the aim of gaining its control.

Marx's struggle against Bakunin within the International is the most widely known of their conflicts. Marx did not limit his opposition to Bakunin to the realm of practice, however, and one fascinating window on to his theoretical opposition is provided in his conspectus of Bakunin's 1873 book *Statehood and Anarchy*.

Holocaust denial survives in France

DeKalb, Ill.—Although Maurice Papon finally made his way into the French courtroom, there are many more war wounds which need to be confronted, among them the situation at Studhof, the only former Nazi death camp in France. Many people across the world do not even know that France had a death camp.

The train comes into a small town in a valley outside of Strasbourg. The camp itself is on top of a mountain. An arduous hike up the mountain road is required, giving enough time for one to ponder the atrocities of the war, to struggle with history, past and present. To think that I am walking on the footsteps of the once doomed. The sky seemed to be struggling alongside me, sunshine one minute, reflecting my pride of being a Jew; rain the next, so easily covering up the sun. Don't be too optimistic, do not forget the darker side of the past or possible future.

The long anticipated moment arrives and approaching the camp one can see two buildings, one the former gas chambers, the other seems to have been used for administration purposes. The latter has been converted into an outdoor café with front row seats facing the gas chambers. Enjoy the view and *bon appetit!*

Another kilometer down the road loom the barbed wire fences with their grotesque enticement. This is it; what has only been words and images is now palpable. I enter and see that the actual camp area is small. There is beautiful mountainous scenery on one side. This view was seen by many people in the camp, only with gridlines on it, those lines made by the bars of the fence. The scenery on the other side of the camp consists of a cemetery of rows and rows of white crosses. Here lie the fallen French Resistance fighters who liberated the camp.

This is not the only memorial to the Resistance. Where each barrack once stood is its concrete rectangular base, each with a plaque to the Resistance. In the building where medical experiments were conducted on human beings, there are several rooms with the wide hard white operating tables. I knew what these tables were. I had seen pictures in books and films. Otherwise I would have not known; there was no information. The only thing to read was a plaque near the gas oven also in this building. It too commemorates only the Resistance, not those who were more intimate with the interior of the ovens.

The only other standing building was converted into a small museum. It contains some pictures and general descriptions of the war. There is relatively little said about that particular camp, only that 80% of the prisoners had been Polish. Obviously, much is left off of paper and out of mind.

The paucity of explanation, however, is not due to the fact that discourse is no longer necessary due to the widespread knowledge of the French of the role of their country and the Vichy government during the war.

This point was strikingly illustrated by an elderly French couple who had just finished their tour of the museum. Feet and mind being devastated, the couple gave me a ride back down the mountain. The woman (approximately 70 years of age) asked me what my impression of the camp was. Very cautiously I answered that I was a bit disappointed. "Oh yes," she said. She too was disappointed, she thought the camp would have been dirtier (*plus sale*), as it had been in its original state. She seemed to have no conception that her conception of *sale* was too clean, that the true state of the camp was one of disease-ridden squalor and as such could not exist as a tourist site today.

A quick dismissal of this thought, she turned to her husband and asked: "Why do you think this happened? Do you think they were concerned with overpopulation?" I wonder about the denial the French are still facing.

— O. L.

This is a response to the *News & Letters* editorial last month, "The Papon trial and French fascism."

Marx and Bakunin, then and now

Marx, a tireless scholar, often critiqued ideas by copying out passages from books into notebooks, adding his own specific objections. He subjected Bakunin's work to just such a critique in 1874-75, at a time when he was undertaking a serious rethinking of his attitude towards Europe's peasantry and the prospects of revolution in non-capitalist countries like Russia, Bakunin's home. This rarely commented-on document from Marx's archives gives us some valuable insights into his thought of this period.

Two of Marx's specific critiques of Bakunin are evident in the conspectus: their differing attitudes toward the peasantry as a revolutionary force; and the nature of the political phase after a successful revolution, what Marx called the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Bakunin had long been a proponent of the Russian peasantry as a revolutionary force untouched by the corrupting influence of modernity. In *Statehood and Anarchy* he represents Marx's attitude toward the peasants as completely negative, stating that in the Marxian view, after the revolution the peasants, "being on a lower level of culture, will probably be governed by the urban and factory proletariat." Marx, recalling well the fatal isolation of the Parisian workers of the Commune, objects to this, writing that "the proletariat... must, as the government, take steps as a result of which the situation of the peasantry will directly improve and which will bring him over to the side of the revolution."

Later, Marx acidly comments "A fine idea, that the rule of the workers includes the enslavement of agricultural labor!" We see here evidence of that development which finds expression in the introduction to the 1882 Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, in which Marx stated that the masses of a backward country like Russia can, in alliance with industrial workers of a capitalist one, begin on the road to a new society.

Bakunin goes on to take issue with Marx's description of the necessity for a transitional phase of society after the bourgeoisie has been removed from power. "What does it mean," he asks "for the proletariat to be 'organized as the ruling class?'" Bakunin implies that Marx is advo-

cating a new dictatorial form of rule in the wake of a revolution. In reply, Marx states that any use of force on the part of the victorious proletariat has but one end: "it can only use such economic means as abolish its own character as wage worker, hence as a class; so its complete victory coincides with the end of its domination, for its class character comes to an end." Marx sums up his rejoinder to Bakunin's line of argument thus: "when class domination ends, there will be no state in the present political sense of the word."

Bakunin died in 1876. None of the tiny revolutionary groups he formed outlived him, but they did succeed in introducing anarchism as an idea into Italy and Spain. It shows how much respect Marx had for the power of ideas that he took Bakunin seriously, as a theoretical, as well as an organizational foe. A study of Marx's conspectus shows this seriousness and, in addition, tells us some valuable things about Marx's thought as well. Even though it is sometimes difficult to see the influence of Bakunin on the anarchism of today, this document from Marx's archives is well worth studying to achieve a critical grasp of its roots.

Memphis gay student faces harassment

Memphis, Tenn.—I'm with a group called Memphis Area Gay Youth and we asked our principal if we could start a group at school. I know about 60 or 70 gay students. We didn't want to start just a gay group, but a group that discusses those matters, race relations, and anything. Our principal said our school wasn't ready for this. But they have maybe nine religious organizations at our school.

My first year in public high school was in the tenth grade. I went to Catholic high school before that and switched because I couldn't deal with being told I was going to hell. I thought public school would be better. But the first week at Houston High School I was accused of sexual harassment. The social worker told me that three people accused me of sexual harassment. I said, "Who are these people and what did they say?" They wouldn't tell me who they were.

Three months into the school year I was beat up after lunch. These people kicked and punched me and I didn't know who they were. I went back to class after being beat up and my teacher asked what was wrong because she could see that I was in pain. The teacher sent me to the office. The principal had a big Bible sitting on the desk. I thought, "Isn't this wonderful, this is my first time dealing with this guy." He said he couldn't help me if I didn't know who beat me up.

He wouldn't give me a yearbook so I could pick them out. He said, it wasn't fair, I might pick out the wrong person. We had to get a lawyer to deal with it.

Now if anyone says anything to me, I try to give them a second chance. But if I tell, they will expel them. I get harassed on a daily basis.

—J.

Fundamentalism pervades schools

"R" and "K" are two Memphis High School girls who met with *News & Letters* to expose conditions in public, home and private schools.

R. At Overton public high school, there are WWJD bracelets everywhere. It stands for "What Would Jesus Do." It's supposed to be religious, but it's an industry. There's a WWJD booth at the mall, a WWJD videotape, CDs and cassettes.

They have a "First Priority Club" (FPC). They don't say anything about the fact that it's a Christian club. They have flyers all over school that don't have crosses on them or Jesus. They just say: "Come to the FPC meeting." Everything is undertones. No one says anything outright. It's scary.

If you want to pass out a zine or something, you have to be really careful; but if the Christians want to pass their stuff out they don't even have to get permission. If you want to start any other kind of club, you have to get a sponsor, get a petition with so many people to sign it, and there are not enough people at school who would care to support it.

I went to a Christian school before I went to Overton and that wasn't anything like this. A lot of the reason I left was because it was a religious school. They actually have a position written down about their stand on abortion and everything. That really bothered me, so I went to a public school instead. But it's worse there. Then I went to Gateway (home schooling program run by Baptists) and that was the worst of all.

K. Gateway is a joke. When I went there in the 7th grade, they gave me a packet to do, which was "disproving" the theory of evolution. It was about how there was a conspiracy, how there was no such thing as dinosaurs. I didn't want to do it. I had to do it to pass the class. So I had to end up writing all this stuff I didn't believe.

R. Wherever you go, there's no place you can escape it. I've always seen past the stuff my parents have taught me, ever since I was really little. Going to school is a place where you're supposed to learn, not be brainwashed.

—Women high school students

'Whole barrel's rotten': fight police brutality



Chicago—The sound of the protesters' chants rang through the cold, rainy morning. "The whole barrel's rotten" could be heard all along Michigan Avenue. Hundreds upon hundreds of people gathered at Roosevelt and Michigan and marched to the courthouse at 1440 S. Michigan on Dec. 3 to protest the prosecution of police brutality victim Jeremiah Mearday.

I attended the rally with two of my classmates from Prologue Alternative High School. Because I found out about this on such short notice, only three of us were able to attend. At a rally against police brutality on Oct. 22, however, almost our entire school attended. This is because nearly everyone, if not everyone, at Prologue has been affected by some sort of police brutality or harassment. "The whole barrel's rotten" means that there isn't a single Chicago police officer that hasn't brutalized or harassed somebody.

I was amazed that so many adults were at the rally. Every teenager in Chicago knows that the police are not just about serving and protecting. Besides my classmates and me, there was only a handful of youth at the rally. Maybe adults are finally realizing that having a badge and a gun does not make a person good.

Mearday was beaten by Chicago police officers a few months back. Although the police who beat him have been suspended and may be fired, Mearday is still being charged with resisting arrest.

At Mearday's first hearing, almost 200 police officers stood up and glared at him in a silent display of intimidation. At this hearing hundreds of people stared at the police and chanted, "Racist cops, you can't hide; we charge you with genocide" in an extremely loud display of intimidation.

The state's attorney, however, is still pressing charges against Mearday. There will be another protest on his next court date, Jan. 1, at 8:15 a.m. If we continue to protest, eventually the charges will be dropped. Please join in the fight against police brutality.

—Charles

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

The economic crisis of East Asia, previously confined to the less developed nations of Southeast Asia, spread last month to Japan and South Korea, the world's second and eleventh largest economies.

After considerable resistance, South Korea has appealed to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for emergency loans in exchange for austerity measures—including higher taxes and lower social spending—intended to guarantee repayment of debt. It is the first advanced country to be forced into this position, and its loan request of \$55 billion or more is the largest ever.

Seven of South Korea's giant conglomerates have collapsed this year, another is failing, one has been nationalized, and many more collapses are expected. Together with a sharply declining currency, which makes foreign

Behind terror in Egypt

The terrorist attack by Islamic fundamentalists in Luxor, Egypt, which left 70 Western tourists dead, was the most violent yet. The terrorists of the so-called Islamic group—whose acknowledged spiritual leader, Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, sits in a U.S. jail after having ordered the 1993 World Trade Center bombing—have targeted not only tourists and the government, but also leftists, feminists, secular intellectuals, and non-Muslim minorities such as the Coptic Christians.

Rather than a sign of strength, however, the Luxor attack, for all its military precision, may show a movement in decline, one flailing out in desperation as its popular support wanes. In Algeria and Iran as well, disillusionment with fundamentalist Islam has been growing.

At the forefront of the struggle against fundamentalism have been secular, left and feminist intellectuals, who brave daily murderous attacks, but lack the bodyguards who surround government officials.

Earlier this year, a group of Egyptian writers around the journal *Akhbar al Adab (Literary News)* made available, for the first time in many years, an inexpensive but unabridged edition of *A Thousand and One Nights*, a classic of Arab literature. The country's big commercial publishers, all of them financially dominated by investors from Saudi Arabia or other reactionary oil sheikdoms, had refused to print this work which fundamentalists have dubbed offensive to Islam. The Egyptian public showed where it stood on the question when the entire edition sold out in one week.

Chinese prisoner released

The release of longtime political prisoner Wei Jingsheng by the Chinese government will alleviate the physical suffering of one person, but it does nothing for the thousands of other political detainees languishing in prisons and labor camps. Among those still jailed are Wang Dan, a prominent student leader during the 1989 democracy movement.

Wei Jingsheng's activism began in April 1976 when he joined mass demonstrations challenging Mao's rule just before the latter's death. Then in 1978, as the newly ascendant Deng Xiaoping briefly allowed a Democracy Wall to be established in Beijing, Wei first came to prominence as he bluntly demanded immediate democracy in China.

In early 1979 Wei dared, in an interview with Western journalists, to criticize Deng's imperialist invasion of Vietnam. During that invasion, Deng publicly stated that he was going to "teach a lesson" to China's smaller neighbor for having invaded Cambodia to overturn China's ally, the genocidal Pol Pot. Wei received an incredibly harsh 15-year prison sentence, effectively putting an end to Democracy Wall.

The vortex of the world market

debt more expensive to repay, and a contraction of foreign lending, the bankruptcies have put the country's banking system in severe danger of breakdown.

Coming during a presidential election campaign, the appeal for IMF aid is acutely embarrassing to the ruling party. Longtime oppositionist and democrat Kim Dae Jung, though openly opposed by the conglomerates, is

now favored to win the Dec. 18 election.

Both IMF-imposed austerity measures and restructuring of the conglomerates are expected to cause massive layoffs, but South Korean unions have threatened major strikes to protect jobs and wages, and demonstrations have already begun. The Korean Confederation of Trade Unions has vowed to do "whatever it takes to fight against foreign interference in the Korean economy."

Japan has been forced to allow four large banks and brokerage houses to fail in the past month. Among them was Yamaichi Securities which will be laying off 7,000 workers. It is the largest Japanese company to fail since World War II. The bank deposit insurance system is broke, and the government may require as much as \$80 billion to rescue it.

This, however, is only the tip of the iceberg. The drying up of cheap credit in the wake of the region's crisis, together with defaults on loans extended in Southeast Asia and a continued drop in stock prices, could cause up to one-third of Japan's financial institutions to fail. A government rescue of the system could cost as much as \$500 billion.

Nor is the malaise in Japan's economy limited to its financial sector. Unemployment is at a post-World War II high. The nation's Gross Domestic Product, stagnant throughout most of the decade, fell sharply in the second quarter of this year, and industrial production, housing starts, and retail sales all fell in October. Weak demand for its products, both at home and in its Southeast Asian markets, will make it difficult for Japan to rebound without stepping up its exports to the U.S., but U.S. officials, including President Clinton, have sternly warned it not to do so.

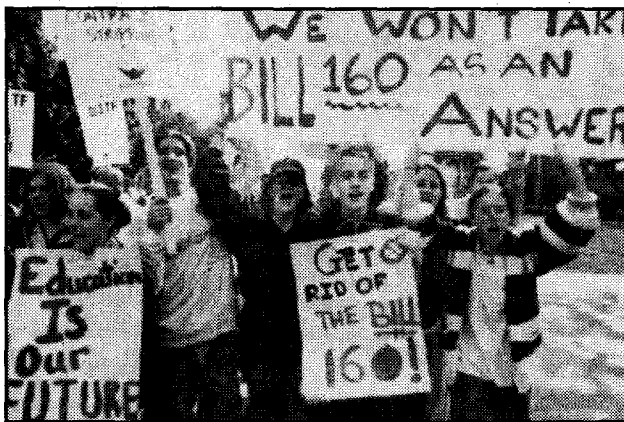
The crisis shows signs of spreading wider still. Both Russia and China have started to suffer from declining foreign investment, as escalating fear causes capital to flee from the "emerging markets" as a whole. The first sign that the crisis may spread to the United States is the recent report that this country's trade deficit with the Asian "tigers" doubled in September, due to a steep drop in their demand for imports. —Andrew Kliman

Canadian strikes end

Leaders of Ontario's teachers unions decided to end the two-week long teachers' strike and return to work Nov. 10. Despite the militancy of the teachers and widespread support for the strike, it became clear that Premier Mike Harris and his Progressive Conservative government were not going to retreat or renegotiate any elements in the draconian education legislation in Bill 160.

Its measures will give the provincial government sweeping control over education including the right to set class sizes and teacher classroom time. Harris has stated that the main purpose of Bill 160 is to cut at least \$700 million (Canadian) from the education budget, and eliminate up to 10,000 jobs.

An estimated 15,000 teachers and supporters from across Ontario rallied in Toronto on Nov. 6, only days before the strike was called off. Many teachers reportedly were angered about the decision to go back to work, with



Windsor high school students protest Bill 160 cutbacks.

the passage of Bill 160 inevitable. Union leaders have vowed their intention to carry on the fight against the Harris government through constitutional challenges to Bill 160.

On another labor front, 45,000 Canadian postal workers were forced to end their two-week strike, Dec. 4, after the Liberal government passed legislation with severe penalties (up to half a million dollars per day in fines) against the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) had the strike continued. The legislation, Bill C-24, was a direct result of collusion between the Canadian Direct Marketing Association and the Liberal Party government.

Postal workers went on strike for wage increases, an end to temporary jobs and overtime, and a halt to work rule changes eliminating up to 4,000 jobs. They are defending the service mandate of Canada Post, which requires mail operations to cover its own expenses, not make a profit for the government. In that spirit, CUPW volunteers delivered Old Age Security and other social assistance checks during the strike.

The CUPW said, "Postal workers will resist Bill C-24. We will return to work by taking our struggle into the workplace...Due to the heavy workload that we foresee upon our return, it is safe to say that we will not have time to check postage on the general public's mail. Besides, why shouldn't the general public get the same low rates as the large volume mailers...especially during this holiday season."

Czech Republic scandals

The resignation of Czech Republic Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus in a corruption scandal signals the end of an illusion. Ever since 1989, symbolized to the world by its large ceremonial President, the liberal writer Vaclav Havel, the Czech Republic has been touted in the West as a shining example of democracy and civil society, and of the claim that the end of Communism also meant the end of Marx's revolutionary humanist vision.

In reality, Havel's fine phrases have gilded a more unpleasant reality—one of Klaus's austerity economics from above, and of ethnic chauvinism toward Slovakia and toward the country's largest minority, the 200,000 or more Roma (Gypsies). Disillusioned by persistent racism, which has included 1,250 attacks and 10 racist murders since 1990, thousands of Roma have sought political asylum abroad, in Canada, Britain, and elsewhere. Then, in November, an African student was stabbed to death by skinheads.

Also in November, up to 100,000 workers demonstrated in the streets of Prague in the largest outpouring since the democracy demonstrations of 1989 which toppled Communism. They came out to protest rising unemployment, wages losing ground to inflation, and drastic cuts in unemployment benefits. The crowd booed when top union leader Richard Falbr stated that the demonstration was not directed against the regime.

Many people are also outraged by the decision to close the largest maternity hospital in Prague, especially given rumors that Klaus planned to allow a casino or an expensive hotel to be built on the site. This has led to angry demonstrations by women.

NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES

Who We Are And What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees is an organization of Marxist-Humanists that since its birth has stood for the abolition of capitalism, both in its private property form as in the U.S., and its state property form, as it has historically appeared in state-capitalist regimes calling themselves Communist as in Russia and 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.

Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-1987), 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.

This body of ideas challenges all those desiring freedom to transcend the limitations of post-Marx Marxism, beginning with Engels. In light of the crises of our nuclearly armed world, it becomes imperative not only to reject

what is, but to reveal and further develop the revolutionary Humanist future inherent in the present. The new visions of the future which Dunayevskaya left us in her work from the 1940s to the 1980s are rooted in her discovery 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. This 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*.

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 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, heterosexist, class-ridden society, we have organized ourselves into a committee form of organization rather than any elitist party "to lead." 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*.