

**Support  
Pittston  
strikers!**



Because of the importance of the ongoing coal strike, we are turning Workshop Talks this issue over to a report on these events by Andy Phillips, co-author of *The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.*, who was a participant in that historic strike.—Felix Martin and John Marcotte

**Morgantown, W. Va.**—The gunfire erupting between striking union coal miners and scabs in Southern West Virginia and Eastern Kentucky reflects the heightened passions unleashed in miners determined to defeat the coal operators' attempts to destroy the United Mine Workers Union (UMW).

The mood of the striking miners was recently seen at the Bobtown mine in Southwest Pennsylvania, where the company tried to mine coal using bosses and other management personnel after the miners struck. Coal production came to an abrupt halt, however, when the mine coal conveyor belt was cut. When the company fired all of the miners in retaliation, both miners and their wives appeared on picket lines to stop anyone from going into the mine.

(continued on page 3)

**Visage of genocide in  
U.S. Black health crisis**

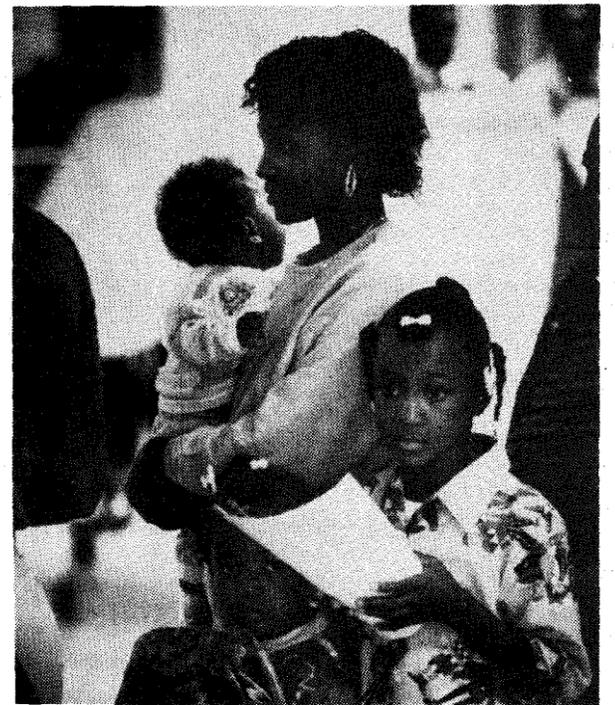
by Lou Turner

Having survived the crises of slavery, racial segregation and lynching, the Black community now finds itself stricken by AIDS, hypertension, cancer, heart disease, pervasive drug addiction, high infant and maternal mortality rates, as well as high rates of violent deaths. Black health in the U.S. subsists at Third World levels.



For the first time in this century, Black life expectancy has dropped for two consecutive years (1986-87), while that of whites continued to rise. It is not a question of "relative decline"; Black life expectancy in the U.S. has fallen in absolute terms. That this comes after a full decade of Reagan retrogression is no more "accidental" than the debilitating conditions that cut Black life expectancy eight years shorter than white.

That Black health care continues to be an ideological hostage of Reaganism was nowhere more evident than in the deprecating moralism of Bush's Black Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services, Dr. Louis Sullivan, who recently explained away the precipitous decline in Black life expectancy as caused by a



supposed Black "pathological lifestyle" of drugs, crime and AIDS. It is this kind of "moral" indictment of the Black community by its leadership that has nearly concealed the real truth about the AIDS epidemic that has run rampant through this nation's inner cities.

**AIDS IN BLACK AMERICA**

AIDS has been ignored by the Black leadership because of the stigma attached to homosexuality and the scourge of drug addiction associated with the so-called Black "underclass." And yet, there is no escaping the epidemiology of AIDS and race. According to the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta, Blacks accounted for 27% of the 90,990 AIDS cases in the U.S. as of March 31, though only 12% of the American population is Black. In New York City, Blacks and Latinos make up 60% of the city's 20,423 reported AIDS cases as of May 17. More than 80% of the women with AIDS in New York are Black and Latina, while 91% of the children with AIDS are Black and Latino.

However, we must not merely speak in the language of statistics, but, as Marx observed, with "the passionate language of circumstances."

*"There is one question, says the social worker, that comes up with every mother. The question is always, who is going to die first? And then comes, I wish my child would die first." The social worker is...pediatric AIDS coordinator of Einstein-Weiler Hospital in the Bronx, and she is talking about mothers of children born infected with HIV [human immunodeficiency virus]. By definition, these women are infected themselves, and so they must worry about their own health, about the health of their young children, and also, inevitably, about who will outlive whom. Who will care for an ailing child after the mother's death?*

*"There is no way to wall off the disease—ultimately, AIDS will affect every segment of the population—but increasingly, it is becoming a disease of poverty, of the inner city, a disease of intravenous drug users and their sexual partners. And as more women are infected with the virus, pediatric cases of AIDS are becoming increasingly common." (New York Times Magazine, June 18, 1989).*

The feminist notion that women must take control of their bodies and their lives has taken root among poor Black and Latina women who must face the violence of male chauvinism, poverty, illness and death. It is a principle which has become a life and death matter for women of the inner city. Not only do they confront AIDS and drugs, but the questions of contraception and abortion have become mortal questions of survival for them in opposition to the moral sanctions of the

(continued on page 9)

**Editorial**

**"You cannot massacre an idea"**

**China's revolt brutally forced underground**

The horrifying public executions being carried out in China by the Deng Xiaoping/Li Peng dictatorship are gruesome proof that the reign of terror launched in the stealth of the night, June 3-4, in Tiananmen Square, has only begun.

This state-capitalist regime daring to call itself Communist murdered and wounded thousands of workers and students that night—running tanks over protesters and immediately burning their crushed bodies, shooting fleeing Beijing residents in the back and then entering hospitals to pull life-support systems out of their victims. It is now continuing a campaign of counter-revolutionary terror straight out of the pages of Stalin and Mao, with McCarthyism's Big Lie thrown in.

**THE BIG LIE: WHO ARE THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES? WHO ARE THE REVOLUTIONARIES?**

Within the first three weeks, the Chinese rulers have already jailed more than 1,600 freedom fighters, using television footage to hunt them down and manipulating the film to portray those caught as thugs—then showing them manacled and beaten, in an attempt to make them seem less than human. The massacre of June 4, the public "confessions," the show trials, the death sentences meted out, and now the executions, bring to mind a previous historic moment—the bloody suppression and subsequent repression that ended the Paris Commune of 1871.

At the same time the movement in Beijing, which was allowed to continue after martial law because millions of Beijing citizens stopped the first tanks on May 21, recalled the greatness of the Paris Commune. Indeed, the Internationale which the defiant students sang as they left the carnage at Tiananmen Square was written shortly after the fall of that first, briefly-existing workers' Commune. And the very democracy they were demanding, including a free press and free speech, was what they called "a Paris Commune type of democracy."

The viciousness of the counter-revolution is a measure of the creative self-activity, the depth of the revolutionary challenge that the Chinese masses—especially the youth, both students and workers—issued in the brief seven weeks before troops stormed Tiananmen Square.

The students who came there created autonomous student organizations, independent of and in opposition to Communist Party control. They created their own forms of communication, both within the country—where silk-screened and mimeographed leaflets were literally written and turned out right in the Square—and internationally, where they reached abroad to tell their story through telephones and fax machines. Most crucially, they reached out to workers to join them.

The workers not only supported the students, coming to Tiananmen Square night after night to protect the hunger strikers, to bring food, to help direct traffic, but began to form their own autonomous trade unions,

independent of the Communist Party-controlled unions. Tens of thousands joined. By no accident it has been the workers and unemployed, not only in Beijing, but in Shanghai, who were first to be tried, sentenced to death and executed.

The movement was by no means limited to Beijing. Not only did students from other parts of the country travel to Beijing, but there were reports of peasants coming into the city to join the protesters, while other protests sprung up in province after province. There were huge demonstrations and strikes in Shanghai, China's largest and most industrial city. In Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan Province, tens of thousands participated in protests which were put down in blood shortly after Tiananmen Square was invaded.

The burned out hulks of tanks and armored personnel carriers, of destroyed buildings and charred troop trains, not alone in Beijing, but in Shanghai and other cities, speaks volumes about the resistance to the armed crackdown mounted by those armed only with stones, Molotov cocktails and often only with their bare hands.

**THE U.S. AND RUSSIA MANEUVER VIA CHINA**

In face of the courage of the revolutionary Chinese masses and the terror the Chinese rulers have unleashed against them, we witness President Bush's meek and hypocritical "criticism" of the continuing bloodbath. Whatever few words of sympathy for the Tiananmen Square protesters he has chosen to utter, they have not been out of any kinship with the genuine democracy they demanded, or with the class demands that the freedom movement was beginning to articulate just as it was crushed. Rather, Bush's determinant is both the investment of American capital within China and the superpower politics of US-Russia-China.

Gorbachev's concern with China also revolves around superpower politics. It was his attempt to transform the decades-long Sino-Soviet conflict into a new Sino-Soviet orbit that brought Gorbachev to China in May. Just as he arrived, the protests began to reach new heights, bringing to world view the deep challenge issued by

(continued on page 4)

**On the Inside**

*From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya—Deng revises not so much Mao, as Marx* ..... p.4

*Direct from Beijing—The crushing of the democracy movement* ..... p.5

*Readers' Views—The crisis of today's "restructured" capitalism; the Reagan Supreme Court in action* ..... pgs.6-7

# Feminist thought: stuck in post-Marx Marxism?

by Terry Moon

Women in Political Theory: From Ancient Misogyny to Contemporary Feminism, Diana H. Coole (Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, Col.; Wheatsheaf Books, Sussex, England, 1988), 324 pages.

After 20 years of the Women's Liberation Movement—and the last 10 years of Reagan's retrogression—books continue to spring forth as women work out ways to rethink our world, to try to figure out how we can move forward. Diana H. Coole has written a book whose very scope reveals the deep searching for answers that women have embarked on.

Coole's search for direction resulted in a book that aimed to trace Western thought, from the ancient Greeks all the way through to today's feminist theorists, to discern their "treatment of women..." (p. 7) What Coole has so systematically revealed in the thought of everyone from Plato, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, John Stuart Mill to the utopian socialists is that "the female principle, and all it represents...is to be subordinated to that of the male..." And further, "the reason that these symbolic associations have been so powerful is that they tend to lead a subterranean existence, structuring Western thought in general and its political tradition in particular." (p. 2)

Coole reveals that "subterranean existence" as part of her contribution to changing it. But where a lot more discussion and digging is needed is in the last third of her book where she takes up Hegel, Marx, Engels, the social democrats, some of the Bolsheviks and ends with today's feminist theorists. That this section is key can be seen in the fact that in Coole's last chapter on "Contemporary Feminism and Political Thought," the feminist theorists she takes up have to keep harking back to Marxism—or what they perceive as Marxism.

## MARX AND ENGELS ARE KEY

Coole has a very good feminist critique of Friedrich Engels and August Bebel, but the problem is that she treats Marx and Engels as one person, even going so far as to write their names "Marx/Engels."

She makes the same mistake that almost all post-Marx Marxists and feminist theorists make: she reduces Marx's philosophy of revolution to narrow economics. She quotes Juliet Mitchell to say that Marx ties all questions to production with an "overly economic stress" (p. 186) and claims that for Marx women are only "the passive indicators and beneficiaries of male advance in humanizing nature." (p. 187)

In the last chapter, "Contemporary Feminism and Political Thought," Coole writes about most of today's feminist theorists, including Simone De Beauvoir, Mary Daly, Juliet Mitchell, Zillah Eisenstein, Shulamith Fire-

stone, Nancy Chodorow, and Adrienne Rich. She takes each thread of feminist thought and shows you where it started and where each perished and how each tried to deal with Marxism.

Although a feminist herself, she is so critical of recent feminist thinking that "suggest[s] that reason and logic are intrinsically alien to a feminine epistemology..." (p. 274) that the last sentence of her book is a warning: feminist theorists will "come full circle, voluntarily embracing those qualities which the earliest expressions of Western culture imposed upon them, when it structured its thinking in terms of a sexual polarity in which the male principle was superior and central." (p. 277)

## 'POST-MARX MARXISM AS PEJORATIVE'

After taking up 2,500 years of history, this is what a feminist thinker, genuinely searching for a way out, ends up with. A sentence and a half in her book gives a glimpse of a different direction feminism could begin to take: "Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that Marxism is by no means necessarily as determinist or reductionist a philosophy as might be believed from its application to the woman question thus far. It was perhaps unfortunate that such application was undertaken primarily by Engels and by members of the Second International..." (p. 231)

But that idea is never developed in this work although her footnote on Raya Dunayevskaya reveals that Coole knew there was a view that proclaimed loud and clear that "Engels is no Marx." Raya Dunayevskaya's category of "post-Marx Marxism as a pejorative" is what can make all the difference. For what that category allows you to do is make a distinction between Marx's philosophy and those who followed. It makes it possible to delve into a genuine philosophy of freedom to find new beginnings for today's Women's Liberation Movement.

What Coole has done, although not on purpose, is show us how, as opposed to genuine Marxism, Marxism after Marx developed—and how feminist theorists, even when opposing "Marxism," were grounded in post-Marx Marxism's reduction of Marx. That category is not an epithet or a way to label those you disagree with. It is an invitation to dig deep into a philosophy that, unlike today's feminist theorists, does not divide economics and politics from Subject: masses in motion—a living, feeling, thinking, acting whole.

As Dunayevskaya points out, Marx's "analysis goes not only to class, but to actual human relations." Isn't that the road we want to explore so that our thought, rather than leading back to "ancient misogyny"—as Coole warns it has—can reveal a path to full human liberation?

## Contradictions at women's studies meeting

Towson, Md.—Nearly 2,000 women converged at Towson State University for the 11th annual National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) conference on "Feminist Transformations" in mid-June. This mammoth conference became an opportunity for feminist scholars and activists to explore the intersection of women's studies and social change.

Given the range of topics discussed in the 273 workshops, it was hardly surprising that diverging viewpoints about "feminist transformation" emerged. However, the words which keep returning to me are those of the Black, Latina, Native American and working-class women whose insistent, passionate—and yes, angry—voices deeply questioned the direction of women's studies.

## NWSA IS CHALLENGED ON RACISM

This anger bubbled to the surface despite dozens of references in workshops and plenary sessions to the need to recognize women's racial, ethnic and class diversity. "Diversity," in fact, was probably the most well-used word at this conference. Surely the anger came partially because—despite a conference several years ago on Women Respond to Racism, and despite having the 1987 conference at a Black women's college, Spelman—NWSA has never been able to make itself relevant to Black and working class women.

At this year's conference, all the talk about diversity in many cases seemed to turn into one more way of maintaining the status quo, of failing to hear—really hear—what women outside the white mainstream of women's studies are saying about transforming academia and transforming society. "Diversity is not my problem," said well-known Black lesbian writer Barbara Smith midway through the conference. "Racism is my problem."

At an earlier workshop, a Black student had burst out, "White feminists want to work with you, they want you to call them, to join them. But when you join them they want you to see everything their way. They think they invented feminism. I say, if you don't want to hear us, don't invite us."

I found many women, especially students, addressing the need for a new relation between thought and reality. At a "dialogue" session on Community Activism and Feminist Scholarship a young Cherokee woman said she felt too many speakers seemed to assume that being a feminist scholar automatically makes one an activist. She had just graduated from Harvard, and was wondering whether what she learned there had any relevance to the needs of her people.

## WHAT IS FEMINIST ACTIVISM?

Then a young white woman took the floor, asking what people meant by activism. From a working-class family, she had wanted to work as a community activist

but was forced to pay back her student loans. "I've heard a number of women talk about giving resources to the community," she said, "but I'm not sure you realize that it's hard for some people where I come from to believe that you get paid to do what you do, to fly around giving papers at conferences."

On the other hand, she didn't feel the answer lies in activism alone. She and I talked about finding new departure points for theory too. As women who "came of age" in the retrogressive Reagan years, we felt the urgency of working out a total vision of changing society.

These kinds of discussions brought into focus the drawbacks of many workshops, such as "What Ever Happened to Feminism? Sixties' Visions and Eighties' Realities," by three feminist scholars, Paula Rothenberg, Elayne Rapping and Ann Ferguson. A relook at "the personal is political" was confined to how feminists should get back to merging our lifestyles with our political values.

When the Women's Liberation Movement first arose, its greatness came from women's fearlessness in challenging not only capitalist, patriarchal society, but the sexism within the Left itself—that is, the flawed concept of freedom there. In the corridors of Towson State, one could hear many voices challenging the truncated concept of freedom within the women's movement itself.

—Laurie Cashdan

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Women-  
Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

Two Pakistani-based organizations, Women's Action Forum and Women Living Under Muslim Laws, are appealing for worldwide pressure to end atrocities being committed against women in Afghanistan by some Mujahideen groups, who say they have the right to take the women of a captured territory as slaves. Hundreds of women around Jalalabad, where intense fighting has been going on, have recently been captured, raped and forced to become slave-prostitutes—in hostels, temporary marriages, or sold at public auctions.

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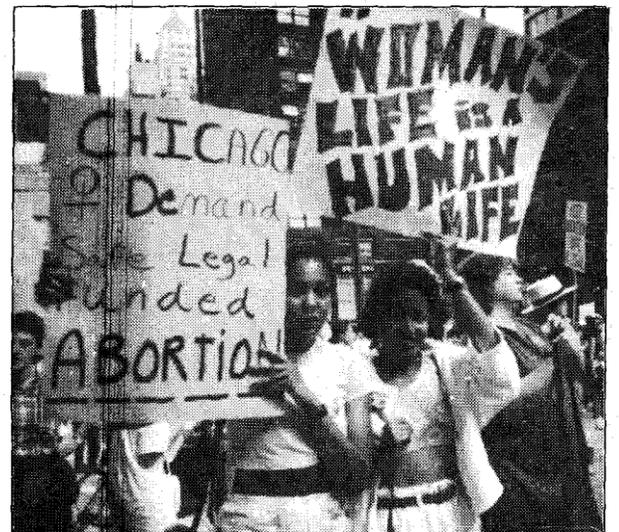
Women's rights groups in Williamsburg, Va. have forced William and Mary College to help the increasing number of victims of date rape. Last month, the college administration changed its procedures, making it easier for the woman to press charges, and specifying penalties for the rapist, including permanent dismissal.

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Thousands of women in Ireland continue to be forced to travel to England for abortions, as the "two fundamentalist religious states" in the Protestant North and the Catholic South work to go beyond the 1861 law criminalizing abortion. The Protestant state has prevented the British 1967 Abortion Act from being enacted in the North, while the Catholic South pushed through a right-to-life constitutional amendment in 1983, and made abortion counseling illegal in 1986, saying "right to life of the unborn is a more fundamental right than right to information." Women's groups continue to fight for the right to abortion, including the Women's Information Network in Ireland and the Irish Women's Abortion Support Group, 52-54 Featherstone St., London EC1, England.

—Information from Troops Out

## Rally for abortion rights



Chicago, Ill.—Over 5,000 people turned out for a pro-choice rally at the Daley Plaza on June 17 to send a final message to the Supreme Court as it prepares to issue a decision on whether to overturn Roe vs. Wade. The rally was called by the Illinois Campaign for Choice and included a wide variety of speakers, including several Black men and women, as well as a gay physician from Cook County Hospital. One speaker drew roaring agreement when she said the anti-abortionists believe that life begins at conception but ends at birth.

The usual contingent of 50 to 100 anti-life demonstrators also showed up, and were solidly drowned out. I kept wondering why they are always such a small minority, and never produce turnouts anywhere near the size of those who want to keep our limited options at least available, yet the media have always acted as though Americans are more or less equally divided on this issue. They call it "balanced coverage." I call it a lie.

The wide variety of hand-lettered signs indicated that everyone is taking this attack on our basic rights very personally. Signs drew attention to pregnant women, blind women, rape victims and adoptees. Signs called for not only choice but a restoration of Medicaid funding.

You could see right away that people recognize a connection between the upcoming Reagan Court decision on abortion and similar attacks on other basic rights. One sign read "Keep Conscience, Contraception and Choice Legal in America," another read "Anti-Choice = Fascism," and yet another proclaimed "No U.S. Intervention in Women's Wombs."

People we spoke to agreed that activity alone is simply not enough—or else we wouldn't be out here having to fight this battle all over again 20 years later. I'm sure we all know that if Roe vs. Wade is overturned, the U.S. Congress will not come to our rescue. So when the Supreme Court issues its newest edict within the next few days, we must all face the question: What happens after? I think one sign at the rally said it all the best: "Our Generation Won't Accept This Choice."

—Jan Kollwitz

## Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

As one retired Bobtown miner said, "If they break the UMW, they can break every union in the country. And it's not just the working union miners who will lose out; all of us retirees will lose everything, too. All the unions in this country—teamsters, steelworkers, auto workers, airline workers and everybody else—better wake up and understand that all of labor has to stick together if we are going to stop what President Reagan started when he broke the air traffic workers union."

### MINERS RALLY IN CHARLESTON

This vital working class struggle which emerged out of the April 4 strike of 1,600 UMW members against Pittston Coal Company (see May, 1989 N&L) reached a new stage on Sunday, June 11, when a Charleston, W. Va. rally of over 12,000 coal miners and their families heard UMW President Trumka declare that the union would have to "fight back" against Pittston's demands for a contract that would destroy everything the UMW stands for. Recognition of the importance of this struggle was seen in the participation of representatives of striking Eastern Airlines workers as well as many other unions at that rally.

The next morning, union miners throughout the coal fields began a "wildcat strike" which has since spread to 10 states, involving more than 50,000 miners who represent over three-fourths of the union's 65,000 membership.

The strike could not be openly declared by Trumka since there is a contract in force with all other coal operators negotiated in February of 1988. If Trumka called an official strike the UMW would immediately be liable for ruinous fines of millions of dollars, under the slave labor Taft-Hartley Act which was passed in 1947 against union workers when a near general strike throughout the nation raised capitalist fears of a working class revolution.

In addition to the increasing spread of the strike, tactics to focus national attention on the issues have included a slow-moving caravan of striking miners to Washington, D.C., which clogged traffic in the nation's capital; convoys of striking miners in strings of cars that effectively blocked roadways leading to operating mines, keeping coal-hauling trucks and other traffic from entering or leaving coal properties; shutting down of non-union mines; and union efforts to involve federal and state mediators to settle the strike. The recent offer by W. Va. Governor Gaston Caperton to mediate the strike, agreed to by Trumka, was rejected by Pittston's chief executive officer, Paul Douglas, whose efforts to break the union since he became Pittston's head in 1984 have earned him the title of "the Frank Lorenzo of the coal fields."

### PITSTON AIMS TO DESTROY UNION

Going back to the 1984 experience of the UMW with Massey Coal Company is required to explain the determination of union miners to get a decent contract at Pittston. Massey in 1984, like Pittston in 1988, refused to sign the national contract negotiated between the union and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). Massey, with 13 mines in Southern West Virginia and Eastern Kentucky, insisted that each mine was independent and that contracts had to be negotiated with each mine. The UMW struck Massey and lodged an unfair labor practice suit with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) contending all of Massey's mines belonged to one corporation and one contract should cover all mines.

That strike, marked by shootings and killings instigated by company scabs and state police in both Kentucky

## Support Pittston strike!

and West Virginia, resulted in injunctions against pickets, which gave Massey a free hand to bring in strike-breakers to replace union workers. It eventually ended with concessionary contracts in a few of the original 13 mines that remained in operation. While the NLRB ruled in favor of the UMW, the miners who remained at work were forced to accept lower wages and reduced health care and other benefits. More important, hundreds of the striking miners were blackballed, have been unemployed for the past five years, are on welfare, and will never be able to get a job in the area. They all face a future of permanent unemployment.

Pittston is unquestionably playing the same role now



Miners on a six-day march to the Charleston rally.

that Massey did in 1984. The 13th largest coal producer in the U.S., Pittston had always been a member of the BCOA until 1984, when the last UMW contract was negotiated. It pulled out of the BCOA in 1984 to continue the tactics established by Massey.

While it appears that Trumka is calling the shots in the strike, it remains to be seen if he can control a determined rank and file seeking to gain a contract with Pittston that will assure those miners and their families a decent standard of living and adequate health care. That would also send a message to the nation's coal operators that the rank and file will no longer tolerate concessionary contracts.

—Andy Phillips

## Eckrich's double standard

Chicago, Ill.—An Eckrich woman worker lost her job in May because she had babysitting problems. She had requested a leave of absence, but the company refused to give it to her, saying that they could not afford to give her the time off while we were so busy. Now they are turning around and giving lay-offs.

When one of the supervisors, Kiran Patel, was on second shift this spring, the company gave him an hour every day to go pick up his daughter (from the daycare, I guess) and take her home. He's management; but people are people. You have these problems. If they can see his problem, why can't they see ours?

You just can't leave your kids with anybody. You just can't find a babysitter in a couple of days or over the weekend. You have to be protective, and you can't even leave them with relatives sometimes, let alone with strangers. It's hard to find someone to watch your child.

Eckrich could have given her a leave of absence, as much time as she needed to take care of her situation. They wouldn't have been paying her. She was trying to get her life together, her home life, which is more important than this job. At Eckrich it's so hard, because they have this attitude of "just take it or leave it."

What have they won by letting her go? They lost a good employee who was trained at basically every job in her department. Now they will have to train another person. What is the reason they treat us like this? Just to show that they're in control?

—Eckrich workers

## GM workers watch 'New Directions'

Oklahoma City, Ok.—Over 4,000 out of the 5,500 workers at the GM plant here voted in our recent union elections, which shows how stirred up people are about what's going on.

There is the New Directions caucus that is opposing the national UAW leadership on the "team concept" that at GM-Oklahoma is called VIP, Voluntary Input Process. You're not compelled to join the VIP program, but you get 50¢ more an hour if you do.

I've never joined; about half the workers haven't joined. I just don't want to go along with the system negotiated by the company and the union. The workers themselves still have no control.

The company keeps preaching about quality, quality; and in fact the union does even more preaching than the company. But the contract the UAW negotiated was that with the VIP program, the company would increase line speed by five jobs an hour. The company still has full control over line speed anyway.

We're looking at the New Directions caucus. Workers who are against the current union bureaucrats generally support New Directions. But it's still a caucus within the union. It's not a totally new beginning, which is what we need.

—GM worker

## Workers vs. the 'Plan'

I was greatly surprised to suddenly see in those mouthpieces of American business, Time magazine and the New York Times, reference made to "the unity of workers and intellectuals" as being so important for the opposition movements in East Europe and China. Funny they never use that term when talking about conditions here at home!

This unity of workers and intellectuals stands in opposition to the absolute separation of workers and the intellectuals whose Plan the workers must carry out. The Plan is always for more and more productivity, whether under private capitalism or state capitalism masquerading as socialism.

In China, Deng tried to get more productivity through material incentives for the last ten years, as Gorbachev is trying. Isn't that the American way—more raises, more consumer goods in exchange for more and more speed-up, automation? Gorbachev has now discovered this and baptized it "perestroika."

Now Deng may swing back to Mao's old ways: not materialism but idealism, less pay but more ideology. Mao thought he could get more productivity by remolding workers' thoughts. All he got was tremendous crises. That's sort of comparable to the U.S. under Reaganism: less pay, lower standard of living, but more ideology. Patriotism, employee stock ownership plans, profit-sharing, and Quality Circles are supposed to get us to work harder for less.

The argument among the world's rulers has always been who among them will dispose of the labor of the world's workers. The only ideological argument among them boils down to whether they can sweat more labor with more pay and rewards, or through greater ideological control. That was the issue until students and workers in China revolted and put a question mark over all these capitalist plans.

—John Marcotte

## Jim Kiernan, S.F. waterfront militant

Jim Kiernan, 71, a longshore militant with roots in the 1934 San Francisco General Strike, died in June in San Francisco. As a youth he shipped out in the merchant marine. At 19 he was one of the leaders of a strike of sardine workers in Bristol Bay, Alaska. But it was as a longshoreman that Jim not only earned a living, but devoted a lifetime of militant action.

Writing as "S.F. docker," in News & Letters, he chronicled labor struggles in an occupation which has a rich history of working class action against the continual encroachment of capital. His long experience on the docks reached back to that 1934 General Strike from which a West Coast longshore tradition of worker control and a union hiring hall arose. In the 1960s and 1970s, Jim traced the loss of worker rights through "steady job" hiring arrangements and mechanization—modernization agreements that cut deeply into longshore employment.

But most crucially his writing captured the workers' resistance. In the early 1970s he wrote: "The longshore local is regarded by the bureaucrats as being in chaos because no group controls the membership. What exists is a deep-rooted skepticism about the officialdom. What must be most alarming and a sure indicator of 'chaos' to the top piecards is the growing trend of the dockers to solve their on-the-job problems by job action."

"On-the-job" was always crucial for Jim. And this included the younger comrades in News & Letters. When some wanted to meet with Jim's co-workers, he had us come right down to the dock where he was working—not to pass out papers in front, but to put on a hardhat and come right onto the dock where we could all talk together.

Jim's work and writing greatly enriched the pages of News & Letters. His voice will be missed.

—John Alan and Eugene Walker

### A 1980s View

## The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.

This story of the first Automation strike in American history speaks eloquently to the workers today who are looking for new forms with which to struggle against both the corporations and today's pitiful crop of labor bureaucrats with their endless concessions.

—Preface

### Contents:

- A Missing Page from American Labor History by Andy Phillips
- The Emergence of a New Movement from Practice that Is Itself a Form of Theory by Raya Dunayevskaya

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

By Raya Dunayevskaya  
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

*Editor's note: In the wake of the Chinese government's counter-revolutionary attack on the freedom movement in China, we here reprint Raya Dunayevskaya's August-September, 1981 "Theory/Practice" column, which examines the class divide separating China's rulers from the masses and from the thought of Marx.*

The 35,000-word document: "Certain Questions on the History of Our Party,"<sup>1</sup> is a rewrite of the entire history of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), whether we begin at its founding in 1921, at its concentration point since the gaining of power in 1949, or at its most extensive period—the "Cultural Revolution"—to which the Resolution devotes 19 of the 29 pages. This is just as clearly seen when the New China News Agency officially summarized it in 5,000 words issued to the world press.<sup>2</sup> In both cases, objective history seems to have been completely eliminated as if the history of the CCP occurred in a vacuum. Thus, there is not a single mention of the Vietnam War, and although, if you look very hard, you might find a reference to Korea, it is mentioned in such a way that U.S. imperialism is certainly not the Enemy Number One it was then. One thing, however, is never referred to at all in the excerpts but is the centerpoint of the theoretical revisionism beyond Mao. That is a direct attack on Marx.

The first thing to be noted is that the new revision occurs in the section, "The Decade of the 'Cultural Revolution,'" and comes after the "Cultural Revolution" is said to have conformed "neither to Marxist-Leninism, nor to Chinese reality," and is judged to have "negated many of the correct principles, policies and achievements of the 17 years after the founding of the People's Republic." Every ill is blamed on the Cultural Revolution after it has been made clear that though the "Gang of Four" had taken advantage of it, it was nevertheless Mao, himself, who developed it. Yet, after all these exposes of its 'anti-Marxism,' we are suddenly brought to nothing short of "historical causes underlying the 'Cultural Revolution,'" and find that there seems to be "a 'theoretical basis' in the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin."

### 'TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS WORK'

Once the cat is out of the bag, it turns out, in the tracing of this "theoretical basis," that it is Marx alone who is responsible since it is claimed that he used the expression, "bourgeois right" when referring to "the distribution of the means of consumption in a socialist society" so that the principle of "to each according to his work" led us to regard the error in magnifying the class struggle as an act in defense of the purity of Marxism.

Let us make clear, first, that the phrase, "to each according to his work," is no expression of Marx's. It is what Stalin, and what Mao, following Stalin, revised as the workers' state became transformed into its opposite, a state-capitalist society. It was then that Marx's magnificent vision of a class-less society, articulated as "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need" became transformed into the capitalistic "according to his labor," and "labor" was further spelled out as capitalistic wages—preferably for piece work.

Secondly, the expression "bourgeois right" is deliberately taken out of context (à la Stalin and Mao) from Marx's great work, *The Critique of the Gotha Program*, without any direct reference ever being made to it. Instead, a jump is made to the "inner-Party struggles" in China which they claim resulted "in magnifying class struggle as an act in defense of the purity of Marxism." But Marx's *Critique* was stressing how long inequality—"bourgeois right"—would persist in the scars we would carry over from bourgeois society when capitalism was first overthrown. Far from having any relation to "inner-Party struggles," Marx was warning

1. See *Peking Review*, No. 27, July 6, 1981.

2. These excerpts were published in *The New York Times*, July 1, 1981.

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## A 1981 writing on China

# Deng revises not so much Mao, as Marx

the German Workers Unity Party that if we ever lose our goal of a class-less society, we will never reach it.

That is exactly what happened both in Stalin's Russia and in Mao's China. All this Deng Xiaoping is attributing to the "Cultural Revolution," is making sure at the same time that the alleged Left policies of exaggeration of the class struggles in "socialist" China are blamed on Marx having wrongly designated "the distribution of the means of consumption" in a supposedly socialist society as "bourgeois right."

After these "errors," the Resolution's assessment of Mao's "Historical Role and Mao Zedong Thought" remains great, with emphasis that it is to remain the distinctively Chinese Thought to be followed. The periods in which he remains so great and wrote "Oppose Book Worship" are precisely when Mao, let us not forget, was so busy Sinifying Stalinized "Marxism" as to declare that: "There are people that think that Marxism can cure any disease. We should tell them that dogmas are

more useless than cow dung. Dung can be used as fertilizer."

### MAO, LIN AND THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

There has been, of course, some deMaoization; the "Cultural Revolution" has definitely been totally discredited and those it had designated as "capitalist-roadsters" have been brought back to power. But we must not forget that, far from the "Cultural Revolution" having lasted a whole decade from 1966 to 1976, as the document claims, it had run its course by 1968. And it was Mao and Lin Biao who destroyed it.

For that, Lin was rewarded by being designated as Mao's successor. Nothing short of constitutionalizing that feudal act was achieved at the 1969 Congress. It was in 1971, when Mao extended the invitation to Nixon and prepared to roll the red carpet out for him, that Mao and Lin became enemies. There is no doubt that Lin's opposition to having the red carpet rolled out for Nixon is what brought about his death. And there is no doubt that the extreme crisis in the country brought Deng back into power, with Mao's help.

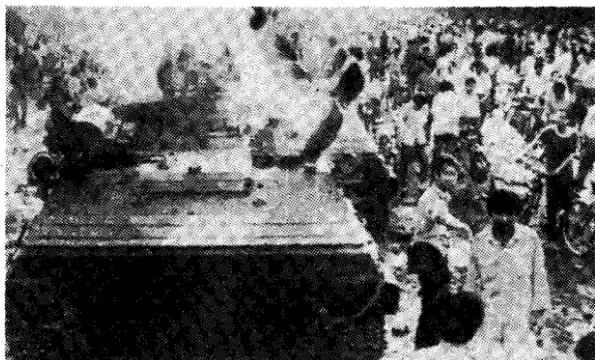
But the deMaoization recognized by bourgeois ideologues misses the fact that the present Chinese rulers are all Stalinist-Maoists and, just as it isn't a question only of modernization vs. Islam in Iran, so it isn't modernization vs. the "wild 'Cultural Revolution'" in China.

The over-riding truth is that there is no independent road between ruling class and oppressed class, whether that characterizes private capitalism or state capitalism—not just the state-capitalism of Russia, or China, but the so-called private capitalism of the USA—that is, multi-national, corporate, private monopoly capitalism. The latter type characterized by state intervention called the "welfare state" came on the global scene when the Depression put an end to "pure" private capitalism. It was World War II that then extended state-capitalism, adding neo-colonialism to this imperialist nature.<sup>3</sup>

Like private capitalism, Chinese state-capitalism is suffering from what the Chinese like to refer to as "great troubles under heaven." That is to say, ceaseless class struggle. Deng may feel confident that, now that he has destroyed "Democracy Wall" and arrested the new youth leaders, the youth will peacefully co-exist with him. The truth is he has not destroyed them; he has only driven them underground.

3. An ironic proof of that appeared in the recent book, *Theories of Imperialism*, by Wolfgang J. Mommsen, which attempts "eruditely" to move away from Marxist theories on the ground that Marx was allegedly "Eurocentric" and therefore didn't see neo-colonialism; in fact, didn't see imperialism "because" he was sticking strictly to Accumulation of Capital. In the end, however, Mommsen was forced to conclude: "Nevertheless it remains the task of scholars to seek theoretical models which will make it possible to interpret this important phase of history (imperialist expansion) which still to a large extent determines the condition of our present-day world."

## China's revolt forced underground



Tank burning in Tiananmen Square, June 4.

(continued from page 1)

China's revolt to the global maneuvers of all the super-power rulers.

### MAO AND DENG IN THE STATE-CAPITALIST AGE

Within China the sharp line between the revolutionary activity of the masses and the counter-revolutionary actions of the rulers has been written indelibly in blood. It has been written in a way that reaches back historically to raise questions about the very nature of Mao's state-capitalist rule, his alleged "Marxist" practice in China.

Despite Deng's successful discrediting of Mao's "Cultural Revolution" when he came to power, it was precisely his continuity with Mao that Raya Dunayevskaya pinpointed from the beginning of Deng's purported "deMaoization." We reprint in this issue her 1981 analysis, "Deng revises not so much Mao, as Marx," and are issuing her essay on "Whither China?," written at the time of the 1987 student and worker revolt, as part of a new pamphlet on China. (See ad this page).

What unites Deng and Mao more brutally than ever is evident again today—both in the counter-revolutionary attacks against the revolutionary youth of China that have been waged ever since the 1950s, and in the special role the Army has played there ever since Mao's rise to power. It is no accident that the one seat Deng has chosen to retain in this last period is Chairman of the Military Affairs Commission.

Deng's continuity with Mao is the continuity with our age of state-capitalism. In the post-Mao 1980s, Deng's "modernization" campaign is part and parcel of the global state-capitalist "restructuring" that has gone by the name of Reaganism and Thatcherism in the West, and by the name of Gorbachev's "perestroika" in the East.

The greatness of China's revolt today lies in the fact that it has issued the most fundamental challenge to date to this state-capitalist retrogressionism that has characterized the 1980s globally.

Within China, the fundamental questioning of the state-capitalist ruling class on conditions of life and labor was beginning to be explored by the freedom movement in these brief seven weeks. You cannot massacre the Idea of freedom. The Idea of freedom posed by that movement rests on the divide in our age between state-capitalism as a worldwide phenomenon encompassing all the superpowers and the creation of new beginnings rooted in the Humanism of Marx. The struggle continues. The power of China's revolt is that it helps us to pose a pathway out of the retrogression of the 1980s as the decade comes to a close. What Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in 1981, when Deng put down the students then, speaks to us powerfully in 1989:

"Like private capitalism, Chinese state-capitalism is suffering from what the Chinese like to refer to as 'great troubles under heaven.' That is to say, ceaseless class struggle. Deng may feel confident that, now that he has destroyed 'Democracy Wall' and arrested the new youth leaders, the youth will peacefully co-exist with him. The truth is he has not destroyed them; he has only driven them underground."

### JUST OFF THE PRESS

## 前仆后继

自由

*China in Revolt  
and the Idea of Freedom*

• "CHINA'S REVOLT BRUTALLY DRIVEN UNDERGROUND" N&L, July, 1989  
• "WHITHER CHINA?" BY RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA, N&L, March, 1987  
• "DENG REVISES NOT SO MUCH MAO, AS MARX," N&L, August-September, 1981  
• SHENG WU-LIEN DOCUMENT ON "WHITHER CHINA?," 1968

- "China's revolt brutally driven underground," N&L, July, 1989
- "Whither China?" by Raya Dunayevskaya, N&L, March, 1987
- "Deng revises not so much Mao, as Marx," N&L, August-September, 1981
- Sheng Wu-Lien Document on "Whither China?," 1968

"Clearly in one respect, it is a question of the succession to Deng Xiaoping which will be on the agenda in the fall when the thirteenth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party is held. But even that is only a partial answer, for it is not a question of who will follow Deng, but what will follow any successor."

—from "Whither China?,"  
by Raya Dunayevskaya, 1987

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*In-person reports direct from Beijing*

# The Democracy movement: brutal repression, resistance

## Hunger strike at Tiananmen

*Editor's note: In May, as students went on hunger strike in Tiananmen Square, they issued a declaration. Below we print excerpts from a translation of this statement.*

In this sunny May, we are on hunger strike. In this best youth moment, we have to leave all the beauties of life behind, no matter how unwilling and regretful we are.

Yet, our country has reached such a stage of spiraling inflation, full of nepotistic economic control, high-handed Government policy, unsuppressible corruption, while lots of democratic sympathizers and supporters live in self-exile overseas, increasing social chaos. At this moment of life and death of our nation, comrades, all comrades who have a conscience, please listen to our cries!

**WE WISH TO REQUEST** all those Chinese with integrity, every worker, farmer, soldier, commoner, intellectual, celebrity, government official, policeman and those who concoct the term of our crime, to put your hands on your hearts, once ask your consciousness, what is our crime? Are we the upheaval? Is it because we are on students' strike, on procession, on hunger strike and hiding from high-handed repression? What are our purposes in doing all these? Nevertheless, our sentiments have been repeatedly manipulated, our enduring of hunger in pursuing the truth resulted in merciless hitting by military control. Student representatives kneeling for democracy, but they are being ignored. The requests for an ongoing dialogue between independent student leaders and senior government officials have been delayed again and again. The student leaders are now in danger...What can we do?

Democracy is the most respectful sentiment of human life. Freedom is an in-born human right. When these two can only be obtained by the exchange of our young lives, is it really the pride of the Chinese nation?

Hunger strike is our last resort, and the only resort. By the lofty quality of death, we are fighting for our lives. But we are children, we are only children! Mother China, please look at your sons and daughters seriously. When hunger is mercilessly destroying their youthfulness, when death is approaching them, can you be so remote of emotion?

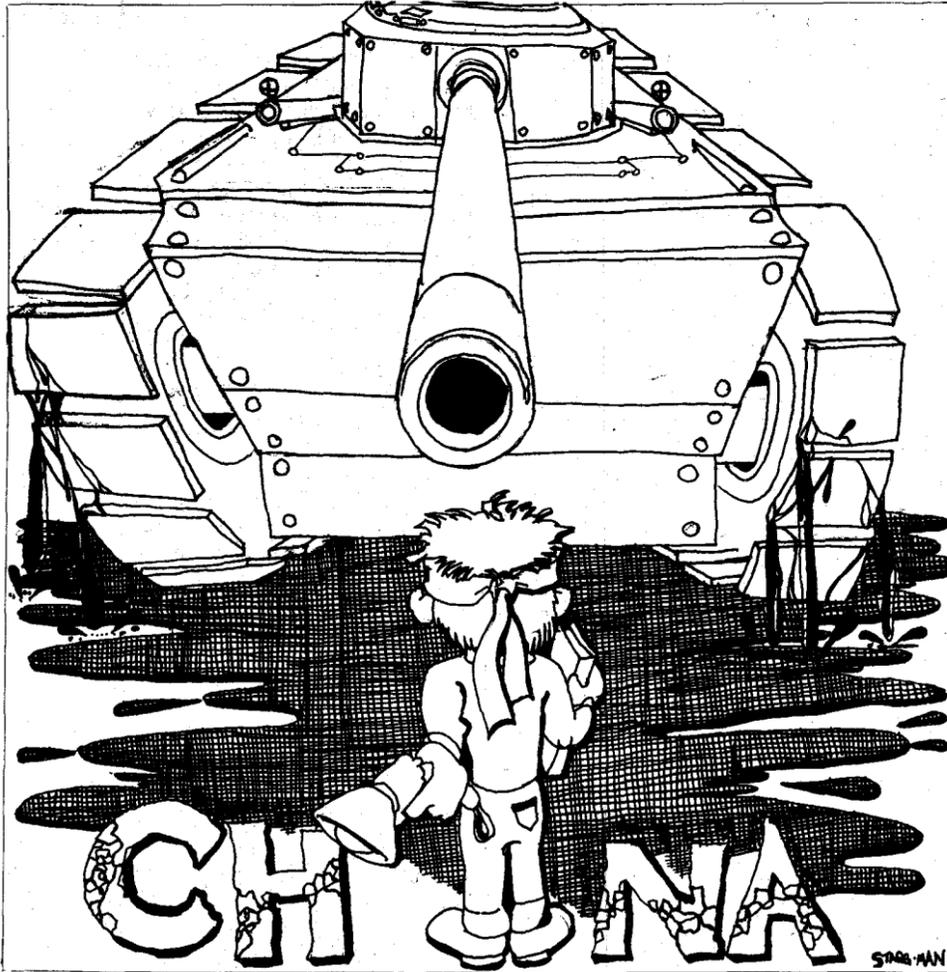
We do not want to die, we want to live and live well, because we are at the best age of our life. We do not want to die, we want to study and study hard. Our country is so poor, how can we leave and die in this way? Yet, if a man's death or some people's death can bring a better life to the rest of the people, can bring prosperity to our country, then we do not have the right to live in silence.

**WHEN WE ARE IN HUNGER**, fathers and mothers, please do not grieve for us; when we say farewell to our lives, uncles and aunts, please do not cry for us. We only have one wish—to let us live in a better way. We only have one request—please do not forget that we are not seeking death. Democracy is not the business of a few people, democracy can never be achieved by one generation.

Reasons for the hunger strike: firstly, to protest against the remote attitude adopted by the government to our students' strike. Secondly, to protest against the delay of the government in making an ongoing dialogue with our representatives. Thirdly, to protest against the verdict of "riotmakers" and all the other twisted presentations of this democratic, patriotic students' movement.

Requests of the hunger strike: firstly, to request the government to make a positive, substantial, equal-standing dialogue with the students. Secondly, to request the government to make a correct appraisal of this student movement, to affirm this movement as a patriotic, democratic students' movement.

Not "riot," immediate redress! Immediate dialogue, no more delay! Hunger strike for the people is not our choice! Voices of the World, please help us! Democratic forces among the World, please support us!



## Chai Ling, student leader

*Chai Ling, a leader of the student movement, on June 8 made a speech broadcast secretly within China. Overseas Chinese Economic Journal, Hong Kong, published a transcript. Major excerpts from the translation appear below.*

June 8, 1989, 4 pm. I am Chai Ling, in charge of defense of Tiananmen and I'm still alive.

From June 3, between 8, 9 and 10, the situation got worse and worse. News of people being beaten to death kept coming in, more than ten times. Our Command issued a statement, our only slogan: Down with Li Peng government.

At 9 pm sharp, all the students of Tiananmen stood up, raised our right hands and swore, "I pledge that for the cause of developing democracy, in our motherland, for the prosperity of our country, to prevent a small group of conspirators from undermining our great motherland, to prevent our billion motherland from white terror, I pledge our young lives to the defense of Tiananmen, to defend the republic. Our heads may be cut off, our blood may be shed but we will not allow the loss of people's square. We will defend to the last with our lives."

## With Beijing workers

I was concerned not only with the students but with the workers, and spent several days talking with them. Since May 3 they started to join the students on marches. At the beginning some students wanted to keep their movement as a pure student movement and didn't want the workers to join them. But workers were at Tiananmen Square, although with no tents and no food provided.

The workers wanted to develop their own autonomous unions, because it is their daily lives which were affected by the government reforms. They had practical, down-to-earth demands.

**During June 3 when the soldiers began to kill citizens on the west side of Tiananmen Square, both workers and students went to try and rescue people. More people were killed on the street than were killed in the Square. It was especially workers who were killed. They had set up many of the barricades by driving buses to block streets.**

Workers have contributed a lot to the movement, but the mass media in the U.S. has ignored workers. They ask where are the student leaders, but not about the workers and the citizens. Yet at this moment the workers are more dangerous to the government than the students.

We should be sad, but also grateful to those who died. They made the world know that democracy, human rights and freedom are so important.

—Chinese woman journalist

## Phone calls from China

*Beijing, June 4*—In Moxidi (a place close to Tiananmen Square), tens of thousands of people were fighting against the soldiers of the 27th Army. The army started with soldiers bearing special badges on the arms, followed by soldiers with protective masks and anti-riot weapons. At first the army threw stones and fired tear gas. Around midnight, they started firing.

With fierce gunfire, people were lying all over the street. At this point people could not resist any more, and they divided themselves into small groups while backing up or looking for places on the way. They were so brave that they still shouted "Down with Fascism!" The army was butchering the people. A deadly hail of bullets greeted each shout and flicker of light. A lot of people sought safety under the highway overcrossing, but the crazy troops fired randomly into the crowd, the bodies were piled up like a hill.

The citizens were not frightened by the brutal crackdown. There were still some people coming out to fight. After the 27th Army, there came the 38th Army. These soldiers are good, they said they would not fire at people. Some of them even provided the masses with bullets, grenades and tear gas. Some people who used to be in the army drove tanks and army carriers to the side of the road and set a fire. During the night, there were as many as 30-40 army trucks set on fire.

*Beijing, June 4*—Tiananmen Square has been washed by blood, the army is about to move into our  
(continued on page 10)

**AFTER 10 PM, OUR COMMAND** told everybody that since April, when the movement was mainly that of a patriotic student movement, and into May when the movement turned into a people's movement, our principle has always been peaceful demonstration. The highest principle of our struggle is peace. A lot of fellow students, workers, citizens of Beijing came to our command post and said this was not the way to conduct the struggle, you should take up arms and some of us were quite agitated. Our command said to them, we are here for peaceful demonstration, the highest principle of peace is to sacrifice ourselves. That's how we were, we linked hands, shoulder to shoulder, we came out of our tents, we were singing the Internationale and we sat on the steps of the monument, peacefully. With our peaceful eyes, we awaited the arrival of butchers, we knew we were conducting a war between love and hate, not a war between arms and violence. We all knew that this democratic peaceful movement has peace as our highest principle and we didn't want it to end with fellow students using sticks and bottles to fight those armed with bayonets, tanks, the soldiers who had lost their senses, that would be the greatest tragedy of our movement.

Between 2 and 3 am, we had to abandon the public address system at the bottom of the steps and moved up to the one on the monument itself. Those of us in command went around the monument to comfort our fellow students and to mobilize them. We were just sitting there. Some said, the first row was most determined, fellow students in the back row said they are just as determined, if the first row got attacked we would not run away. I told them a very old story. "There was an ant hill with one billion ants. One day the hill was on fire, the ants realized that they must get through the fire if they were to be saved. So some of the ants held together and rolled towards the fire, those on the outer edge were burned to death but the rest of the ants lived. Fellow students, we are on the square, we are standing on the outer edge of our people." Each of us understood that only through our sacrifice could we save the republic. We sang the Internationale.

Our command was soliciting the opinion of students whether to stay or to leave. It was decided that we should leave. But while we were preparing to retreat, those butchers did not keep their words. The soldiers in helmets and with bayonets came charging up the monument, before we could announce our decision to retreat. They destroyed our speaker system and defaced the monument. It's people's monument, how could they shoot at the monument.

**THE REST OF THE STUDENTS** were retreating, we were crying, fighting. Some citizens told us not to cry, we said we'll be back, because this is the people's square. But we learned later that some students still believe the government and soldiers would not hurt them, they thought the worst case would be to be forcibly taken away. They were too tired and were sleeping in tents, the tanks made meat pies out of them.

Some said 200 or so students had died. Some said over 4,000 died in the square. The actual figure I still don't know, but those on the outer edge, those belonging to the autonomous workers' union were all dead, they had at least 20 to 30 people. I heard when students were retreating, soldiers in tanks and Armored Personnel Carriers put abandoned tents, clothes and students' bodies together, poured gasoline over them and set them on fire. Then they washed the grounds  
(continued on page 10)

### Read about China in Raya Dunayevskaya's Marxism and Freedom

- Chapter 16 "The Challenge of Mao Tse-Tung"

*This chapter is available in Chinese from News & Letters for \$1.00*

- Chapter 17 "Cultural Revolution or Maoist Reaction?"

Order from News & Letters \$14.50 See ad. page 7

## CHINA'S REVOLT AND THE IDEA OF FREEDOM

Before the massacre in Beijing I was wary of the role of the army. It was clear to me that the army would attack, although the Chinese people were saying "The People's Liberation Army will never fire on the people." I had seen this during the Iranian Revolution. The army is an institution, a machine to preserve an existing machine, the State. It will always go against the people, unless there's an outright mutiny in its ranks. That doesn't happen until the last hour of the revolution; then, finally, the troops start joining the masses.

**Iranian revolutionary  
California**

Deng got an honorary doctorate degree 10 years ago at Temple University. We want it taken away. He is a killer. We also want to sign a letter to Bush to stop sending advanced weapons to China. Bush won't be much help because he wants to keep the relationship with China from a strategic or diplomatic point of view. But he has to be pressured.

**Chinese solidarity activist  
Rutgers University**

China is no "Communist" government—it is a fascist government. I want Americans to know that we fight against this government, but we do not fight against Marxism. I am a Marxist, a Humanist. When I was in Beijing I attended meetings where Marx's ideas on alienation and humanism were discussed. The government is totally opposed to Marx's ideas.

**In exile from China  
Wisconsin**

Does true freedom exist anywhere in the world? I look at what the students were doing in Tiananmen Square, and I think true freedom existed there, but it was only momentary. How do we make it permanent? What the students were doing reminded me of the Paris Commune. But it seems to me many students come from the elite. When the workers are involved, they are the ones who are most threatening to the government.

**Chinese student  
New York City**

I read Raya Dunayevskaya's "The Challenge of Mao Tse Tung," in Chinese, and found it quite accurate. I had heard of the designation of state-capitalism, but not in relationship to China. One thing I am sure about is that China is not Marxist. The people of China want freedom, beginning with freedom of speech and the press. I don't think our movement has a philosophy yet. There are many different views about the kind of democracy that we want. But most of us agree that the U.S. system is not what we want. At this point, what we need is more debate and discussion about different ideas of freedom.

**Young Chinese woman  
Illinois**

*Editor's note: The Chinese translation of "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung," Chapter 17 of Marxism and Freedom, is available from News & Letters for \$1.*

I used to teach philosophy at a university in Shanghai. One of the courses I taught was "The Fundamentals of Marxism." It was on Mao, Marx, Engels and Lenin. But I can tell you honestly, that we didn't know what part of it was from Marx and what wasn't. It was such a hodge podge. I don't think I know what real Marxism is.

It is disgusting to hear reporters say that what people in China want is a return to western capitalism. My own personal experience with American capitalism comes from working in a restaurant. They treat me without any dignity. I know many other Chinese students abroad, who have jobs like mine, and they don't like it either. I am for change toward a better society in China, not for more capitalism.

**Chinese woman  
Chicago**

I was able to get a taste of the Beijing Spring when I took part in a march in London called by Chinese students in Britain, in support of China's democracy movement. According to the BBC, about 5,000 people took part. Chinese

students from Wales, Manchester, Liverpool, Newcastle, Oxford and Cambridge as well as London. There were also people from Hong Kong and Taiwan as well as mainland China. I was interviewed by a reporter from the New China Press Agency, who asked for my view of the events. He handed me his notebook and I wrote down that I was "a Marxist-Humanist supporting the Chinese peoples' struggle against state-capitalism and for socialist democracy."

**Richard Bunting  
England**

So many things are happening in the world today, of which we must be proud of announcing. Raya would have said "I told you so" to the Communists in China, Russia Poland, etc. The militant demand for democracy is now openly echoing everywhere in the world and these demands are nothing other than the Humanism that Raya pointed out ever since these people took power. Stalinism always has the same answer to people everywhere—kill them! jail them! torture them! But that is no solution. The only solution is to return to the abandoned Humanism.

**Revolutionary  
West Africa**

### 'JUSTICE THUNDERS CONDEMNATION'



Could we print the words of the Internationale which we could hear the Chinese students singing even after the massacre at Tiananmen Square? (I wonder how many people know that the title of Frantz Fanon's famous *Wretched of the Earth* comes directly from its second line?) I know that when I watched and heard the events on my TV here I made a promise to those beautiful youth to do all I can to bring to birth that new world they were singing and dying for.

**Marxist-Humanist  
Los Angeles**

*Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!  
Arise, ye wretched of the earth,  
For justice thunders condemnation,  
A better world's in birth.  
No more tradition's chains shall bind us,  
Arise, ye slaves, no more in thrall!  
The earth shall rise on new foundations,  
We have been naught; we shall be all.  
'Tis the final conflict,  
Let each stand in his place;  
The Internationale  
Shall be the human race!*

### ATTITUDES TOWARD OBJECTIVITY

The writing by Raya Dunayevskaya in the June issue of N&L on "The Third Attitude Toward Objectivity" or Intuitionism in relation to Organization, was quite fascinating. Left organizations have often fallen into the trap of putting "faith" in organization ahead of working out the dialectics of organization. Just look at the Second International, which thought you could "replace" capitalism with socialism so long as you just had a big enough organization. That kind of attitude is a roadblock to revolution.

**Construction worker  
California**

I have a lot of questions about the column by Raya in the last issue. Can one interpret it to imply that Lenin slipped into the "Third Attitude to Objectivity"? Lenin had more to say about "The Doctrine of the Notion" in Hegel's *Logic* than any other post-Marx Marxist, and you surely can't compare Lenin with Mao, who was an intuitionist.

**Marxist-Humanist  
New York**

Isn't Hegel saying that if you are not dialectical, you will fall back in one of the three basic attitudes to objectivity he was criticizing? The Left has always bounced back and forth between the second attitude, empiricism, and the third attitude, voluntarism or faith.

# Readers' Views

How does this critique relate to us? Does it mean that when we separate the Concept of organization from the practice of organization we fall into the third attitude?

**John Marcotte  
New York**

The critique of intuitionism and impatience makes me think of the youth movement today. Many youth are turning to anarchism or even to Maoism with the "we have to get things done now" kind of attitude. A well developed dialectical critique of impatience can speak to them.

**Feminist activist  
De Kalb, Illinois**

Marxist-Humanism is the absolute opposite to what post-Marx Marxists have done for years and years. When you look at the events in China, you can see the logical conclusion of where post-Marx Marxism leads—to the mass slaughter of human beings. Dunayevskaya's concept of "Post-Marx Marxism as pejorative" is a challenge to any Chinese revolutionary, it is a challenge for the whole world.

**Iranian-in-exile  
Chicago**

I think N&L has the "philosophic dialogue" page because revolution is limited when you have only doing with no thinking.

**Retired worker  
California**

### MARXIST- HUMANISM'S INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION



I am writing to you on behalf of fellow comrades with whom we have been organizing political education classes as we try to curb internecine violence that has seemed to destroy our political initiative. We have organized political education classes because we have felt this problem might be caused by the lack of a very coherent, flexible political philosophy and theory. But our objectives are mainly curtailed by the shortages of literature that contain revolutionary theory merged with practice. As such we thought it might be a dynamic idea to write to you and ask you to sponsor our street committee with some of your literature, such as *Philosophy and Revolution* and *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution* by Raya Dunayevskaya. Your newspaper has been read by all parts of the oppressed in my area. It is used in our weekly political education classes, which has actually brought much understanding between the oppressed masses in our country.

**Revolutionary  
South Africa**

Thank you very much for the book, *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* by Raya. You have been working very hard to spread the ideas of that philosophy. That is important in our world which appears to be dominated by concern with just what is before it, not what has happened in the past, thereby giving credit to the present only.

Disregarding the efforts of pioneers and their contributions has caused confusion within the ranks of intellectuals bedevilled by the urge to survive by any means—capitalist, socialist, opportunist, megalomaniac. Your group has been fortunate to survive the onslaught of such renegades. Keep up your admirable work. I congratulate you all.

**Dixon Colley  
The Gambia**

I have been reading the News & Letters Spanish-language pamphlet, *Dos ensayos por Raya Dunayevskaya*. I have two questions from my reading: (1) What does Dunayevskaya mean when she's talking about the worker

and says that what is needed is not just a change in property form but a change in production relations? (2) On Hegel's concept of freedom that relates Individualism and Universalism—how could that be applied to real life? Is that what the Chinese students had in mind, during their occupation of Tiananmen Square in May?

**South American student  
living in Los Angeles**

I am reading your publication with a lot of interest as well as studying *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*, as it seems hard to obtain it here.

**Zbigniew Kowalewski  
Paris, France**

I am interested in studying Raya's work, principally in comparing her thought on liberation philosophy with the thought of some other important philosophers from Latin America.

**New reader  
Mexico City, Mexico**



### THE REAGAN COURT IN ACTION

The Supreme Court's ruling that we have the right to burn the American flag isn't the victory it's being cranked up to be. It enabled the Court to convey the false impression that it stands for "individual liberties" on a matter that is really not that significant—how many people go out and burn the flag anyway? On all the important issues from affirmative action to abortion, the Court is sure to show its true, reactionary colors—but now it will do so by giving some the false impression that it stands for a few individual rights.

**Civil rights veteran  
Chicago**

The idea that we have an "independent" judiciary in this country is the biggest hoax of all. I believe the Supreme Court deliberately waited until after Bush's election before coming down with all these anti-affirmative action rulings. They didn't want to give him any trouble during the campaign.

**Still furious  
Michigan**

People sense that the Supreme Court may do the "unthinkable." The point of our activity is not only the immediate of what the Court may or may not do. Like the Eastern strikers, there is a principle that goes beyond what the players on the stage right now may decide. How can masses get back on the historic stage? Where will the shock of recognition, that human rights cannot be something the Supreme Court can grant or take away, lead to now?

**Participants  
Bay Area**

### OUR READERS RESPOND

For me, the best part of your paper are the letters and news items about workers' problems that seldom make it into establishment publications. With regard to philosophy, there are many new issues that, with all due respect, Hegel and even Marx didn't take care of adequately, because they did not yet exist as they do today—for example, multi-national corporations.

**Philosophy teacher  
Indianapolis, Indiana**

I am writing to get some back issues of your newspaper and especially for material on African women's liberation. I am a Black man in prison who is concerned with the struggle for freedom, justice and equality of the woman of Africa and Asia.

**Prisoner  
Attica, New York**

**THE CRISIS OF TODAY'S "RESTRUCTURED" CAPITALISM**

There is a division of thought and work. If my labor in the plant is defined as meaningless and the intellectual's work as meaningful, you can see why workers hesitate to limit their demands for the fruits of their labor. We haven't yet defined work for ourselves. We have to redefine work.

**Steel worker  
Detroit**

The analyses in the bourgeois press on the situation in the "Communist" world are ridiculous. They do correctly see the economic crises in those state-capitalist countries, whether China or Poland, Hungary or Russia. But they act as if there's no economic crisis in private capitalism—in Mexico, Argentina, Venezuela—and right here in the U.S. where Bush just vetoed a paltry rise in the minimum wage.

**Young worker  
California**

They've been working us 70 hours a week, sometimes up to 14 hours a day—I've had 6 days off in the past seven weeks, and had to work 17 days straight at one point. And this is in a plant with a union contract! It gets so that you're tired all the time. But they don't care, they want to work us until we drop. They figure there are plenty of other workers they can hire if we do.

**Meatpacking worker  
Chicago**

The 1980s represents for the Italian movement a period of capital restructuring and state repression inside and outside of the factory. In this period the Italian bourgeoisie can celebrate what has been called the economic "Italian renaissance," i.e., the renaissance of profits and Italian "competitive" style through workers' misery and intensification of labor. This "renaissance" could have been obtained only through a destruction of the class composition which led to the struggles of the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1980s a new class composition has been under formation—through new technologies, new organization of labor, renewed need of labor discipline, etc.—but at the same time the

working class has searched in praxis for new forms of organization through spontaneous and autonomous movements against trade-union bureaucracies and parties' domination.

**Massimo  
Italy**

Norway is one of the countries most hard-hit by the European economic crisis. Unemployment and inflation are rising daily. This serious economic crisis is interpreted by politicians as being the result of the inflow of "intruders" from overseas. Racist sentiment is daily on the increase. Bombing of shops and other places owned by Third World people and physical attacks are on the increase, all happening in the name of nationalism.

**African student  
Norway**

A new development at work is that we have new smocks to wear. The story behind them is that static electricity damages electronic components. The government (since we are a defense contractor) has issued a set of regulations that we must follow. For quite some time now we've had to wear "leashes." They are called ground straps that fasten around your wrist and are connected by a cord to a grounded work surface. What a tangled up mess—now I know how my dog feels. Now we must wear these long-sleeved lab type jackets that also connect to our leashes. The material is a special conductive material that does not breathe. The general foreman came back from lunch last week to find 12 blouses on his desk.

**Electronic worker  
Oregon**

Reading the May N&L—the articles on child and youth labor, and on drugs—made me think of the people I grew up with in the Midwest. Most of the people I went to grade school with are now either unemployed or only marginally employed, or dealing drugs. That's the reality of life under capitalism today.

**Young worker  
California**

The requirement to do government or military work in order to get financial aid is what will confront young people who have no other options for work or education, if the National Service Act Sheila Fuller discusses in the April issue comes to pass. It is entrapment and will work like the draft during Vietnam when the majority of draftees were Black, Latino, poor and unemployed.

This bill is something youth have to watch out for.

**Concerned youth  
Los Angeles**

The Long Island case of Nancy Klein, the woman in a coma whose husband won the right to have an abortion performed, made me so angry. The "right-to-lifers" who tried to win custody of the woman so they could stop the abortion showed they have nothing to do with life. They didn't care if she lived or died.

**Student  
New York City**

I am still thinking about the question, "What is revolution in America?" I used to work on Skid Row, but found that many of the men there still believed that if only they could "get it together," everything would be all right. I know that charity is not and has never been the answer, no matter how many coffers are filled. Education means nothing in this country where the educational system is designed to improve production and relieve the deficit. A child is viewed as our "most precious commodity," rather than simply a human being. Men talk freely about "ex-ing out" someone, killing whether by machine gun or by lying; they disregard their own emotions that make them smoke or drink or beat their fists against the wall. How does revolution address these questions?

**Woman writer  
Los Angeles**

**DEFEND BATTERED WOMEN**

The Battered Women's Directory is a comprehensive resource and reference directory of shelters, services and edu-

cational resources for battered women in the U.S. We have just completed a new Supplement listing over 2,000 safe-homes and services. The Supplement can be ordered for \$8 or the Directory and Supplement together for \$12. (We are asking for \$1 more to defray postage.) All orders and inquiries can be directed to Terry Mehlman, 5173 Turner Rd., Richmond, IN 47374. Could you announce this in your next issue?

**Directory Editor  
Indiana**

**SHUTTING DOWN THOUGHT AT WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY**



It was shocking to learn that the administrators of Washington University in St. Louis have decided to shut down their Sociology Department, known for many years as a center of Marxist and critical thought. Apparently the University has decided to go instead completely for hi-tech and business!

During the 1960s and 1970s several prominent radical theorists including Alvin Gouldner taught there. The journal Telos, in those days still on the Left, was published for some years from the Sociology Department. Most important to Marxist-Humanists, however, was the fact that the Sociology Department invited Raya Dunayevskaya there in the 1960s for a week as a Visiting Scholar, where she held very well-attended lectures and had media appearances on her book-in-progress, *Philosophy and Revolution*.

It was exactly this type of ferment that led university bureaucrats to begin whittling down the department, once a large and nationally known one, to the point where today they are actually abolishing it.

**Marxist-Humanist sociologist  
Chicago**

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- Marxism and Freedom ...from 1776 until today**  
1989 Columbia University Press edition. New 1980s introduction by author 381 pp.  
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$17.50 per copy
- Philosophy and Revolution from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao**  
1982 edition. New introduction by author 372 pp.  
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution** 234 pp.  
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future** 294 pp.  
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$15.95
- The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya.** Contains "Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987," and 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes." 52 pp.  
\$3.00 paperback, \$10.00 hardcover
- Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal**  
1989 Wayne State University Press edition includes Afterword by Raya Dunayevskaya, "Charles Denby 1907-83" 303 pp.  
by Charles Denby \$14.95

**—PAMPHLETS—**

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## Black/Red View

by John Alan

It should come as no surprise that the Reagan majority on the U.S. Supreme Court would eventually begin to unravel the civil rights bill, enacted by Congress under the pressure of the Black mass Civil Rights Movement. Everyone concerned with politics knew that Reagan's long-term strategy was to pack the federal judiciary with his reactionary ideologues to ensure the continuation of his retrogressive policies once he was out of the White House.

Last month, in their sweeping reversals of the "legal meaning" of civil rights statutes, the Reagan Court did not venture to strike them down. Rather, it let them remain in a form that severely limits their enforcement, to the extent that the statutes are ineffective in preventing or correcting racial and sexual discrimination in the workplace!

### RACISM OF 'REVERSE RACISM'

For example, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was once thought to be the statutory requirement that would wipe out discrimination in employment, and was liberally interpreted by the Burger Court to mean the prohibition of both purposeful discrimination and requirements and practices that resulted in discrimination. The employer had the burden to prove the necessity of such requirements and practices. Like a bunch of "pettyfogging lawyers," the Reagan majority on the Court reversed the Burger Court by placing the burden on the plaintiff, making it far more difficult to prove that the employer had erected false barriers to keep Blacks and women from working at certain types of jobs.

Or take affirmative action, the legal method by which years of discriminatory practices would be remedied. The Reagan Court has found a legal loophole that virtually destroys the very concept of affirmative action. It decided that any agreement between one group of employees and employers is not binding on employees and employers that were not parties to the original agreement. This essentially places in limbo all previous court-ordered affirmative action plans.

Any further probing into the decisions of the Reagan Court would show that every attempt to overcome racism legally has been subject to an absolute limit wherein racism can flourish. It is clear that the Reagan majority on the Court has adopted the spurious philosophy of "reverse racism" to justify existing white racism. Thus they have drained out of the already inadequate civil rights statutes the real intent and reason that the Black Civil Rights Revolution originally gave to them.

### FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY—CHINA, U.S.

There is some truth in Richard Cohen's contention, in the *Washington Post*, that the Court's shift to the right means "The second Reconstruction period has ended." But, he failed to see that at the same time, this constitutional retrogressionism places American civilization on trial and raises the profound question of whether there is a political solution to racism within the con-

## Debate on South Africa

Los Angeles, Cal.—A meeting called by the Friends of the African National Congress (ANC) started off as a planning meeting for future activities, but was transformed into a battle of ideas—from "what does the ANC stand for besides the Freedom Charter?" to "what is the meaning of Black Consciousness today?" to the bankrupt concept of the Democratic Party.

The desire I felt was to put all differences on the table to reach some unity, not that abstract unity where these differences are covered over. To express those differences is a part of any freedom struggle.

There is a need to articulate what freedom means here in the U.S. and in South Africa, to reach our goal. This meeting was an attempt to find an alternative to the bourgeois-controlled Free South Africa Movement in L.A., which in the beginning had a revolutionary element in it and a certain mass support in the Black community. They killed that support with their undemocratic actions and their truncating of political discussion on the current moment of the revolution.

What we attempted to do at this meeting was bridge the gap in the minds of the politicians, between the U.S. Black struggle and that within South Africa. The point was to generate more support within the Black community for the anti-apartheid movement.

A point of identity can be seen in the senseless murder of Blacks within this country by racist cops and their ilk. They recently gunned down an unarmed Black man in Hawthorne, Marcus Donel, 30, who didn't fit the description of a Latino robbery suspect the cops were looking for.

The struggle here in the U.S. against racism is felt by the South African students as well, who see racism as a sophisticated attack upon the Blacks physically and mentally. One of the sponsors of the meeting felt the need for South African speakers to reach out to the Black community and speak to the great struggle of Blacks in this country as well as in S.A.

By the end of this discussion, one South African student stated that there was a need to have a forum to discuss Black Consciousness, to look at the root of what and where it developed. He said, "When I was in South Africa, I could pick up a stone and throw it at the enemy, but in this country there is an attack upon the Black mind. That is the hardest to confront and defend against." This is a point of identity for all Black people, from South Africa to the U.S.

—Gene Ford

## Court guts civil rights

finer of American capitalist society.

Robert Moses touched upon this at a reunion of members of the Mississippi Freedom Summer civil rights campaign recently in Berkeley, when he said in part: "Politics is a dead end for Blacks and progressives. Jesse (Jackson) has taken it as far as it will go."

This same question was raised within the context of the student opposition to Deng Xiaoping. The million Chinese students and their supporters who filled Tiananmen Square to challenge the oppressive state-capitalist regime of Deng were well aware of the universal dimension of their action. Not only did they sing the "Internationale"—a revolutionary song that had its origins in the Paris Commune of 1871 and not in state-capitalist Russia as many seem to think—but also "We Shall Overcome." Thus, they identified their own battle against Deng's state-capitalist society with the ongoing battle of Black Americans against racism and "private" capitalism in the United States.

The recognition of the identity of the two struggles by the Chinese students can't be minimized or ignored. The idea of freedom that they are dying for is not the kind of abstract equality that is practiced in the United States. The American Black dimension is the concrete measure of the kind of race/class democracy which exists in the United States. The Reagan Court has, in the context of world liberation movements and here at home, placed American civilization on trial, as it moves to unravel civil rights that took several decades of mass action to get written into law.

## Mass insecurity in Haiti

Port-au-Prince, Haiti—After eight months in power, the government of Prosper Avril has shown itself to be ineffective in dealing with the important problems of the country. The climate of insecurity continues. There are daily cases of assassinations recorded in Haiti. According to all indications, these assassinations are carried out by death squads in olive green, linked to the armed forces.

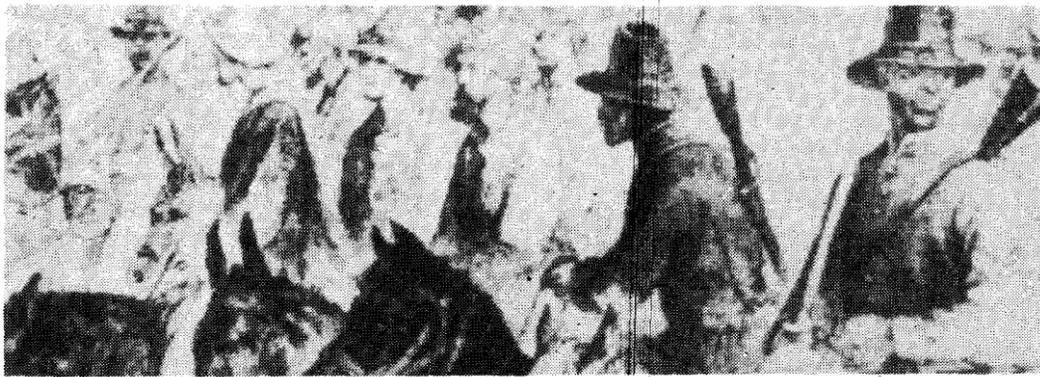
Increasingly, the prices of basic necessities are rising. Life is becoming more expensive. This week there was a rise in gasoline prices, which led to general discontent. Public transport drivers went out on strike. Thus, on June 7 and 8, two days of strikes took place throughout the country. All activities were paralyzed: schools did not function, stores closed their iron gates, and factories shut down.

The drivers demanded the transfer of the head of transport, Major Isidor Pongnon. Isidor Pongnon, former commandant of Fort Dimanche, a barracks which symbolized the Duvalier dynasty, is known for his criminality, his barbarity, not to speak of his terrorizing of the drivers.

For its part, the government turns up its nose at the drivers' demands. It does not respond, something which increases the mass discontent. In sum, the situation is desperate in Haiti. We hope for an end to the crisis. But it seems that the Avril government cannot overcome the crisis because of its incompetence and its scorn for the people.

—Renan He'douville  
Correspondent

## American civilization on trial BLACK MASSES AS VANGUARD



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## Direct from South Africa Freedom Journal

Johannesburg, South Africa—"Banning" of overtime was adopted by nearly all the South African labour movement before the New Labour Bill was intentionally introduced by the South African government to crush the peaceful opposition. The overtime ban has been regarded as a threat to the South African economy by the employers and their government.

Big industries were almost forced to bow down to workers' demands by means of the overtime ban. Under the previous Labour Relations Act, employees had a right not to perform overtime duties, if such refusal was not contrary to their employment contracts. For instance, workers in the transport industry were only subjected to 46 hours, which is regarded as normal weekly working hours, calculated at 9½ hours on each day, with lunch and tea breaks.

Just before the introduction of the New Bill, the employers held a meeting with their lawyers and their unions. In this meeting the employers were advised to issue notices to their employees stating that "You are required to perform overtime duties for the company whenever requested to do so. Refusal will entitle the company to impose severe disciplinary action against you."

It is then clear that the South African government implemented the Bill with the help of the employers. It was quite smart of the capitalists to include overtime rejection as definition of a strike in the New Labour Bill.

Today, the companies rely mostly on the provisions of the New Labour Bill, which declares a "ban on over-

## Workers battle overtime

time as an unlawful strike," ignoring the provisions in the recognition agreement concluded between the parties. The Supreme Court itself said the provision in the amended Labour Bill binds all the parties irrespective of the agreements between them.

With South Africa's unjust and humiliating labour laws, the employers wield more power to dismiss any of our union members who refuse to work overtime. We have again decided on other methods to directly affect the companies' profits. The majority resolved to begin with a go slow action.

Banning of overtime will not only help defuse the huge unemployment situation in South Africa, but will also reduce retrenchment of employees. The outcry for a 40-hour week on full pay will also ensure that few employees are affected by retrenchment.

Hundreds of workers have been arrested under emergency regulations over the past two years and scores of others have been convicted on charges of intimidation. In the absence of any kind of protection for employees in expressing their grievances without fear of dismissal by the employers and the government, South African workers held a summit on March 4-5 of this year, which included almost all workers in different organisations. For the first time, South African workers had the opportunity to meet and discuss their common objectives as workers.

An unexpected unity among workers of South Africa has developed into a force against the Labour Relations Amendment Act, a unity in which workers of South Africa stand together irrespective of organisational differences.

—Trade unionist

# Visage of genocide in U.S. Black health crisis

(continued from page 1)

Church and a Black clerical leadership.

## THIRD WORLD INFANT MORTALITY

The Black infant mortality rate is on the rise in every major urban area in the country. In Chicago, Harlem, Detroit, Philadelphia and Washington, D.C. as many as 25 to 30 babies die for every 1,000 born, while twice that many die in New York's welfare hotels. From the inner cities, to rural areas of the South where Black infant mortality is phenomenally high, to American Indian reservations, where the infant mortality rate is more than 15 per 1,000 births, America has produced a Third World health crisis. Added to Black infant mortality and low birth weights is the seldom reported Black maternal mortality rate, which discloses that Black women are three times more likely to die in childbirth than white women due to causes that are for the most part preventable.

*The story takes place on Chicago's Black West Side, where young unmarried women live in small one-room studio apartments with three and four children. It's where you never see "Right to Life" (sic) activists because life after birth, especially Black life, has few rights that their reactionary ideology is bound to respect. It is the story of Black babies dying at rates comparable to the poorest Third World countries.*

*"At 4 a.m. on March 4, a 16-year-old girl arrived at the emergency room at the University of Illinois Hospital in labor. She had not seen a doctor during her pregnancy, and a sonogram of the fetus showed serious problems; an enlarged heart and minimal lung tissue.*

*"A baby girl, weighing barely 3 pounds, was born that afternoon and died three days later. The autopsy showed that congenital syphilis had seriously damaged most of the baby's organs—damage that would have been prevented if her mother had been treated with antibiotics early in her pregnancy.*

*"The baby's death was one of 22 that has pushed the perinatal mortality rate [the number of infant deaths within 7 days of birth] at the University of Illinois Hospitals to 20.6 deaths per thousand for the first four months of 1989, up from 15.4 in the first four months of 1988 and almost double the low rate of 11.6 in all of 1986." (Chicago Tribune, June 15, 1989)*

Despite the propaganda of government subsidized community health care agencies who claim that the infant mortality rate is being brought down, the Black infant mortality rate in Illinois is twice the national average and three times the rate of white babies. Where hospitals haven't abandoned poor Black and Latino communities, community hospitals have closed due to severe financial problems. The effect, in any case, has sharply curtailed indigent care in the inner city. Still, Black infant mortality is only one of myriad problems besetting the health of Black life in white America.

## BLACK DEATH AND THE WORKPLACE

According to the 1985 Department of Health and Human Services Task Force on Black and Minority Health: "Numerous occupational epidemiological studies document the higher rate of assignment of Blacks to hazardous worksites compared with rates for whites. This fact, coupled with the excessive cancer experiences of Blacks, suggests occupation may likely account for greater percentage of cancers in minorities than previously appreciated."

Blacks have the highest cancer rates of any ethnic group in the U.S.—11% in excess of whites. Lung cancer mortality is 45% higher among Black men than white men. Both incidences and mortality rates for cervical and uterine cancer are 2.5 times higher for Black women than white women. Moreover, Black women have 39% greater chance of sustaining job-related disease and serious work-related injuries than white women, along with 25% greater chance of dying from such causes.

*Predominantly, Black women work in the packaging department. When there are work-related injuries all the company does is send you to the company doctor. They call you back to do light work rather than let you stay home.*

*Although there aren't many injuries, we get aches and pains in our bones from working in 30-35 degree temperatures in refrigerated departments. Because we are in there from 10 to 14 hours, all of us begin to get arthritis. Some of the older women who have been there for a while have severe arthritis. But even having been there a short time, I feel arthritis in my bones. It's mostly due to the temperature changes, plus the big fans they keep blowing on the floors to keep them dry and the cooling fans in the ceilings.*

*(Meatpacking worker, Chicago)*

The human experiences behind the statistics of work-related diseases only reinforce Marx's analysis of 19th century capitalist production "that consumption and pulmonary diseases of the workers are conditions necessary to the existence of capital." (Capital, Vol. I, Vintage Press ed., p. 612). When it comes to the wastage of human life by capitalist production, not much has changed from Marx's 19th century Europe to our own 20th century America. Life expectancy for the working poor is cut short by the dual degradation of labor and living conditions. "Under these conditions," Marx wrote, "the absolute increase...of the proletariat must take a form which swells their numbers, despite the rapid wastage of their individual elements." (Capital, p. 795) Just as Marx noted that these circumstances were met by early marriages and large families among the working class, so today this "social requirement," i.e., the replacement of one generation of workers by another, is met by the early pregnancies of young working class women, white as well as Black and Latino.

health care problems reveal to what extent the gap has widened between Black and white health to produce a two-tier system, separate and unequal. According to Joseph Delaney, editor of North Mississippi Rural Legal Services (NMRLS) Notes, based in Oxford, Mississippi: "Regular checkups are only dreamed of by some Mississippians...of Tunica, Mississippi's 'Sugar Ditch' neighborhood. What could be prevented with a checkup all too often becomes a major emergency, especially when income is below poverty level." (NMRLS Notes, January-February, 1988).

Nationally, the mortality rates for heart disease and other catastrophic illnesses among Blacks continue their decade-long increase. The lack of union health benefits, or personal health insurance, along with the restricted availability of Medicare has kept the Black mortality rate high in the South.

## ALIENATION VS. BLACK SELF-DETERMINATION

The fact that more than 35 million Americans lack any form of public or private health insurance—one-third of them children—places the United States alongside South Africa as the only industrialized countries that have failed to provide poor families with health care protection.

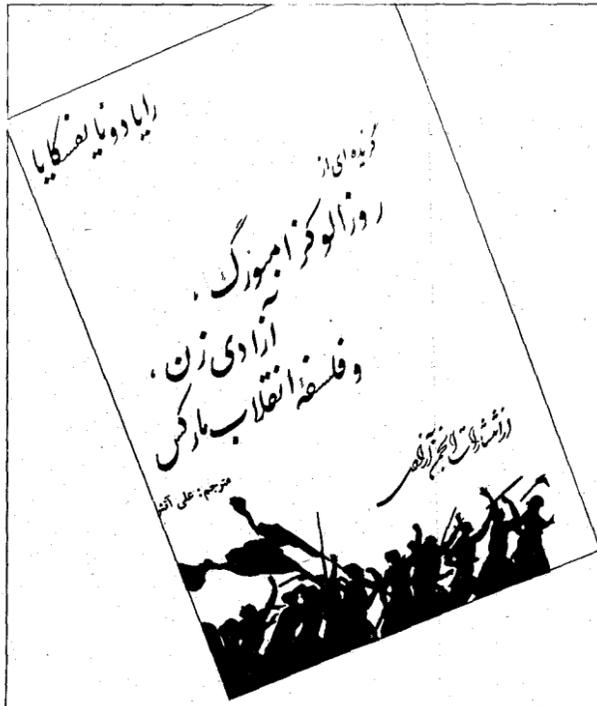
As we have seen, then, the crisis in American capital-

ist society reaches its most inhuman extreme with the crisis in Black health. It is America's apartheid, because its ultimate logic is genocide. It is the incipient genocide of the Black "underclass" in whom the Black leadership also sees embodied the desperate failure of its political agenda. For the fundamental contradiction of Black America is that its political gains have come hand-in-hand with its social dissolution. And yet, those who continue to revolt, resist or otherwise survive, are of the lowest and deepest strata of society. They are the ones who live its contradictions.

The conditions which isolate and degrade Black life are not mere health questions but social ones. The crisis in Black health has only brought out the determinate character of the social crisis, meaning that the real "disease" that passes over into the life of the Black community is not drug abuse or AIDS, but social alienation. It attacks no specific organ, nor cripples any particular disposition; rather it infects the social organism and life-process of the Black community, as a whole. With such a crisis a dual life begins to emerge in the Black community. The question then becomes: will the crisis take possession of the Black historical determination to be free? Or, will a new revolutionary life emerge out of this Black 400-year, historical determination to become what Marx called the "gravediggers" of this capitalist nightmare?

## What direction for post-Khomeini Iran?

Khomeini's death on June 3 was followed by a "mini bloodless coup" in which the most reactionary faction, led by Ahmad Khomeini, Khomeini's son, was the loser, and the faction led by Rafsanjani, Speaker of the House, and Khamenei, the President, the winner. With-



*A Farsi translation of chapter 12 of Raya Dunayevskaya's Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy and Revolution—"The Last Writings of Marx Point a Trail to the 1980s"—has been issued by the Iranian Marxist-Humanist group Anjuman Azadi. It is available from N&L for \$2 plus 75¢ postage.*

in hours after his death, the notorious militia known as the Komiteh, which guards the government buildings and the radio station, (and which was under the control of Interior Minister Mohtashami, ally of Ahmad Khomeini) was replaced by regular army units.

On June 4, the Assembly of Experts called a hasty meeting with only 53 of the 80 members present. In this meeting it was decided that, contrary to the Constitution and Khomeini's wish, the religious leadership would not be invested in a committee of clerics that included Ahmad Khomeini. Instead, President Khamenei, who hardly has the designated religious credentials, was selected as the interim religious leader.

## FACTIONS FEAR POPULAR REVOLT

Ahmad Khomeini and his band are sure to be heard in the months which follow. What led to this swift compromise within the government, however, was the fear in both factions that the Ayatollah's death would bring forth a popular uprising. Immediately after the death, government buildings were sandbagged, the army controlled the cities, and international phones were cut off. Still the city of Isfahan became the focus of a major conflict between opposition forces and the government, and a three day martial law was declared.

Even the mass outpouring on the day of the funeral, which caught so much world attention, was not spontaneous. On Sunday only 20-25,000 government supporters showed up for the funeral. The government then declared a five day paid holiday and scheduled the funeral for Tuesday. Free transportation was provided so all supporters of Khomeini could travel to Tehran, and the Pasharan were sent to gather people from the vicinity of the capital. Ra-

dio and television were in full force, encouraging the public to participate. Many residents of Tehran, however, chose to leave town.

The government's fear of public outburst was quite justified. The decade-long retrogressive rule of Khomeini failed in political, economic, social and military aspects. The top 20% of the nation controls 75% of its wealth, the bottom 40% owns only 3%. The middle class has been ruined with high prices, vast shortages and unemployment. In a country of 53 million, official unemployment is over 4 million, inflation is nearly 70%. The once self-sufficient agriculture has reached the state where Iran now qualifies for special discounts allotted to famine-ridden countries. Education and health services have diminished. Ten months after the war ended, no reconstruction has begun.

## GENUINE REVOLUTION IS NEEDED

Nor was Khomeini very successful in exporting his brand of Islamic Revolution abroad; his call for "neither East, nor West" began to unravel before his death. The meeting with Shevardnadze in the winter of 1989, in the midst of the Salman Rushdie affair, has been followed by Rafsanjani's hasty trip to Russia, even before his election as president. There, he entered into a series of extensive commercial agreements, close in spirit to the type of agreements Tsarist Russia used to sign with Iran in the nineteenth century. They include resumption of gas lines; extensive navigation on the Caspian Sea; the use of Russian satellites for finding new mineral resources in Iran; construction of dams, electric plants and railways; direct transit for commercial vehicles; extensive border trading from Azerbaijan to central Asia, and much more. This agreement was preceded by one for 600 million dollars with China.

Khomeini's death will not end the brutal government of the Islamic Republic—for that a genuine revolution from within the country is needed. His death, however, has lifted an incubus off the head of many Iranian activists and has opened the road for a re-evaluation of the 1978-79 revolution, as well as perhaps a greater appreciation for the philosophic rudder which enabled Marxist-Humanists to predict in March 1979 that Khomeini was trying to "steal the fruit of the revolution—freedom—and leave the masses who made it at the bottom as in any and all class societies."\* —Neda Azad

\* Raya Dunayevskaya, "Iran: Unfoldment of, and Contradiction in, Revolution," March 25, 1979, Iran: Revolution & Counter-Revolution, News & Letters, 1981.

## Ottawa arms show protest

Kingston, Ont.—Eleven of some 30 Kingston demonstrators were among 130 people arrested in Ottawa late in May trying to block the entrance to ARMEX '89, the International Arms Trade Show. Ottawa police, surprised by the number and determination of the protesters, took as long as 12 hours to process those arrested.

Canada's arms industry produces \$3 billion in military ware each year, \$2 billion of which is exported. Peace groups like Operation Dismantle have been making more and more Canadians aware of the revolting situation, which is condoned and encouraged by the "Mulrooney" federal and many provincial governments. More than 12,000 potential customers from countries like fascist Chile, South Korea, Guatemala, Indonesia, and the U.S.A. come to view the latest technology in death weapons and machines "made in Canada."

Ironically the arrested demonstrators were charged with "obstructing the lawful use of property." Those who witnessed the recent upheaval and deaths in China have a graphic view of how armies use these destructive tools and of what shows like ARMEX are really about. Perhaps those who feel ARMEX is "good for business" have been given an understanding of why caring people are willing to be arrested to make such shows "unlawful use of property." —S.D. Scarlett

# China: Solidarity and protests in the United States



News &amp; Letters photo

Los Angeles, Cal.—On June 4, some 1,500 angry people, mainly Chinese, massed outside the Chinese Consulate. The universal cry was: "Death to the murderers!" "Down with the government!" "Overthrow the system!" One sign, in Chinese, read, "The people in the front lines died; we are coming behind."

## Voices of Chinese in the United States

The enthusiasm of the students seen throughout the world, and then the turn to violent scenes—the crimes of the government—can't erase the fact we are adopting new concepts, quite different from them. We developed a lot of sympathy, even from the soldiers and the police. Economic reform actually worsened some people's situation, and even when they improved they brought new grievances and more widespread, bigger troubles.

One thing that has been brought out very clearly is that after 10 years of reform, the illiteracy rate among peasants has increased; after some gradual improvement, even under Mao, it is now as high as it was in 1949. One of their biggest mistakes, for which they will be most sorry, is the government's neglect of education and disrespect for learning at all levels.

In the 1986-87 period there was more discussion among students about going to the workers, but it's so tightly controlled that it's very difficult. With the peasants, those who have the most direct relationship to the government who have the biggest grievances.

I would say from the Hegelian-Marxist standpoint we have moved from quantitative to the brink of qualitative change—each new event will bring new concepts, new ways of thinking to the whole population. When the level of consciousness of the whole reaches that of Beijing, then we will have revolution. But you have to look at this in relationship to 1949, to see both the contradiction and the development. In '49 China used Marxism from the West against the West, to assert national identity, while at the same time this was a revolt against China's own past.

—Beijing University transfer student, New York

I was so proud when the students protested for democracy. As a famous Chinese writer put it, we have a right to dream in China, but we haven't had a right to speak about our dreams. Then when I saw the harsh repression I wanted to cry.

This is terrible for Chinese people because "conscience" is so important to us. Even soldiers expressed it. When an armored personnel carrier refused to drive through a crowd of students a tank pushed it from behind, forcing it to run over people. The outraged crowd pulled soldiers out of the carrier to beat them. Even though he was going to be beaten, a soldier pleaded with the crowd not to take his gun and shoot him because then the troops behind would have a reason to open fire on the crowd.

The students have had to be very sensitive to carry on the struggle this far. I would say they made two errors: calling for Deng's removal at the time they were trying to establish a televised dialogue and erecting the Goddess of Democracy which could be seen as the American Statue of Liberty. Deng's pride was wounded and he hardened his position and the statue gave him an excuse to say that the demonstrations were really inspired by foreign American ideas. I am also concerned that there is a division between the rural areas and the cities because of poor communication. The students' call for free speech and dialogue is correct as a first step to freedom. The students have shown that they are willing to die for freedom to speak.

—Computer scientist from mainland China

## Phone calls from China

(continued from page 5)

university. The armed troop carriers are moving toward Tiananmen Square from Moxidi along Changan street. They open fire on the demonstrators while they are rolling. The bullets from their automatic guns sweep the people on the street. Till 2:45 a.m. (Beijing time) the death toll in Fuxing hospital has reached 26, most of them students. The army and riot police intentionally shot at the ambulances. Many clearly marked medical personnel have been injured. Now the Square is quiet. A call from the southeast (of the square) says that most of the wounded people have been arrested.

We hope that the people in the world would know what has happened in China; we want them to know that the most tragic moment in the Chinese history is happening here. We also want them to know that we are not going to surrender.

San Francisco, Cal.—The June 4 massacre in Beijing brought out a spontaneous outpouring of 20,000 the following day to protest in front of the Chinese Consulate in San Francisco. Although the crowd was largely Chinese many non-Chinese came to show solidarity including Mexicans, Polish Solidarity members and supporters, and Americans of all varieties. Everyone wanted not only to express their revulsion at the brutality of the Chinese government but to "do something" to continue the struggle, to not let the students die in vain. Many signs expressed disgust with Bush's hesitancy to do, or even say, anything about the crisis. The crowd was yelling "the whole world is watching." The demonstration lasted many hours with new people constantly joining it.

The Chinese students wanted to pass out material in English to those driving by who slowed down to honk or stopped and got out of their cars to join the demonstration. The Chinese students asked for handfuls of our leaflet, announcing a meeting that week on "China in Revolt and the Idea of Freedom," to pass out. People were lining up to buy the June issue of News & Letters until we sold all copies. Our meeting on the Berkeley campus brought 50 people not only to hear the latest

I was thinking that Bush would do something more, to send the Chinese government a message and put more pressure. But after I watched his news conference, I saw he was just doing it formally. He just wants to keep the good relationship with China, and keep his friendship with Deng Xiaoping. Bush said he didn't know who is in charge in China. I thought: Why doesn't he know this? This is the Chinese government that has done this, ordered the army to shoot the people.

I feel very angry. I feel very sad for my country. In China there are two cases of butchery. One was during World War II, when the Japanese troops went to Nanking and murdered the people. Now this is the second time in Chinese history.

In China before 1976, everyone was supposed to listen only to Mao Zedong and follow him. But after 1976, China was more open to the world. The students were saying that everyone should have the right to free speech. They have human rights. But Deng Xiaoping, Li Peng, and Yang Shangkun want China to be like before 1976: the people should listen only to them and follow them.

I read a chapter on Mao and China in Raya Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom*. She said a lot of



News &amp; Letters photo

things I agree with. I don't think Mao Zedong was a Marxist. What he wanted to do was to be an Emperor. He wanted to rule the whole world. Mao had studied Chinese history; he knew how to rule the whole people. He just held the flag for Marxism, but what he did was totally different. I think this book should be in China now. In China the young teachers and the young students want to know and they want to study.

The young people will be the future of China. They know a lot of new ideas. In another 10 or 15 years there will be a big change. Maybe it will be sooner, in 3-5 years. Do you remember April 5, 1976? The government crushed a demonstration in Tiananmen Square. But just half a year later that government fell.

—Chinese student, Los Angeles

A News & Letters bulletin

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includes

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news but to discuss the Idea of Freedom.

There are meetings, vigils and fundraising events for victims of the Chinese government every day. Transcripts of phone conversations and speeches made on Tiananmen Square are passed around. The Chinese students want to make it a world movement, calling on all to take it up, to continue a discussion on "the theory and practice of democracy" as one student put it.

—Marxist-Humanist

Chicago, Ill.—On June 4, hours after troops massacred thousands of students, workers and their supporters in Beijing, well over 5,000 people surrounded the entire city block around the Chinese Consulate in Chicago, mourning the martyrs of Beijing and demanding, "Down with fascism," "Down with Deng Xiaoping, Yang Shangkun and Li Peng."

The determination of the marchers that June 4 be a beginning and not an end was summed up in the sign carried by one student, the English part reading "Thousands killed, millions carry on." He himself wore a shirt on which he wrote "Cry Freedom" to connect the struggle in China to freedom struggles worldwide.

The marchers, mostly students from China at colleges from Kansas to Minnesota to Ohio, but with a sprinkling of non-Chinese, carried such moving expressions as "Our blood will not be shed in vain" and "Bullets cannot stop ideas" and labeling Deng as China's Hitler, as they moved on to rally. There, one professor openly renounced his membership in the Chinese Communist Party, and was joined by dozens of students.

Many in the crowd were discussing how to continue the struggle when, as one student said, we have the people and they have the army. But nearly all were insistent that the counter-revolutionaries were in Deng's regime: they cheered an American student who equated Deng and Chiang Kai-shek, but shouted down one speaker who called for recognizing the government on Taiwan instead. One student suggested the Marxism of Marx was needed to combat the regime that had massacred the people.

—Participant

## Chai Ling

(continued from page 5)

and not a trace of evidence was left. The symbol of our democratic movement—the goddess of liberty—was run over by a tank and broke up into small pieces. We linked hands, went round Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall toward the west and saw about 30,000 armed soldiers, many students cried "Dogs, fascists."

The soldiers were heading towards Tiananmen. We passed Liubuko, members of our command were in the first row. On the afternoon of June 3, Liubuko was the site of one of the first bloody battles, debris, trash cans, burned out were everywhere. We went from Liubuko to Changan Blvd. We saw burned out vehicles and broken cobble stones, obviously a fierce and bloody battle was fought there but there was not one body around. We learned later that the fascists were mowing people down with machine guns, the soldiers coming from the back would pick up the bodies and put them on buses or trolleys.

We were marching back to the Square. The citizens of Beijing tried to turn us away. "Kids, do you know they have machine guns set up? Don't sacrifice yourselves!" We then left through Xidan to retreat to our campus. On the way, we saw a mother crying out loud, her kid was dead. I could see from the body that it was killed by soldiers and lying on the street. I continually received reports that people got shot. These citizens didn't commit any crime, they didn't even shout slogans.

THE MACHINE GUNS all round had banners on them, "Support the correct decision of the Party Central Committee." Students were greatly angered by these banners and tore them down. The radio was saying the army was in Beijing to take care of the rioters, to maintain the order of the capital. I think I'm most qualified to say that students were not rioters. Every Chinese with conscience, put your hand on your heart, think about it, the kids were holding hands, sitting by the monument and waited for the arrival of butchers. Are these rioters? If they are rioters, would they be sitting there quietly?

How far has fascism gone? Shamelessly, against their own conscience and telling the biggest lies. If the soldiers who mowed down innocent people are animals then what are those lying in front of cameras?

Those of us who walked back from Tiananmen, those who were still alive came back to Beijing University. There were many students from other campuses and other cities, we had prepared beds for them.

We were in deep sorrow. We were alive. But there were many more who stayed at the Square, stayed on Changan Blvd. They'll never come back, never. Some of them were young, very young, they'll never be back.

Compatriots! The ruthless and insane "puppet" government is still moving the army around. A massacre is going on in Beijing, perhaps a massacre is also going on in other parts of the country. But compatriots, the darker it gets, the sooner will dawn arrive. When the fascists are pursuing a senseless crackdown, then a real people's democratic republic will be born.

A critical life and death situation has arrived for our country. Compatriots, every citizen who has a conscience, every Chinese, awake! The final victory belongs to citizens.

Down with Fascism. Down with Military Rule. People will triumph. Long live the republic.

## Youth in the 1917 Russian Revolution

**Young Guard! The Communist Youth League, Petrograd 1917-1920, Isabel A. Tirado, Greenwood Press, 1988.**

While the number of books dealing with the Russian Revolution is huge and ever-increasing, Isabel A. Tirado's *Young Guard!* is an important contribution to the understanding of the revolution. It takes up a previously under-discussed facet—the role of youth, especially young workers.

Tirado begins her book by telling how, in the revolution, the revolutionary youth movement began:

"In the spring of 1917, shortly before the May Day celebrations, a group of teenage workers at the factory Renault, dropped their tools and marched to the factory committee. They had just heard that the factory's adult workers had received a 25% wage adjustment. Young workers were given only a 15% increment. Incensed by this inequity, the young metal workers organized a youth league at their factory. United, they presented their demands before the factory committee and pressured that body to support their cause before management.

"Rumors of their success soon spread among the young metal workers in Vyborg district. Within weeks, they launched an organizational campaign that put the demands of young workers on the Revolution's agenda. These efforts resulted in the creation of the first spontaneous, mass organization of young Socialist workers in Russia..." (p. 1)

### SPONTANEOUS REVOLT & ORGANIZATION

From this spontaneous revolt was formed the organization "Labor and Light" (Trud i svet). Over the next year-and-a-half the movement became more and more radical. First building up to the October Revolution, youth rallied to Lenin's slogan "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war" and created the Socialist League of Young Workers (SSRM). Then, in 1918, as young workers struggled bravely to defend the revolution and assist in the creation of a new society, came the Communist Youth League (Komsomol).

As World War I raged before 1917 the needs of the Russian ruling class for more soldiers at the front drained much of the male working class from Petrograd. The need for war production brought more women and youth into the city's factories. This proceeded to the point that by 1917 at least 22% of the workforce was under 20 (with 3-4% under 16). They held some of the worst jobs at the worst pay with working days as long as 14 hours. Political and economic strike waves hit Petrograd and among the most militant of the workers were the youth. The politicization of Petrograd's young workers exploded. The demonstrations which began the February Revolution included tens of thousands of young workers.

Youth poured themselves wholeheartedly into the revolutionizing of society; between February and October they formed the most militant section of the working class in Petrograd and were defending and working to deepen the revolution. The three primary foci of the youth movement were organizational stability, education and economics.

Young socialist workers and students not only assumed leading roles in the struggle for the revolution but formed the largest number of recruits in Petrograd for the Red Guards and the Red Army. Many of those youth who had been leaders before and during 1917 sacrificed their lives to defend Soviet power; this was true of the working class as a whole. However, while this led to a high degree of membership fluctuation and inability to carry out organizational tasks, the youth began to work out new forms of education and "labor advocacy."

### NEW SCHOOLS FOR FACTORY WORKERS

Schools were set up for teenage factory workers and thousands participated in classes ranging from politics to drama, from sports to self-education. Run by Komsomol and Narkompros (the state bureau in charge of education), they included among their teachers and advocates revolutionaries such as Victor Serge and Nadzha Krupskaya.

"Labor advocacy" included both protective legislation for youth in the factories and working out new relations of production, including between young and older work-

ers. The debate on the "Trade Union Question" also raged among the youth.\*

Isabel A. Tirado has produced a very important compilation of facts and personal reminiscences but her book lacks a great deal. Lacking most of all is any attempt to work out the meaning of the magnificent work and debates of the youth either in terms of the period or today. Where she does seem to take a position it appears to be sympathetic to Bukharin's "Left Communists" of 1918 or the so-called "Workers' Opposition" or reduces the role of youth to "avant-gardism."

The creativity of the youth in Russia (or Hungary in 1956, worldwide in the 1960s, or in China today) raises important questions for revolutionary youth today. What is the role of youth in revolution? How can we work out new human relations in production and society? How can we stop revolution from being transformed into opposite, a state-capitalist society, as occurred in Russia?

Throughout her book Tirado tells us that one of the main tasks posed by the Russian youth movement was how to "master Marxism." For revolutionary youth the question is not "mastering" Marxism as some set of conclusions. Rather the problem facing us is how do we work out becoming continuators of the Marxist method.

\* For a full discussion of the "Trade Union Question" see chapter XII of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom*

Coming next issue—  
U.S. students respond  
to events in China.

自由

FREEDOM

## Youth in Revolt

by Franklin Dmitryev

Growing numbers of student protests against racist, sexist and other reactionary acts of harassment have compelled a number of colleges to adopt new (although weak) policies against such acts.

• The Univ. of Wisconsin prohibited certain types of discrimination (exempting classroom remarks!) after two years of protests against racist incidents perpetrated mainly by fraternities, whose charters, however, have not been revoked.

• Stanford University has proposed an anti-harassment policy following protests of racist and anti-gay incidents. The policy was watered down with legalisms after howls about "free speech"—as if it were an issue of presenting ideas, rather than an all-out reactionary attack.

• Daily rallies at the term's end at the Univ. of Chicago have not as yet won a strengthening of the anti-harassment policy. The immediate issue was the diploma being granted to a student who, in 1986-87, had waged a vicious assault against gay students, including letters to their employers, landlords, friends and relatives claiming that they were spreading AIDS.

Young people and other citizens in Kwangju, South Korea, have held almost daily demonstrations calling for the ouster of President Roh and the expulsion of U.S. troops. They are especially outraged over the police torture-murder of Lee Chol Gyu, a radical student activist, on May 3, virtually on the eve of the ninth anniversary of the U.S.-supported government massacre of the Kwangju Uprising.

In Nigeria, students were quickly joined by large numbers of the poor and unemployed in ten days of protests against economic austerity measures imposed by the government in May at the behest of the International Monetary Fund. In Lagos, all colleges were closed by the government after at last five people were killed when police opened fire. In Benin City, demonstrators reportedly burned the House of Assembly and freed 600 inmates from the local prison.

Young Palestinians continue to be on the front lines of the *intifada*. Mohammed Lubbad, 16 years old, was shot dead on June 11 by Israeli soldiers firing at a crowd mourning the death of an eight-year-old who had been shot by soldiers while breaking the curfew in Gaza. In the West Bank, right-wing settlers have taken to raiding Arab villages and have killed a 13-year-old girl and a 20-year-old man, and have attacked Jewish students bringing food and medical supplies to West Bank Arabs.

## A young worker's story

Los Angeles, Cal.—As a recent Marxist-Humanist, I see the concept of "alienated labor" come to light in the activities of the last two positions that I held in two very distinct industries. In the service industry, I worked for Supershuttle, an airport-transport company, as a phone reservationist. In the Education industry, I was an admissions representative for American Video Repair Institute (AVRI), a school concentrating on the fixture of video recorders and photocopy machines.

The main floor of Supershuttle's building resembles a "plantation," as one co-worker remarked. There are approximately 20 cubicles, each equipped with a CRT terminal and a telephone. One must "plug in" with a secret code to both the computer and the phone, which are linked directly to a mainframe that monitors every activity of the user, such as how long one is on a call; when one is not on the phone, as well as how many reservations one takes.

To further dehumanize the worker, the administration practices the evil act of listening in on the phone to "check if the employee is properly handling calls."

One woman worker who had spent more than a year at Supershuttle once told me: "In the morning, all I can think is Supershuttle!! Supershuttle!! Getting my kids ready for school I tell them to hurry up, I gotta get to Supershuttle! Once I told my kids to call in to tell them I had a nervous breakdown." Many of us felt that the tension of working on the Supershuttle computers controlled our lives and our thoughts.

This same woman never received any job-related benefits in over a year, as she was continually kept on a "90-day" "probationary" status!

My next position at AVRI proved to be a bomb too. Using the bait-and-switch scam, the company would advertise in local papers for jobs as a warehouse employee or receptionist. Once someone came in, he or she would be harassed to attend the school.

The owners were using government grants and loan monies for their own private use. Not only would they not pay the students the SEOG (supplemental government) monies that they must pay back, plus interest, but they also did not pay their employees, either!

During the short time I worked there, I could hardly face or talk with my friends. I asked myself: Is this what I have to do in order to eat? I soon left and was on the streets without a job once again.

"Labor and capital are such absolute opposites that the class struggle is developing into a veritable civil war. All you have to do, to see in theory what is a truth in life, is to include the wage laborer himself in the study of the production of capitalistic wealth." This quote from Raya Dunayevskaya shows the further need to dive into the dialectics of revolution in our oppressive time.

—Kenneth Mosley

## Detroit—stop incinerator

Detroit, Mich.—Twenty-five people from the Evergreen Alliance and Women Empowered Against Violence to the Environment (W.E.A.V.E.) were arrested June 3 for tying themselves to the gates of Detroit's controversial \$438-million trash-to-energy incinerator. The "tie-in" culminated the third annual protest rally and march from nearby Eastern Produce Market which is crowded with shoppers on spring Saturdays.

This year, more than 500 marched. They also called attention to the fact that Combustion Engineering, while building and operating the plant, is making huge profits in apartheid South Africa.

For the entire three years the plant has been under construction, the city has refused to add \$17-million more of anti-pollution devices to reduce toxic emissions from the smokestack, despite protests and unsuccessful lawsuits by citizens and environmental groups in the U.S. and Canada. (Windsor, Ontario is just a few miles downwind of the plant).

The city began burning trash at the plant in December, 1988, in order for tests to be conducted of the environmental effects prior to full start-up of the incinerator. Early in 1989, a number of construction workers wildcatted over hazardous conditions they said gave respiratory ailments. Their struggle has been kept to the back pages of the local newspapers, but shortly afterwards, the Michigan Department of Natural Resources shut down the testing operations.

Ash is produced at the rate of one pound for every four pounds of trash burned. It was tested by both Greenpeace and the state and found to have levels of lead and cadmium high enough to classify it as hazardous waste. However, despite active lobbying, Governor Blanchard has just signed a bill allowing the ash to be classified as "special" waste. Hazardous waste cannot be buried in any landfill, because it could leak into groundwater, but special waste can be buried if it isn't mixed with other debris.

One arrested protester told *News & Letters*: "This plant is very similar to the nuclear reactors people have been protesting. Under capitalism a project of this type will never be conducted in a safe manner, even where the technology is adequate. This plant was delayed a month because boilers had to be retrofitted. It hasn't gone on line yet, and when you call they won't give you a target date but want your name and phone number. All this capitalization, even with the best scenario, will only provide 84 jobs on a 17-acre site, and the life of the plant is projected to be only 20 years!"

—Susan Van Gelder

## Marxist-Humanist youth groups on campuses

Columbia University Marxist-Humanists  
Earl Hall, Columbia University  
New York, NY 10051

News & Letters Youth Committee-NYU  
Box 84, 21 Washington Place  
New York University  
New York, NY 10003

Forum for Marxist-Humanist Thought  
Holmes Student Center  
Northern Illinois University  
DeKalb, IL 60115

The Marxist-Humanist Forum at Loyola  
Loyola University of Chicago  
Centennial Forum  
652 North Sheridan Road  
Chicago, IL 60626

Cal State News & Letters Youth Committee  
P.O. Box 29194  
Los Angeles, CA 90029

## Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Alfredo Cristiani of the ultra-right death squad Arena Party was sworn in as president of El Salvador on June 1. He won power in March elections by barely half those who voted, while over 46% of Salvadorans did not vote at all, the highest voting absentee rate since the civil war began.

Cristiani's election represents seizure of government power by the most counter-revolutionary forces in El Salvador. Cristiani, a member of the millionaire coffee-growing oligarchy, was chosen by Arena as their candidate because he is more palatable to the U.S. than the party's founder, Roberto d'Aubuisson, who is tied to the death squads and the murder of thousands. Cristiani has named men in close league with d'Aubuisson to top government positions including internal security.

There has been an upsurge the past year in death squad killings, police detentions and tortures, as well as workers' strikes and protests by human rights groups. The dying former president Duarte had been counted dead already by Arena and the military, and was opposed by Salvadorans who previously supported him to end the civil war by addressing its root causes.

U.S. Senator Richard Lugar, representing Bush-Reagan policy in Central America, attended Cristiani's swearing-in ceremonies. He was met with silence by Arena adherents who had considered Reagan's policies "U.S.-imposed socialism." The latest U.S. envoy was Vice President Quayle who intends to make Central

America his right-wing policy turf.

In mid-June Quayle visited Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador and Costa Rica. His main goal was to discredit



Quayle talks human rights in El Salvador.

the elections scheduled for February in Nicaragua. Towards that end, Quayle met with contra leaders in Honduras who chorused agreement that the elections to be held next year are a "sham." During the trip, Quayle designated Nicaragua, Cuba and Panama a new "axis" in the region, dedicated to destabilizing democracy and subverting U.S. interests.

In El Salvador, Quayle met with political representatives of the Left long enough to demand that the guerrilla forces disarm before any talks can begin to end the civil war, which is the same line as the Arena Party.

Quayle also held a controversial meeting with d'Aubuisson and supposedly admonished him not to do anything in violation of human rights which would "embarrass" newly-installed Pres. Cristiani. On the very same day, police seized Jose Mazariago, a union leader, as he left the U.S. embassy where he had gone for a visa. Mazariago was released four days later, after Quayle had left, and reported on his interrogation and torture by the police.

The U.S. continues to pump an average \$1 million per day in aid into El Salvador. This aid supported the facade of "democracy" under the Duarte government while the civil war raged, and now the millions of dollars are going to the Arena-military alliance. But the defeat of Duarte's "centrist" Christian Democrats by Arena was no defeat of the Reagan-Bush counter-revolutionary policy in El Salvador, or in Central America. The Arena party victory is giving U.S. imperialism breathing room to revive support for the contra-style military solution it has always sought.

## Israeli pass system

The Israeli government and army began in June to institute a system of identity cards for Palestinian workers in the Gaza Strip, as one more attempt to gain control over the *intifada*. Over the next three months, all Gaza residents must be checked and cleared by Israeli security, and then pay \$11 for the computer-coded photo cards, without which they cannot enter Israel. It is expected the army will later issue the ID cards to West Bank residents.

Some 100,000 Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza work in Israel in low-paying heavy construction and service jobs. Since the *intifada* began, these industries have been crippled by general strikes as well as innumerable curfews imposed by the Israeli army. The ID cards are aimed at tightening control over workers who depend on jobs in Israel.

Another ID badge system to identify Palestinian workers created a storm of controversy earlier in May in the West Bank Israeli settlement of Ariel. The badges were condemned as reminiscent of the yellow Star of David which Jews were forced to wear under the Nazis, and authorities quickly withdrew them. A number of Israeli newspapers have compared the army's ID card, which Palestinians must now have to travel into Israel, to the pass system South Africa used to try to control the Black workers.

## Food riots in Argentina

Thousands of Argentinians, no longer able to afford the inflation-bloated prices for food, invaded supermarkets throughout dozens of cities in late May. When police could not stop them, the military was sent in with orders to shoot looters. Reportedly 15 people were killed over four days. Thousands were arrested, including many women and children.

The eruption came on the heels of yet one more economic restructuring plan unveiled by outgoing president Raul Alfonsin, whose party lost to the Peronists in mid-

May elections. The prices of basics began a new upward spiral and with food prices rising hourly, hungry Argentinians took matters into their own hands.

In May, the inflation rate was nearly 80% and was expected to top 100% in June. Thousands of workers have been laid off as factories have closed over the past months. Immediately after the food riots, the government hiked wages and set up soup kitchens. Inflation is now running at 12,000% for the year, drawing comparisons to Weimar Germany in 1923-24.

The Peronist president-elect, Carlos Menem, is being forced to assume office in July, six months earlier than planned, to deal with the deep economic crisis and social unrest. So far his clearest statements have concerned a blanket amnesty for military criminals of the "dirty war," and no strikes from the Peronist labor confederation.

## Revolt in Burma

More than 2,000 youth rallied in Rangoon, Burma (renamed by the government Yangon, Myanmar) on June 23 in support of opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi after the government had denounced her. In a previous confrontation, June 21, one man was killed by security forces after a memorial ceremony for demonstrators killed during protests a year ago.

The anniversary of Aug. 8, 1988, a high point in that near-revolution against the Ne Win military regime, is approaching. To all indications, there will be continuing revolt against the martial law authorities. On June 19, primary schools were allowed to reopen for the first time since 1988, but high schools and universities remain closed by government order.

At rock concerts, one of the few legal forms in which youth can now gather, the martial law troops are openly taunted. Economic suffering, including a ninefold increase in the price of rice since 1987, underlies the total crisis of an aging and corrupt regime, hanging on solely by brute force.

## Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-87), founder of the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism, became Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees from its founding to 1987. Charles Denby (1907-83), a Black production worker, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper from 1955 to 1983. Dunayevskaya's works *Marxism and Freedom...from 1776 until Today*; *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao and Rosa Luxemburg*; *Women's Liberation*, and *Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* spell out the philosophic

ground of Marx's Humanism internationally, as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa. These works challenge post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism.

The new visions of the future that Dunayevskaya left us in her work from the 1940s to the 1980s are rooted in her rediscovery of Marx's Marxism in its original form as a "new Humanism" and in her re-creation of that philosophy for our age as "Marxist-Humanism." The development of the Marxist-Humanism of Dunayevskaya is recorded in the documents on microfilm and open to all under the title *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half Century of its World Development*, on deposit at the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs in Detroit, Michigan.

News and Letters Committees aims at developing and concretizing this body of ideas for our time. In opposing this capitalistic, racist, sexist, exploitative society, we participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our Constitution states: "It is our aim...to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate mass activities from the activity of thinking. Send for a copy of the Constitution of News and Letters Committees.

## Hungary remembers 1956

On June 16, over 100,000 Hungarians attended the first ever officially permitted memorial meeting for former Prime Minister Imre Nagy and his colleagues, leaders of the 1956 Revolution who were executed in 1958. At noon, the whole country stopped in a moment of silence to honor the martyrs who, until 1989, had been buried in unmarked graves outside Budapest.

The crowd was addressed by participants from 1956 as well as today's youthful oppositionists. But many questioned why the Communist regime is suddenly permitting such a memorial now: it seems they are after a Polish-style "compromise" with the opposition.

Today's political maneuvers cannot, however, take away from the historic importance of Nagy and 1956, both in action and in thought. As Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in an article commemorating 1956:

"Even their (the workers') support of Imre Nagy was dependent on his acceptance of the workers' control over production, a multi-party system of government, and a new type of socialism. Central to it was an independent Hungary, but this demand for self-determination had nothing in common with narrow bourgeois nationalism. As Imre Nagy himself recognized—it was this fact that brought him to the leadership of a revolution he did not desire—"They want a People's Democracy where the working people are masters of the country and of their own fate, where human beings are respected, and where social and political life is conducted in the spirit of humanism...An atmosphere of suspicion and revenge is banishing the fundamental feature of socialist morality, humanism."

"This Marxist humanism was in the air since 1955. Because the Communist intellectual caught this in the air, he was assured of leadership of a revolution against Communism." ("Spontaneity of Action and Organization of Thought: In Memoriam of the Hungarian Revolution," *Weekly Political Letter*, Sept. 17, 1961)

## Ethiopia in crisis

The Russian-backed Stalinist military regime of Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam in Ethiopia continues to unravel, despite over \$4 billion in aid pumped in since the 1970s by Russian rulers, beginning with Brezhnev. Over the years, Cuban troops have also been sent in to prop up Mengistu.

In May, 1989, however, a major portion of the Army mutinied while Mengistu was visiting East Germany. The military rebels offered peace to the Marxist Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front, who immediately accepted. The Eritreans have been fighting to restore their national independence ever since 1961, when British colonialism pulled out, ceding Eritrea—without its consent—to Ethiopia. In 1988, the Eritreans and their allies in the Tigre Peoples Liberation Front scored major military victories against Mengistu.

In May, 1989 the Ethiopian Free Soldiers Movement suddenly sprang up, leading a revolt which was also supported by Ethiopian students, who demonstrated at Addis Ababa University for the first time since the 1970s, when their movement was crushed by Army machine guns. Mengistu was able to contain the revolt this time, as his backers defeated and then executed some of the Free Soldiers. But the regime has been severely undermined, causing even Gorbachev to distance himself more and more from Mengistu.

The mainly Muslim Eritreans fight on alone, however. Neither Arab nor Western governments will aid these genuine freedom fighters, who refuse to renounce their commitment to a radical Marxist future for a liberated Eritrea.