

Price of GM job security will be jobs



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

United Auto Workers (UAW) President Owen Bieber posed for a "photo opportunity" on Sept. 17, alongside Vice-President Stephen P. Yokich, head of the General Motors Department, large smiles on both their faces, showing how clever they think they are in pulling the wool over the eyes of the auto workers in their newly-negotiated contract.

What these smiles were about was the puny 3% pay raise over the next three years for the auto workers. The second and third years the workers will receive a bonus—but a bonus is not a pay raise, it is a one-shot deal, and even there, the damn government will get most of it in taxes.

Supposedly the number one concern of the UAW in this contract was "job security"—but how dare Owen Bieber smile about this contract which, according to the preliminary reports, allows GM to lay off 60,000 workers in the next three years?! And that after doing away with 170,000 jobs over the last ten years!

One of the UAW negotiators said how stupid they would have looked if they hadn't come up with this contract, since they told the workers to keep on working after the old contract expired. To me, they look a hundred times more stupid by coming up with this deal!

FORD CANADA STRIKERS

The Ford workers in Canada went out on strike the minute their old contract expired, and they have now negotiated a three-year deal with a 7.5% raise the first year, 6.7% the second, and 4.8% the third. Doesn't that say something we American workers ought to listen to?

The UAW leadership has been cozy for a very long

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Black World

Liberia—pan-African tragedy



by Lou Turner

"The victorious faction only is called the government; and just in that it is a faction lies the direct necessity of its overthrow..." —Hegel, Phenomenology of Mind

As Liberia chokes on its own blood and history—a tragic failure of pan-Africanism—the cynical vultures of Western imperialism hover over the carnage of the 10-month war that has left 5,000 dead and displaced a quarter of the population. American, European and Japanese multi-nationals rush to negotiate with Charles Taylor's rebel forces controlling rubber plantations and other resources, adroitly shifting their alliance from the deposed regime of Samuel K. Doe to Taylor, his erstwhile cabinet minister.

Despite the Bush administration's rhetoric about leaving the resolution of the conflict to the Liberians themselves, the truth is that he immediately rushed military advisers to Doe's army when the war broke out, and only withdrew them when the horror stories of the army's atrocities against the civilian population in northeast Nimba county became publicized. This follows the same type of stealth foreign policy practiced by the Reagan administration toward the Doe regime in the 1980s. Liberia had been the recipient of the largest U.S. economic and military aid package in sub-Saharan Africa until irrefutable publicity about rampant corruption and human rights abuses compelled Reagan to cut off U.S. neo-colonial assistance.

BARBAROUS FACTIONS

As head of Doe's General Services Administration, Taylor had such a reputation for graft and corruption that he was nicknamed "superglue." It led to him being charged with embezzling \$1 million in 1983. After fleeing to the U.S., he was arrested in Boston, in 1984, where he "escaped" from prison in 1985. In 1987, he surfaced in Qaddafi's Libya with 160 Liberian exiles undergoing training in guerrilla warfare. One of those was Prince Yormie Johnson, who joined Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). Johnson had already been trained by the U.S. military in South Carolina in the early 1970s.

Taylor and Johnson split in February of this year

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Editorial article

Bush's drive for war in Persian Gulf demands total opposition



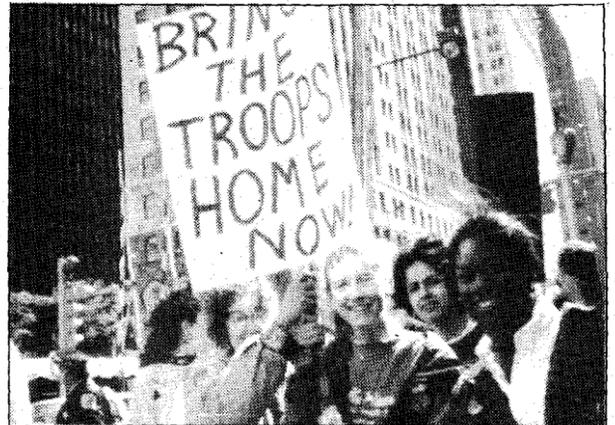
Refugees from Iraq and Kuwait desperate for food and water in Jordan

by Peter Wermuth

As if sending over 200,000 troops, 1,000 airplanes, and hundreds of tanks and other armored vehicles to the Persian Gulf were not a clear enough statement of his determination to wage war, George Bush has raised the stakes even higher by declaring that the U.S. military build-up will continue even if Saddam Hussein decides to withdraw from Kuwait. In insisting that a return to the "status quo ante" is "not acceptable," Bush is showing that nothing is "acceptable" to him except a global realignment that presents the U.S. as the superpower, beginning in the Middle East. Will it take an outright military conflagration to "prove" the predominance of the U.S. as that global superpower?

This recipe for war becomes more real with each passing day as ever-more troops and military hardware pour into the Persian Gulf. The array of weapons of mass destruction now in place ranges from F-15 fighters to M-1 tanks, and from chemical weapons to cruise missiles. This is not only the most massive U.S. troop deployment since the Vietnam War, it also represents the most rapid airlifting of troops in history. U.S. troops are now positioned not only in Saudi Arabia, but also in Oman, Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates. The bill for this imperialist foray already exceeds \$20 billion—far more than all the combined aid given the underdeveloped world by the West in years.

In declaring the Persian Gulf the "national defense



Anti-war demonstration in Chicago

News & Letters photo

line" of the U.S., Bush has also managed to convince several Arab rulers, in addition to Britain and France, to send troops to the Gulf. Yet for all the talk of this being a "collective, multilateral force," Bush has left no doubt as to who is in charge. His refusal to place the troops under UN control is but one of many signals that this is a U.S.-controlled operation from start to finish.

It is Bush's determination to project the U.S. as the power to be contended with, not alone regionally, but globally, that underlines today's intense preparations for war. Bush is utilizing Saddam Hussein's brutal invasion and occupation of Kuwait to obtain a long-sought military outpost in Saudi Arabia and to embark upon the kind of military confrontation that would show the

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Anti-war actions begin to emerge

Chicago

On Saturday, Sept. 22, approximately 500 people protested in Chicago against U.S. deployment of troops to the Middle East. People gathered outside the Federal building downtown where someone set up a P.A. system and delivered speeches for about an hour. After singing and speeches, we marched through Chicago to the Tribune building where we listened to more speeches and talked among ourselves.

Although most speakers concentrated their attacks on Bush, one woman from the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) opened her speech by saying "We in no way condone the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait." She then went to say, "Our president is using the crisis at home to remove from the headlines and indeed sabotage the programs needed to solve our urgent domestic problems." Among those problems she listed unemployment, homelessness, "the assault on the rights of minorities and women," and the corporate attacks on union organizing.

As impressive as the turnout was, the number of minorities, workers, and youth was nowhere near what it could have been if proper outreach had been made to the already existing anti-war movement in the ghettos, in the factories, and in the schools.

—Participant

Minneapolis

Fifty people responded on the day of troop deployment to an emergency demonstration in Minneapolis called by Women Against Military Madness (WAMM). WAMM issued a statement against the sending of

troops which read in part:

WAMM rallies to oppose the reckless deployment of U.S. military troops and aircraft in Saudi Arabia by the Bush/Quayle administration. WAMM denounces the escalation in troop numbers and the projected long-term entrenchment in this volatile region.

Clearly, WAMM denounces the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. We speak out and act out against military madness wherever people are oppressed.

Political ironies abound. Yesterday's friends are identified as enemies today. Is Jordan's King Hussein being threatened or bribed? The Bush administration tries to force Saddam Hussein's puppet government from Kuwait. Yet, the Bush administration even now plots to replace President Saddam Hussein with a more compliant head of state.

It's a telling statement: such frenetic actions over the restoration of a monarchy and access to oil, while the violence of poverty at home continues unaddressed. Again, whose interests does the administration represent?

*Who will profit?
Who will die?*

On Sept. 8, 200 people, mostly youth, marched here to oppose U.S. preparations for war in the Middle East. The march, organized in coalition with Campus Greens, Revolutionary Anarchists Bowling League, Lesbians against Imperialism, Progressive Student Organization, and Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, included a stop at a gas station for a guerrilla theatre performance depicting Bush and the oil corporations soaking in blood. The march ended at a military recruiting center where many speakers united the fight against war with the fight against racism, sexism and all the exploitative conditions here at home.

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The deadly reality of women's health care

I wonder how it feels to be one of the 3,000 poor women whose PAP smears went unread for up to a year in a New York City laboratory. Imagine the horror of being told—as at least 11 women were—that a PAP smear from almost a year ago shows that you have cervical cancer. Add to this the difficulty most of these women will have getting good, affordable treatment, and you have a horror story that continues to grow, threatening the lives of women everywhere.

Our deteriorating health care system puts everyone, male or female, at risk. For women the risks are especially high.

- Less than 10% of all research funds go to women's health issues. Up until September of this year, the National Institute of Health had no branch or department that dealt with women's health care.

- All the major health studies have been done on men. For example, the study showing that taking an aspirin every other day could prevent some heart attacks, was done on 22,000 doctors—all male.

- The rate of death from breast cancer in the U.S. is increasing. Yet the National Cancer Institute cancelled plans for a 10-year, \$130 million study to determine the effects of a low fat diet on the incidence of breast cancer. The study was killed because Institute advisers could not believe that women could be serious enough to stick to the lower fat diet. The racism of killing this study can be seen in the fact that the mortality rate for breast cancer in 1986 was 12% higher for Black women than for white.

- According to a study published in the *Annals of Internal Medicine*, women's complaints—from breast lumps to chest pains—are less likely to be taken as seriously as men's. Could this have something to do with the fact that women who have heart attacks are more likely than men to die and those women who survive are more likely than men to have a second attack?

That's probably not surprising to Dr. Steven S. Kahn at the Cedars-Sinai Medical Center in Los Angeles. "For women's symptoms to be acted on, they have to be significantly sicker," he said. "They have to prove there is something going on." Women have to prove it to people like Dr. Thomas J. Rayan, chief of cardiology and professor of medicine at the Boston University School of Medicine, who said, "I don't think there's any cultural disbelieving of women's symptoms." Ignoring recent studies he said that the hypothesis that male doctors were disregarding women's complaints of heart disease was "highly unlikely and reflects feminist paranoia."

'FEMINIST PARANOIA' OR DEATH?

Ten years ago I knew a woman who was pregnant with her third child at the age of 40. Throughout the last two months of a very difficult pregnancy, she kept complaining that she didn't feel good. "Something isn't right," she said. "I feel as if this baby could kill me." This was said several times to her doctor who laughed and told her she was just nervous. Six hours after giving birth, she died. Many months later we found that she died from toxemia, which is easily detected through a routinely given urine test.

While it's estimated that three million women and children will die of AIDS in the 1990s and it has already become the leading killer of Black women between the ages of 14 and 44 in New York and New Jersey, President Bush's response is to refuse to increase federal funding to fight AIDS while saying, "It breaks my heart when I see it (AIDS deaths)."

Is anybody listening to us out there? While President Bush suffers from his broken heart, women's health care has suffered in the grip of a capitalistic, sexist, racist, exploitative society.

Anti-Souter rally

Los Angeles, Cal.—About 50 very loud and lively pro-choice activists demonstrated in front of Senator Pete Wilson's office on Sept. 24, in a "STOP SOUTER OR WOMEN WILL DIE" rally, demanding that David Souter not be confirmed for a seat on the U.S. Supreme Court.

The women from the mainstream feminist organizations sponsoring the demonstration were buoyed by the fact that the major civil rights organizations had just come out against the Souter nomination, joining the feminist groups who were the first to take a definitive stand.

"A week ago, we didn't think we had a chance to stop Souter," one of the organizers said. "But now we have begun to fight, begun to take the process back. Don't be fooled: Souter is a right-winger of the first order, on every single issue from women's rights to civil rights, from the right to demonstrate to free speech and the death penalty."

The crowd was mainly young, with many college students who had formed pro-choice groups on their campuses. One young man connected the Souter nomination to Bush's drive for war in the Middle East, and noted the way the U.S. government supported any tyrant—such as a Noriega or a Saddam Hussein—when he served "American interests," and then turned against him when he "got out of line." This is the "Constitutional system" that Souter is to uphold.

A Pakistani woman in her early 20s stood out in the crowd, with her colorful red dress and large sign and determined, continuing chants. "I've been in many parts of the world," she said, "and nowhere are women free."

—Michelle Landau

SELF-HELP, SELF-LIMITING

The women's self-help movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s was a revolutionary idea. After all, we were going where very few women (only quite a few male doctors) had ever gone before. (Do you still know where your speculum is?) The Boston Women's Health Collective formed, calling their breakthrough book, *Our Bodies Ourselves*. Health clinics, run and staffed by women only, sprang up. A group of women in Chicago, none of them professionals in the medical field, started an underground clinic that provided safe, low cost illegal abortions to those who could not otherwise obtain one. We can do it, we said! All we need is the knowledge and that knowledge will give us the power.

I think now, in the early 1990s, we can see that our revolutionary idea was a self-limiting one. Isn't knowledge only the first step? We taught ourselves, mostly all white middle-class women, how to take better care of our bodies. But we had no idea how to change the capitalistic system that created the problem.

Once abortion finally became legalized, many of us became inactive in the health movement, failing to see the contradiction of legalized abortion in a capitalistic system. This contradiction has the potential to haunt us with the deaths of millions of women, even as we cry out, "Never again!"

—Suzanne Woolf

Audre Lorde on politics and poetry



Audre Lorde

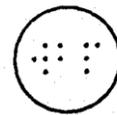
Madison, WI.—On Sept. 24, 1,500 Black, white, Asian, and Hispanic women and men heard a talk given by the well-known Black Lesbian feminist poet and author, Audre Lorde, at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. The talk was called "Politics and Poetry in Contemporary Life." The two topics were so well interwoven that we could hear the necessity for both politics and poetry and how they related to one another.

Lorde was hard-hitting—giving us a new look at the harsh realities of the day. The points for discussion she chose were wide-ranging, starting with the most recent anti-Semitic, racist and homophobic attacks on the campus. There were 23 recent anti-Semitic attacks, one woman of color is assaulted on campus everyday, and a gay man was murdered on campus grounds. This is all happening right within Madison, Wisconsin—what Lorde referred to as "the



Women-
Worldwide

Our congratulations to the Womyn's Braille Press (WBP), celebrating its tenth anniversary this month as the only organization in the country devoted to making the voices of women of color, lesbians, women with disabilities and the ideas of the feminist movement available to women who are blind or print disabled. Created by six blind women in Minneapolis, Minn. who "wanted to decide for ourselves what we could read," WBP has survived the decade of the 1980s to achieve more than 275 subscribers internationally and over 500 books in their tape and Braille library. For more information or to send contributions to ensure their next ten years and beyond, contact: P.O. Box 8475, Minneapolis, MN 55408, (612) 872-4352 or (612) 822-0549.



WOMYN'S
BRILLE
PRESS

The Polish Senate just approved a proposal outlawing all abortions except those necessary to save the life of the mother. This bill, which sets jail terms for doctors performing abortions, was vigorously protested by feminists groups from all over the country. This repressive bill has yet to be debated by the Polish Parliament's lower chamber before it can become law.

bastion of liberal thought."

Lorde took us through her travels: to West Berlin where she made clear that because the wall is down "there is a myth going around that Marxism is dead"; to our need to act to save "our dying earth." She did not just mean pollution of the air and water, but related it to the fact that we are now "sliding into war." She took us to St. Croix (where she lives) and spoke about the "natural disaster" of Hurricane Hugo in relation to the political disaster of the U.S. government's colonial relation to the Caribbean. After Hugo, the U.S. sent military troops into St. Croix to protect the big businesses there without any regard for the people.

All of Audre Lorde's poetry was strongly connected to each point of discussion. But what she was most insistent on was to ask us: "What are you going to do?" She said the politics of despair is a calculated weapon that is used against us. And she spoke about the process of change and said "what we do within our lives is absolutely essential."

Within the ten minute period allotted for the audience to speak and ask questions, two Black women addressed Lorde in a most direct way on the need to fight racism on campus. One wanted to know how to fight racism within the classroom and Lorde answered her by saying students of color need to organize among themselves. At that point a young Black woman yelled out from the balcony: "I understand what you are saying, that Afro-Americans need to organize together. But the numbers of Afro-Americans on campus is so low. The chances of us getting together is at a minimum. The fact is, out of 40,000 students on this campus, there are only 700 Black students enrolled. Isn't there something more we can do?" Yet, what she meant by "more" was to talk about pan-Africanism.

Lorde's answer was that the figure 700 is certainly not two and the need to organize is key. She also said the return to Africa will not solve the problems of the day. She stressed that we cannot pretend to be something that we are not, because Afro-Americans are "a hyphenated people" and that we will spell out anew what the term "differences" mean; that we have a "complex vision" that is "a vision for the future."

Lorde's talk will be felt by many of us for a long time.

—Diane Lee

Reviews: women write on!

Bridges: a Journal for Jewish Feminists and our Friends, Vol. 1, Number 1, Spring 1990, P.O. Box 18437, Seattle, WA 98118, one-year subscription (two issues), \$15.

The "Editorial Mission" states in part that *Bridges* wants "to provide a forum in which Jews, feminists and activists can exchange ideas and deepen our understanding of the relationship between our identities and activism." This is done through a remarkable range of material that illuminates this mission from diverse and unexpected angles. In 106 pages there is fiction, poetry, a photo essay, book reviews, a "From the Archives" feature and even songs—including sheet music!

Very important was the article by Alisa Solomon, "Building a Movement: Jewish Feminists Speak Out on Israel." She begins by speaking of a Holocaust survivor who every Friday stands on a busy Berkeley, Cal. sidewalk with a sign: "I'm a Zionist against the occupation." Solomon details the little known history of the Jewish Feminist Movement, revealing the contradictions, anti-Semitism, self-hate and sexism it had to overcome to survive and grow. That women are not free anywhere in the world—be that the U.S. or Israel, Saudi Arabia or Iraq—makes the Jewish Feminist Movement's "insistence on keeping feminist matters on the Middle East agenda," vitally important.

—Terry Moon

Sacred Queens and Women of Consequence: Rank, Gender and Colonialism in the Hawaiian Islands by Jocelyn Linnekin (University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, MI) 1990, 276 pages.

This book is an examination of the contact between Hawaiians and explorers in Hawaii from the perspective of Hawaiian women. Jocelyn Linnekin offers a reconstruction of Hawaiian women's authority and status before contact with the "West" and examines changes in their cultural valuation and social position during the first century of "Western" contact.

While I did not find Linnekin's "reconstruction" totally convincing—a lot of it is educated guessing—and her book is extremely difficult to read because the text is continuously interrupted by references in parentheses; she does give a detailed analysis of women's roles in exchange, production, kinship and politics during the political and economic transformations of the 19th century. Through that analysis she challenges the view that Polynesian women were doomed to a peripheral status by the ritual logic of pollution (menstruation). She demonstrates how Hawaiian women maintained their position as points of access to land and power, while frequently resisting the constraints of the tabu system as well as later "Western"-influenced attempts to abridge their authority.

—Maggie Soleil

Workers' lives suffer in Reagan-Bush era

Chicago, Ill.—When I began working at a meat-packing plant in the late 1970s, I quickly found out that working on a production line was unlike anything I had ever done before. It was very hard and demanding, but I kept at it because the money was good compared to what I had been earning before. My wife was able to stay and raise our children at home because there was enough income for her to do that. Besides raising children and doing the tedious household chores, my wife and I had time to spend on more enjoyable things like taking camping trips, visiting friends and relatives and doing things that we wanted to do because we had the time and money to do it. We weren't rich and we sure weren't in heaven, but we were living as good as any working class family could live.

That all changed in the early 1980s, after Reagan became president.

Almost immediately we began to experience a series of lay-offs. We would be laid-off for six to eight

weeks, then come back to work for four to six weeks, then be laid-off again. This went on for almost two years. The periods of lay-off would last longer, up to three months, and periods of work would still be the same four to six weeks.

All the savings that we had disappeared. We still had bills to pay. They didn't go away with the lay-offs.

Leisure time turned into idle time because you could only do so much without money.

Family relations were strained because of the frustration and feeling of no control over our lives. After a while my wife had to take a minimum-wage job just to make ends meet while I took care of the children and household chores because I could not find employment.

Finally, I got another job at another meatpacking plant, but I had to take a pay cut of almost 50%. My wife had to keep working because we still didn't have the income that we had before.

This went on through the 1980s—both of us working and still our incomes together were not as much as when I was working alone. How could this happen?

What even hurts us more was the realization that we no longer had any time to ourselves. We were lucky to have a Sunday together, one day to relax and do household chores because they still had to be done. We didn't have a maid.

Leisure time was a luxury we could barely afford.

Again, family relations were strained just as they were when there was no work. The only difference was that there was too much work now. But there still wasn't enough money plus the frustration and feeling of no control over our lives.

I remember one Sunday morning sitting in a chair at home, after working all night, trying to decide what to do on our only day off. Should I not go to sleep and take the kids to the zoo? Or should I change the oil in the car while my wife does the laundry? Or maybe we should visit our friends from out of town who we haven't seen in five years? It was hard to choose. It was hard to think because I was in an overworked stupor and I was tired and sore. I fell asleep in the chair.

Living with Reaganomics isn't living, it's existing.

—Martin Almora

Eckrich abandons Chicago

Chicago, Ill.—On Friday, Sept. 7, the management of Swift-Eckrich announced to their employees that they will close Chicago plant #6, on Nov. 30 of this year. The plant manager read a letter to us, then ran from the meeting room, refusing to answer any of our questions. He said the company would negotiate whatever benefits we will get as a result of the closing with the union. The first lay-off took place two weeks later.

One thing the company can't—and doesn't—say is that they are closing the plant because of our work performance. We've been working our asses off all these years, more so in the last two years since the bun-size hot dog line started up. Whatever their reasons for closing this plant, we are the ones who are losing our jobs because of their problems.

We are the ones who always get screwed, because of some corporate idiots who work the hell out of us, then throw us away like some old dish rag. What are we going to do now? How can we get another job? We think about our children. What about money? How much, if any, severance pay are we going to get? How long can we go without insurance? Will the union help us with these problems? Will they?

Many of us feel that the union has disappeared just like the \$250 bonus payment we thought we were supposed to get last July and the bonus money we had coming in the remaining years of our contract. Contract! What a joke! The pizza lunches we got for exceeding the company's production goals can't make us feel any better about the way we've been fooled all this time. Breaking production records! For what?

—Outraged Eckrich workers

Federal Workers face axe



Chicago, Ill.—This is the year when the Gramm-Rudman "budget balancing" requirements are actually to go into effect. Every federal agency is facing an across-the-board cut of about 32.4%. Bush and Congressional leaders cooked up an increase-taxes, cut-services, budget agreement which the House of Representatives refused to accept. Now over two million federal workers are threatened with being furloughed.

Those being threatened are those Marx used to call "factory inspectors"—a whole host of workers who enforce wage and hour laws, child labor laws, and mine safety regulations, as well as occupational safety and health laws. Also included are meat and poultry inspectors (without whom meat and eggs cannot even go to the market), air traffic controllers, civil rights workers, public health workers dealing with AIDS, and all of the people who process Black Lung benefits, workers' compensation claims, and Social Security benefits.

These are the jobs Reagan tried to get rid of altogether by slashing the number of positions and then not filling vacancies, thus making it impossible for us to enforce these laws.

Even though it is true that the Defense Department is also affected by the cuts, it is not the defense contractors but only the people who audit their books and inspect their products. So you can expect to see even more "accidents" on naval ships, and more colossal screw-ups like the Hubble space telescope that doesn't work. Bush is trying to use the eleventh hour military build-up in the Persian Gulf to finish what Reagan started—a deficit so huge that all social programs and all regulatory enforcement will be scrapped!

—Fed-up fed

Salmon canners divided

Ketchikan, Alaska—Two days before I was hired as a salmon packer at Farwest Fisheries, the Filipino workers walked off the line to protest their airfare being deducted from their paychecks. Production continued, although one of the lines slowed down to a crawl, as representatives of the Filipino workers negotiated with the plant manager.

I think the main reason this walkout didn't become a point of departure for a new labor solidarity was because of dual unionism and the union officials' collaboration with the boss. There were a number of different ethnic groups in the plant: whites, Tlingit Indians and other Native Alaskans, Mexicans, and Japanese in the Egg House. All these workers were in one union and the Filipinos were in another.

People explained the dual unionism as coming from the fact they were hired out of the Seattle office, or because they had a different contract. Well, why did they have a different contract? "Because they're Filipinos and they're in a different union."

The irony in this was that Filipinos were getting the brunt of the hostility of the unemployed workers who were living in the tent city behind the company bunkhouse. People were saying that the company was giving the Filipinos housing, "free" meals, and all the hours because they were willing to work harder than everyone.

Some of the Mexican migrants (who were in fact the last of the unemployed to get hired) complained that they were being discriminated against in favor of the Filipinos, and unfortunately many of them seemed to place the blame on the Filipinos, not the boss. But despite all this talk about how Filipinos were the willing pawns of the boss, they were the ones who walked off the line when they had a grievance.

As the season wore on the do-nothing union was becoming the target of people's complaints—but rather than challenging the union to do something, many said, "I ain't gonna pay no \$90 to be in that union."

I got into a back-and-forth about this with some other workers, saying it was no good just to be anti-union because we had to organize ourselves. I called the woman in charge of the union over and asked why our union didn't support the Filipinos when they walked of the line. She got defensive and started shouting that was none of our business, that was Local 37's business, "We don't talk strike in this factory," etc.

She created such a scene that the whole room got quiet to listen to us argue. She got flustered when I said she should have organized a joint meeting so we could hear the Filipino workers' side of the story. When she walked away I looked at the others and said, "You see what I was saying?" They nodded.

—Seasonal worker

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Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

time with management, ever since the bureaucracy took over and pledged "no strikes" during World War II. And it was the UAW that set the ground for all the wage cuts and take-backs throughout the 1980s, in the 1979 give-back contract they negotiated with Chrysler, to "save" Lee Iacocca from bankruptcy.

Now we don't even have to be in the midst of a world war for the union bureaucrats to promise "no strikes." Nor does a company even have to pretend bankruptcy when it demands wage cuts. In fact, so perverted has the concept of "strike" become that Chrysler Corporation wanted the UAW to pick it, rather than GM, as the "strike target," so it could negotiate a contract tailored to its needs, rather than now having to follow the GM agreement.

I grew up in the labor movement back in the 1930s and 1940s, when "union" meant self-organizing by the workers and "strike" meant worker solidarity against management. I never thought I'd live to see the day when a company "asked" to be "chosen" as the "strike target."

COMPANY-UNION COZINESS

Our situation here in battling our union bureaucrats is not so different from the situation of the workers in Russia. The day after the UAW/GM contract agreement, I read a report of how the old Communist Party union bureaucrats in Russia met in a congress to establish a "new" labor federation to replace the old, Stalinist All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

Yevgeni V. Arapov, one of the leaders of the old and now the "new" federation, said, "Of course, we can change, just as the Soviet people will have to change."

But the coal miners, who last year self-organized themselves into a major strike, boycotted the congress. Vladimir A. Filenko, a member of the miners strike committee in the Arctic coal fields of Vorkuta, said: "We do not believe this kind of restructuring is humanly possible. So, we are going to create our own truly independent union."

I agree with Filenko, and say: Do you think a skunk can change its smell? I will keep on saying, all decisions have to be made at the bottom, at the point of production, then passed up to the representatives to represent. If the workers in Russia don't do this they will end up just like before, with no say at all, and like workers in America, with the decisions coming from the top down.

American workers need to be watching to see what the Russian miners will come up with. At the same time, we need to be studying our own labor history, the self-development of workers' self-activity and thought. That is what we need as our ground for moving forward, not the brain-washed dead thoughts of the union bureaucrats who try to pass off their own thinking and lives as being the same as our own.

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

Editor's note: The ongoing crisis in the Middle East makes us recall Raya Dunayevskaya's "On War and Peace," the Perspectives Report to the 1960 News and Letters Committees Convention. (The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, microfilm #2790.) In the period of 1960, the downing of the U.S. U-2 spy plane in Russia heated up the Cold War and put the U.S. on a war footing. Within two years Kennedy and Khrushchev would be eyeball to eyeball in the Cuban Missile Crisis. Major excerpts from the final two sections of Dunayevskaya's report—"Nuclear War Is the Only Thing New in the State-Capitalist Era" and "The New Stage of Consciousness and the Struggle Against War"—are presented below.

NUCLEAR WAR IS THE ONLY THING NEW IN THE STATE-CAPITALIST ERA

The reason that the capitalistic world, from its division into five power blocs in World War I, came out of World War II with two, and only two, power blocs, nuclearly armed, is that there is just no room for more if this madhouse of "production for production's sake," where the dead labor of machines not the living labor of human beings has the decisive voice, is to continue. In fact, there is no room for two.

If [German Chancellor] Adenauer and [French President] DeGaulle are allowed the illusion that European capital can play a role independent of the two world colossi, it is only because Eisenhower won't move so long as Khrushchev has not made up his mind to do more than brag that he could throw down the gauntlet in the heart of Europe. As for Great Britain, the rapidity with which America chose Russia as bed partner during the Suez adventure, although it was also the time Russia bloodily crushed the Hungarian Revolution, was sufficient to cause the downfall of [British Prime Minister] Eden. Ever since [Prime Minister] MacMillian has behaved like he "knows his place"—a junior partner to the real Anglo-Saxon, i.e., American imperialism.

The African Revolutions have also reached the crossroad. On the one hand, the need for industrialization is leading into the vortex of the world economy, which means the pull of the two poles of world capital. On the other hand, the development of these revolutions as social, total revolutions permeated with, and permeating a new stage of consciousness—Marxist Humanism—can realize themselves fully when the proletariat in the technologically advanced countries become their collaborators by making their own revolutions. This, then, is a turning point in history, the world history of all mankind.

The only two poles with sufficient arms, H-bombs, missiles, to hold the whole world in their unholy hands pull at Africa where the Human factor, with the mightiest weapon of all—FREEDOM—has brought the two colossi fighting for world conquest to a momentary halt. The Big Two feel that now that Africa has reached the crossroads of industrialization, its independent role is at an end. Because, however, Russia has usurped the banner of Marxism, it can still give the appearance of being for the revolution when, in actuality, it is in favor of one thing and one thing only—its domination of the world.

On both sides of the Iron Curtain, the pretense of being against colonialism is just that—a pretense—to foist on a "new" kind of slavery. If Russia cannot fool Hungary, it feels it can fool a land as far away from it—and as near to the other pole of world capital, which is the hated rule in this Hemisphere—as, say, Cuba . . .

Over 100 years ago, Marx saw that the greatest impediment to capitalism is capital itself. He developed this thought to show that, even if capitalism had not created its gravediggers in the proletariat, its very method of production, with its inherent tendency to a decline in rate of profit no matter how lush these are in mass, would bring about its collapse.

THAT SEEMED SO fantastic that even a great revolutionary like Rosa Luxemburg commented bitterly that in that case "We might as well wait for the extinction of the moon."

But, like so much of Marx's abstract theory, it is now all stark fact. The so-called miracle of West German production is due to the fact that its accumulated capital was so totally destroyed by the Allies that production after World War II started on the basis of new technological revolutions. Or, put another way, the new technological revolutions have so deteriorated the value of accumulated capital that there is not enough capital in the world to reorganize the advanced economies (read: destroy the existing capital so that production can proceed on the most competitive basis), much less seriously industrialize the underdeveloped countries.

That is why capitalism is constantly returning to its beginnings in slavery.

In a word, the first and basic feature, temporary as well as perennial—primitive, much more primitive than tribal warfare, despite, or rather because of all the "sophistication" of H-bombs, Automation, and "National Purpose"—the first and basic and perennial factor of the continued existence of capitalism is the startling, though centuries-old, truth that the indirect slavery of the wage worker is based on direct chattel slavery.

It was ever so—just as its "rosy dawn" had begun with the transformation of Africa "into a warren for the

commercial hunting of Black-skins," so its nature, monopoly stage was signalled by its imperialist dismemberment of that whole continent. If, between its rosy dawn and senile maturity, there appeared—with the Industrial, American and French Revolutions—a brief period of freedom, there was America to keep exposing this dependence of capitalist wealth on direct slavery since here both were within the same frontiers. A Civil War had to be fought before ever there was an end to so blatant a relationship.

On the other hand, if American dollar-imperialism seemed milder than the spoilation of Africa by the Europeans, both had one thing in common—they went to plunder and rob, not to industrialize the countries.

This is capitalist class peace leading ever more inevitably to total war.

The world's memory is not so short that it has forgotten the Nazi identification of State Plan with Auschwitz and Belsen as well as with total war. Yet nothing fundamental has changed—except this: the extermination of a race can now be extended to the annihilation of



humanity as a whole.

This is all that is "new" in post-war capitalism, state or private. . .

Despite the aid, alleged and real, that the advanced countries are giving the underdeveloped areas, the truth is the inequality between rich and poor countries is actually increasing. At the same time the industrial proletariat of the advanced countries has not much to show in gains. It is here, in the relationship of labor to capital, that we have to look for the causes of the world crisis.

There is no escape, however, "East" or "West." In the hope that if only One exploited the whole world there would be room, Russia and America are vying to be "that One."

THE NEW STAGE OF CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR

As against the degeneracy of world capitalism in production and in ideology, a new stage of consciousness, unfurling the banner of Marxist Humanism, was reached in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 which culminated in the Hungarian Workers' Councils. This practical movement—historic, epochal exertion—to realize the philosophy of Marxist Humanism symbolized a stage of consciousness that is world-wide.

Indicators of that abound not only in the creative moments of revolution but on the day-to-day scene in production, such as the American workers' battle against Automation.

It is here that workers and youth, Black and white, national and international, East and West, can find high, common ground.

How far in advance America of the 1960s is over Russia of the 1920s, directly after it succeeded in its proletarian revolution, can be seen from the fact that even as great a mind as Lenin's, one so thoroughly imbued with the self-activity of the masses not only against Tsarism and the bourgeois government of Kerensky, but also against its own workers' state as it was becoming bureaucratically deformed, nevertheless still thought of engineers, and even of Taylorism, as something "progressive" that could be "used" by a workers' state.

That duality in Lenin is proof of the confines of an age that not even a revolutionary genius can transcend.

The average American worker, confronted with Automation, could now tell this genius something he never knew, and could not have known in all its implications, in the technological confines of backward Russia.

Today we see this negative feature in all the underdeveloped economies, not only where a Castro is ready to embrace totalitarian Russia and/or China, but in Senegal where a Leopold Senghor did half-unfurl a Marxist Humanist banner as "one" of the elements of an indigenous African Socialism—only to bring this African Socialism into the confines of a DeGaulle France!

Clearly, then, the duality in Lenin, which was transformed into its total opposite by the Communists in power, was done so, not out of bad or good intentions, but out of the objective pull of the new stage of world economy which sucks the underdeveloped economies into its exploitative stranglehold.

While I attribute nothing good to a Stalin or Khrushchev, they did not affect but only reflect this degenerate stage of capitalist development. All the more reason for the uncompromising, total stand of Marxist Humanists in advanced and backward technologies alike. . .

"To the barbarism of war we pose the new society"

Now we can turn to what can be done. First and foremost, do not lose the specific revolutionary moment created in your own country by the spontaneous action of the masses. Without confidence in the masses there can be no new society since they are the only ones who can create it. Whether [Congo Premier] Lumumba can extricate himself now without falling into Khrushchev's octopus-like embrace remains to be seen. No one can retreat, when necessary, unless he has first made sure not to pass off retreat as victory. Contrast Lenin's retreat to NEP [New Economic Policy], while warning the proletariat that this may mean capitalism if they do not run production to a man, to Stalin's tight embrace of state capitalism while passing it off as socialism.

Secondly, just as capitalism cannot undo its natural dependence on slavery and war, and in its life-and-death struggle with the tidal wave of revolution is prepared to unleash the nuclear holocaust, so must the peoples of the world stay its bloody hand with their anti-war struggle.

SO TOTAL AND incontrovertible is this desire for peace on the part of the peoples of the world, that even the rulers preparing for war speak of "peace."

At the same time, the radicals who oppose war, as is the case with the Trotskyists, actually line up with Russia. That is why it will no longer do to repeat such enticing slogans as "The enemy is in your own country." The slogan is a good one, but it is not good enough. It may have sufficed before the world was divided into two power blocks. Presently it is a trap to suck one into the other nuclear orbit, and thus doom both the advanced economies and the Afro-Asian-Latin American liberation movements.

History proceeds in devious ways, and what appears as tragedy once, reappears as comedy the second time. Consider the farce of Trotskyists, Socialists, Johnsonites [followers of C.L.R. James], without any of the power of the Stalins, Maos, Khrushchevs, acting like them. Let the psychoanalysts figure out whether these erstwhile Marxists have been bit by the power bug or just simple undiluted cowardice.

We have no time to waste on ex-Marxists or Fidelistas who tailend or whitewash Communist tyranny. We have more important things to do. We must, on both sides of the Iron Curtain as well as in the Afro-Asian and Latin American worlds, show that unless you begin with a change in production relations, nothing else changes either.

In a word, it is insufficient to declare what you are against without declaring what you are for.

Preparation for war against Russia tomorrow is all-out war against the American workers today, tomorrow, and the day after. That is why the point is not who throws or will throw the first stone, especially when that first stone will be the H-bomb. The point is: are you with the people struggling for a totally new way of life, or with capitalism fighting to perpetuate itself, although it has long since outlived its usefulness. At the same time, so universal is the feeling against the war that even the rulers play the game of peace and disarmament conferences. That cannot therefore be what distinguishes us from them. Private or state-capitalism will spare nothing to keep itself on top and the worker at the bottom. Armed with the H-bomb and the missile, they are ready to destroy civilization itself rather than allow the new working class society to emerge.

What does distinguish us from them is not what we are against, but what we are for. To the barbarism of the war we pose the new society. But the old radicals also say they are for a new society. Indeed, they would want it—IF you would give it to them on a silver platter on which all workers kneeled, asking "to be led." What they all forget is that a new society is THE human endeavor or it is nothing.

TO ACHIEVE A truly human life, we must not only be with the workers because they and only they oppose the war to the end, because they and only they are the future society, but also because we do not shift to the shoulders of the workers what is our task, the theoretic clearing of the ground for the reconstruction of society on new beginnings.

The unfurling of the Marxist Humanist banner means the kind of organization of one's thinking from which action follows, action that will merge with the spontaneous self-activity of the masses to establish on this earth

(continued on page 5)

Philosophic Dialogue

Editor's note: Here we print excerpts of Patricia Altenbernd Johnson's essay, "Women's Liberation: Following Dunayevskaya in Practicing Dialectics," from a recent issue of the *Quarterly Journal of Ideology*, Volume 13, Number 4.

by Patricia Altenbernd Johnson

Raya Dunayevskaya recognizes Hegel as positioned at the roots of the liberation movements of our era and as the major philosophical influence on Marx and Lenin. When she reads Hegel, she does so in order to explore these roots and to find ways to overcome problems that have arisen in the concrete working out of human freedom. In her reading of Hegel she focuses on the many places in his works where he writes about Absolutes rather than on the passages on the family or on the master/slave analysis. She does address the issue of the family, most notably in a radio interview in 1984¹, and she makes many specific contributions to the literature that reflects on women's liberation. Indeed, she argues that the contemporary women's movement needs to look more closely at the life and thought of Rosa Luxemburg and needs to focus more on the role of women as Reason. All of this contributes to the current discussion on the liberation of women, but it is her focus on the Absolutes that shows most clearly how we can call upon Hegel as we work out our freedom.

Dunayevskaya's reflections on Hegel's Absolutes find focus in two letters written in 1953. These letters are motivated by her reading of the last paragraph of Hegel's *Science of Logic* within the context of her concern "with the dialectic of the vanguard party of that type of grouping like ours, be it large or small, and its relationship to the mass."² Her focus is on the concept of the Other, and her great excitement with the *Logic* is in finding a way of understanding Other in the context of freedom. The Other is a distinction contained within; the dialectic moment is the unity which contains distinction, the negation of negation or the second negation. What she finds in the last paragraph of the *Logic* is the movement of *Befreiung*, liberation.

THIS DISCOVERY IS a most important philosophical moment for Dunayevskaya, for she has discovered a concept of freedom in Hegel that enables us to see freedom as a self-determination that is a free release rather than a movement of becoming other. This discovery gives direction to much of her thought, particularly to her understanding of Hegel's Absolutes. In a paper given to the Hegel Society of America she argues that Hegel's Absolutes are not to be understood as "ascending ivory towers"; rather, they are new beginnings. She writes, "The absolute liberation experienced by the Absolute Idea as it 'freely releases itself' does not make it ascend to heaven. On the contrary, it first then experiences the shock of recognition, 'the externality of space and time existing absolutely in its own without the moment of subjectivity.'"³ In this paper and in her *Philosophy and Revolution* she characterizes this new beginning as an endless process of becoming in which we work out the dialectic of self-development through double negation in order to make ourselves free. She emphasizes that what we are working out has the "earthy character of liberation." But what she most emphasizes is that what the Absolute Idea undergoes and what we are working out is liberation, not transition.

Transition, *uebergehen*, is the movement that characterizes the first book of the *Logic*, "the Doctrine of Being." This transition is an othering, a passing over, changing hands, ignoring, or even omitting. There is a tremendous indifference in this movement, such that by the end of this first book, the whole of Being stands determined as indifferent. The movement of transition results in total alienation. No wonder in the midst of liberating activity, Dunayevskaya was excited to find a concept of freedom that was self-determining while not at the same time self-alienating. This in Hegel, if nothing else, makes him important to those who are working out their freedom. She writes:

Hegel is asking us to have our ears as well as our categories so attuned to the "Spirit's urgency" that we rise to the challenge of working out through "patience, seriousness, suffering and the labor of the negative," a totally new relationship of philosophy to actuality and action as befits a "birth-time of history." This is what makes Hegel a contemporary.

If we accept Dunayevskaya's position and understand the great insight of Hegel for women's liberation to be the concept of freedom as self-determining becoming, then reading the *Logic* to see how Hegel gets from transition (*uebergehen*) to liberation (*befreien*) can also afford us insight. It is particularly helpful to look at the movement of *uebersetzen* as a moment between *uebergehen* and *befreien*.

UEBERGEHEN, UEBERSETZEN, BEFREIEN

In her letter of May 20, 1953, Dunayevskaya quotes

1. *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future* by Raya Dunayevskaya (New Jersey: Humanities Press International, 1985) pp. 179-182.

2. *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two historic-philosophic writings by Raya Dunayevskaya* (Chicago: News and Letters, 1989) p. 24.

3. *Art and Logic in Hegel's Philosophy*, edited by Warren E. Steinkraus and Kenneth J. Schmitz, "Hegel's Absolute as New Beginning," by Raya Dunayevskaya (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1980) p. 170.

Women's Liberation: Following Dunayevskaya in practicing dialectics

paragraph 386 of Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind*:

The several steps of this activity, on each of which, with their semblance of being, it is the function of the finite mind to linger, and through which it has to pass, are steps in its liberation. In the full truth of that liberation is given the identification of the three-stages—finding a world presupposed before us, generating a world as our own creation, and gaining freedom from it and in it.

This process is one in which we pose barriers to ourselves in the process of coming to consciousness of what our freedom is. The three steps that Hegel describes here are analogous to the three types of movement that he sets out in the *Logic*.

The *Logic* begins with the movement of *uebergehen*, the movement of transition. This is the movement al-



ready described in which there is a becoming that others. This is the stage of understanding in which we take the world as presupposed before us.... We understand the world as we find it to limit us and thereby to define us.

It is not until Book II, Section II, Chapter 3 of the *Logic*, where Hegel deals with the category of force as he moves from appearance to manifestation, that he introduces the movement that he calls *uebersetzen*. This movement is also a passing over, but it is a passing over that carries along; it translates. Hegel introduces the movement at the point in the *Logic* where he is exploring the essential relation. He is trying to overcome the barrier of inequality that remains in this relation because its self-subsistence falls outside of itself. He searches for a way of characterizing the essential relation which can maintain difference in unity by examining the relation of the whole and its parts. He finds the mechanical nature of this immediate relation insufficient to do much to break the barrier which the essential relation must overcome if thought is not to stop at this external unity....

There must be a principle of activity that can overcome the remaining barrier so that the two sides can have their self-subsistence in unity, not in the sides. Hegel finds this movement in force (*kraft*). Force moves out into expression, but it never lets go of its expression, and its expression resolves itself into force as its ground: "The movement of force is not so much a transition (*Uebergehen*) as a movement in which it transposes itself (*sich selbst uebersetzt*).

Hegel explores the category of force in both the *Phenomenology* and the *Logic*.... Force as a unity moves out of itself, and what arises is an external manifoldness of forces. These forces are different forces, and the only unity which they can claim is an inner unity. The externalities are presupposed by this inward unity and thus must remain beyond (*jenseits*) force in that it cannot return with them into itself. The movement is still that characteristic of transition, a movement from unity to diversity which has not yet achieved a new unity. Yet, the manner in which force holds on to its expression pushes in the direction of this new unity. What is discovered is a type of conditionedness which is not an active/passive relationship but rather is an active/active relationship. Force does not enter into something alien and determine it in passivity. Rather, force acts as an impulse and solicits another force. When it is evident that the solicited force is only an impulse, the externality of the impulse is sublated. The two forces show themselves to be in unity in that the one is the impulse for the other and is taken back into the other in such a manner as to make it its own expression. This unity of the forces is an organic unity such that each is essentially related to the other. The barrier of externality is overcome to the extent that Hegel can now speak of "The Infinity of Force."

Force is infinite because it has sublated externality into immediate relationship. Its expression moves out, but this externality becomes a function of force itself. Force is infinite because it has no limits from outside. The unity which has emerged is one that stands in relation only to itself. Force and its expressions have nothing independent of one another. The activity of this unity is that of self-repulsion and directs thought towards the unity of essence and existence in actuality. But while there is an infinitude to force, there also remains

a finitude. Force is conditioned. It is discovered only in the totality of its manifestations, and so in a certain sense is unknowable. The new movement discovered in force, *uebersetzen*, helps us to overcome barriers, but this is not yet the movement of freedom. We are at the second step of freedom. We are generating a world of our own creation, but we do not yet have freedom from and in this world.

WHY IS ALL OF THIS OF any interest to feminists and to the discussion of whether or not we should bother with Hegel? Hegel is at the roots of the concept of freedom as self-determining activity; and this concept is the one that underlies our understanding of liberation. For this reason, as Dunayevskaya points out, we need to bother a bit with Hegel.... But it seems that in the *Logic* Hegel has even more to offer. While the concept of freedom as self-determining activity is compelling, Hegel sets out the other movements that are part of our liberation. We often find ourselves in those movements rather than in full human freedom. Looking at Hegel's explication of these movements can help us understand where we are on the pathway to freedom and can help us be careful not to mistake partial freedom for full freedom.

The women's movement has gone beyond *uebergehen*. We do not accept the theory that the world is given to us. We do not accept the sociobiological theory that women are by nature other than and inferior to men. But we often tend to think that it is sufficient to recognize that we create our world. We think that in creating our world, we are free. Hegel's *Logic* show us that in creating our world we are making the movement of *uebersetzen*. There are many possible worlds that we can create. We have yet to create a world that does not limit us in ways that are not of our own making. We have yet to create the world that will allow us to be self-determining....

Should feminists bother with Hegel? Dunayevskaya's voice returns us to an affirmative response. While Hegel used his own analysis to affirm the subordination of women, there is still much in his analysis of the pathway to freedom, especially in the *Logic*, that is not exclusively male but which helps us reflect on a fully human freedom. Such reflections may help us create relationships between men and women in which male freedom is transcended and human freedom is achieved.

Raya Dunayevskaya

(continued from page 4)

a society on truly human foundations where the population to a man will run production and the state, and thus hold destiny in its own hands.

Thirdly, with this we can retrieve the positive in Lenin, not only in general, but in the particular which confronts us today in the underdeveloped economies. This great revolutionary was the first to unfurl a new banner not alone for these countries but for mankind. A new era for mankind could be opened, he said, from the East where live the colored people who constitute the overwhelming majority of mankind. For this he was willing to subordinate his successful proletarian revolution IF world capitalism could be overthrown from that direction. This IF can become the reality of the 1960s.

Fourthly, reality, rational reality feeling the pull of the future cannot be contained. It is challenging the status quo.

It is transforming the Biblical saying, "A little child shall lead them," into the fact of today: the youth is leading us—the youth, uninhibited by traditions of old, and yet representing the link from the limited freedom of the past to the total freedom-to-be, not in the distant future, but in our day. The youth, from their vantage point, see what the workers see on the inhuman production line: **that the greatest source of energy is not technical but human.**

These then are the roads to be followed: (1) Hold tight to the revolutionary moment created spontaneously by the masses in your own country. (2) Stay the bloody hand that would unleash a nuclear war, and free yourself from the tentacles of the old radicals who would hold on to one or the other pole of capital. (3) Develop the new force for mankind's liberation in the awakening of the colored peoples of the world. (4) Recognize that just as the greatest source of energy is not technical but human, and the greatest weapon in the world is not a bomb but the pull of freedom, so the ever newer and deeper layers of the working people now include the youth. (5) Finally, raise high the banner of the new stage of consciousness of the world's freedom fighters: Marxist Humanism....

To combine daring and thinking is the mold of the Marxist-Humanist in particular, and Marxist Humanism in general, not alone as philosophy but as fact.

This final highway that greets the African Revolutions at the cross roads is the one also that links with the struggles of the American workers, and the workers in the advanced economies of Western Europe and Russia, and points to high common ground for the reconstruction of society on totally new, truly human foundations.

There is no other way out for the peoples of the world, whether in backward economies or advanced, East or West, North or South.

There is no other way out of the nuclear holocaust. It is the one and only road to peace.

WAR, PEACE AND REVOLUTION

THE WARS ABROAD ...

The lead editorial in the August-September issue of N&L is a tremendously principled statement for revolutionaries to follow. It is not a matter of holding a "correct position" on the "facts." It is a matter of seeing how for the whole period of Post-World War II the "revolutionary" tendencies have covered over the class divisions within the Arab world. Suddenly those same people are talking about the divisions between the Arab masses and the "kingdoms," but not all rulers, not Saddam. Without Marxist-Humanism's dialectics, and actual struggle against all rulers and their wars, we will end up tail-ending these war-mongers.

Cyrus Noveen
California

* * *

On Sept. 5 in DeKalb, Ill. at Northern Illinois Univ., 90 students, plus some faculty and workers, attended a talk by Marxist-Humanist Cyrus Noveen entitled, "On the brink of war: Who will stop Saddam Hussein? Who will stop Bush?" Despite the ROTC cadets who attempted to disrupt the meeting, the discussion was full and touched on the history of freedom struggles in the Middle East and the U.S., as well as Marx's Marxism.

Julia Jones
De Kalb

* * *

Bush's phrasology about a "new world order" reminds me of Hitler, and it is very frightening, especially in the context of impending war in the Middle East.

Young worker
West Hollywood

* * *

When I wrote my letter to President Bush I had thought no further than somehow expressing my frustration and concern about developments in the Persian Gulf. But after it was printed in The New York Times a lot of people made copies and turned it into a sort of chain letter to distribute to more people as it got passed on. They also sent messages to President Bush, their representatives and senators, and the presidents of ABC, CBS, CNN and NBC. If this crisis is to be resolved peacefully it will take people standing up and demanding that the politicians and media listen to what we have to say. I would like to believe it is still possible for people like us to make a difference.

Alex Molnar
P.O. Box 11098
Shorewood, WI 53211

* * *

Now we know why Bush calls himself an environmental President. He considers war veterans an endangered species!

Anti-war demonstrator
San Francisco

* * *

The occupation of Kuwait by the Iraqi army deserves to be strongly condemned, but such condemnations become ridiculous when voiced by a government which at the same time maintains the military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. During the past two years the Israeli government has rejected all peace initiatives and proposals for negotiations. Among the Palestinians, despair and fury has grown. It was the Israeli government that drove the Palestinians into Saddam Hussein's arms. The Kuwait crisis could set the whole Middle East afire. Contrary to what Shamir would have us believe, the Palestinian problem is not off the regional or the global agenda. The unified opposition of the international community to conquest and occupation is bound to have consequences for the future of Israel and the territories under its occupation.

Israeli Council for
Israeli-Palestinian Peace
Tel-Aviv

* * *

In the massive movement of U.S. combat equipment and troops, naval armada and aircraft, Clark, Subic and other U.S. military installations here in the Philippines play a significant combat support role, as they did during the Korean War, Vietnam War and the U.S. confrontation against Iran in 1979 and 1987. The U.S. has used our territory in an unhampered manner, even without prior consultation or invoking

the terms of the Military Bases Agreement. The electronic military communications facilities here play key roles in relaying and transmitting orders to launch attacks and sending intelligence information. We are calling on the Filipino people and government to disallow the U.S. from using Philippine territory as a convenient springboard for intervention in many parts of the world, increasing the dangers of both nuclear and conventional war.

Nuclear-Free Philippines Coalition
2215 Pedro Gil St.
Manila



...THE WARS AT HOME

I'm not one who recognizes holidays but I think the so-called Independence Day and Labor Day should be filled with protests to show the government the people's malcontent. The U.S. still has the blood of Panama dripping from its whiskers and Bush rushes the military to the Middle East as if the U.S. was the moral conscience of the world. Bush said Hussein couldn't stand on Kuwait and fight a war with the U.S. at the same time. What Bush needs to know is that it works both ways. He can't stand on the people in this country at the same time he's fighting a war in the desert. I'm in total agreement with your Editorial (see August-September N&L) that "it becomes necessary to work out a whole new stage of anti-war activities that doesn't separate what we oppose from what we're for." It makes being here in a cage all the more frustrating.

Prisoner
Illinois

* * *

These are the words of a young Chicana whose 15-year-old brother was recently shot and killed in an inner city neighborhood of Chicago: "There is a war going on right here at home. In my neighborhood there have been so many violent deaths this year. Youth are getting shot; people are dying of poverty every day. And the U.S. government is pumping billions to start a war. I feel that the rulers are making alliances among themselves to start a war as if this is a game of chess. But there is a lot of opposition that is not being heard."

Sheila Fuller
Chicago

* * *

A few words about Mitch Snyder, the advocate for the homeless who killed himself some weeks ago. Although he risked his life in hunger strikes and lobbied persistently for housing, the fruitlessness of his efforts is an example of the need for a more total philosophy and practice. It is one more lesson of the gap between the "hero" and the "crowd," the one person "power" and the power of the masses. A Puerto Rican man I met expressed the real crime of homelessness when he said, "It's insane for the U.S. to spend billions on war armaments. The people affected are the Blacks, Latinos, poor whites. Homelessness is genocide."

Activist for Marxist-Humanism
New York

* * *

The sources for the excerpts from a book about Detroit that were recently printed in the New York Times Magazine are the white racist, L. Brooks Patterson, and our Black mayor, Coleman Young, who sees Detroit only through the windows of an \$80,000 armor-plated limousine. That is not to say conditions in Detroit are not horrendous—my 15 year old daughter has been to three funerals for young friends all of whom died violently. It is to say that books and articles like this fail to point to the real causes of all the horror: our racist, sexist, exploitative society.

Angry mother
Detroit

Readers' Views

EAST EUROPE NOW

We want to create the first revolutionary organization in Czechoslovakia. There is an argument here whether the character of the Stalinist regimes is state-capitalist or degenerated workers state. I believe Cuba or Ethiopia as well as Russia haven't anything in common with socialism. They are all just a form of capitalism in which people are no more than an instrument of a crazy economy. We face the most grave questions in Eastern Europe: Is there any connection between Leninism and Stalinism? Were famine and war the only reasons for the defeat of the Russian Revolution of 1917? Please send us your material on these questions.

Young revolutionaries
Czechoslovakia

* * *

I went to a talk held at Loyola University on "The Freedom Struggles in Czechoslovakia: Where to now?" The speaker was a member of the Left Alternative in Czechoslovakia. He spoke beautifully on the history of Czechoslovakia as well as the glaring contradictions that face the revolutionaries there. The apparent silence of women within the left movement as well as the pervasive illusion that free-market capitalism equals freedom are two of these contradictions that he emphasized must be worked through.

Student
Chicago

* * *

Did you see the banner some protesters were holding up in Leipzig the night of German unification? It read "United Germany — One Stasi-land." Stasi was the East German secret police that has now been folded into that of the "Democratic" West.

Observer
Chicago

THE BLACK DIMENSION AT HOME AND ABROAD



At a celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Watts Rebellion in August, some of the retrogression of Reaganism showed itself. An important high school organization, the Black Youth Improvement Association, which has been fighting racism in the public schools for two years, now speaks of entrepreneurship, rather than wanting to continue that difficult anti-racism fight. Entrepreneurship is supposed to make us think that the battle has already been won by having one's own business.

Then there was a perverted militaristic organization with a tiny following which claimed to be training Black youth to "fight on the front lines" against the police. What made my hair stand on end was when the leaders of this organization actually said, "Many of these Black youth are going to get killed anyway, so they may as well die as heroes for the Black Community."

Karl Armstrong
Los Angeles

* * *

You look around at the Black students at Berkeley, and you see they are the minority; there are more of us in prisons than in higher education facilities. This system is not made for young Afro-Americans. And it seems there's nowhere to turn to change that situation. Even the so-called left-wing organizations are becoming increasingly mainstream. Doesn't it seem contradictory that they want to please so many of the wrong people? Like the NAACP—it worries how to say things instead of being outspoken and maybe offending some white people.

Black student
Berkeley

* * *

Liberia has been headline news and now it appears that Doe is dead. He was a popular president throughout West Africa when he came to power. When he came to the Gambia, he received the heartiest welcome of all except for Sekou Toure. Then he consolidated his power. Prince Johnson's de-

termination to take power is no secret, and knowing what kind of character Taylor is, nobody expects anything better if he comes to power. The whole world is now just relaxing to see what will come out of it—it isn't a crisis that reflects on the superpower struggle, although the effect on the ordinary masses is great. The situation today reflects the organizational shortcomings that have been involved throughout.

Gambian student
Norway

A LETTER TO THE YOUTH



Raya's 1983 Letter to the Youth in the August-September issue of N&L brings up especially important issues in light of the fall of state-capitalism in Europe and the need to develop new alternatives. The failure of the revolutionary movements of the 1960s is particularly relevant to building a new movement that can stem the tide of private capitalism threatening to engulf the East.

Raya points out that the failures of the 1960s were rooted in the disunity of theory and practice. As a veteran of the campus movement of the late 1960s, I can certainly attest to the fact that the emphasis was on "activity, activity, activity," and many of us did indeed support the idea that "theory could be picked up en route." With no real theory of human freedom, failure was inevitable. In fact, practice devoid of theory often transforms itself into action that works toward ends directly contrary to its stated goals.

John Apple
New York

* * *

Philosophers don't get up and say, "I ignore dialectics and philosophy." Sartre saw a great culture end in Nazism and he wrote *Being and Nothing*. There's no Becoming—that is achieved only by individual will where you create meaning. So when Sartre defends the dialectic and gets interested in Marx, it's only a halfway dialectic. When Levi-Strauss says we need empiricism, that attracts the youth. The 1960s youth leader, Mario Savio, was not opposed to philosophy—but he stopped at the notion of alienation. The Johnson-Forest Tendency talked of alienation in 1941-42 but only Raya moved to full Hegelian dialectics—even Sartre didn't follow through. The post-structuralists say there is no alienation because there is no possibility of meaning or of a new society. Here you are dealing with anti-philosophy. Hegel and Marx do have a concept of meaning and that is the real enemy of those people.

Revolutionary professor
Indiana

Raya Dunayevskaya's letter to the youth challenges us to confront and practice her challenge to post-Marx Marxists and all alternatives to Marx's Marxism. She says that this battle will reveal the much greater maturity of our age as against the generation of the 1960s. Having seen the 1960s movements reach the threshold of revolution and end in complete failure, our generation cannot afford to ignore the much greater demands and stakes that we are confronted with in our age of absolutes. Practicing the challenge to post-Marx Marxism must mean transcending the pull to separate philosophy from organization, theory from practice. In the face of war, being a thought-diver and an activist can mean nothing less.

Tom Parsons
De Kalb, Illinois

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MARXIST-HUMANIST PERSPECTIVES, 1990-91

What was new to me in your Perspectives Thesis was the explicit tracing of how Dunayevskaya's working out of the category of state-capitalism, and her search for new revolutionary forces, led her to Marx's Humanism. Thinking about how full a revolution is needed, and looking for the new human forces, is what returned her to Marx's philosophic dimension.

Revolutionary California

I regret that the names Bukharin and Stalin were hyphenated together in the Draft Perspectives Thesis. Bukharin was an epigone in philosophy who reduced Marxism to a one-sided materialism lacking the living dialectic, and made a fetish of the state plan. Even so, he suffered an infamous frame-up and judicial murder at Stalin's hands, and we shouldn't lose sight of that.

Richard Bunting Britain

Near the beginning of your Draft Perspectives you mention the continuing importance of the Chinese freedom struggle. That struggle lives on but some folks want us not to comprehend that fact. At a rally here to commemorate the 1989 Tiananmen crackdown, about 60 of the 100 present were Chinese. Three non-Chinese sang funeral pieces (American folksongs) and the mourning made me uncomfortable. Where was the future represented? Five political groups (LaRouche's neofascists, three left groups, and Amnesty International) set up literature displays until it was announced that only literature and slogans dealing with Tiananmen were acceptable. Non-Chinese politicians campaigned freely from the podium but no exiled students told of their thinking, discussions or organizations. When I read in your Perspectives about the central role of the self-limiting revolution concept in keeping minds manacled, it summed up the spirit of this rally most precisely.

Mark Manning Seattle

Your "Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1990-91" makes it plain that you are interested in taking organi-

zational responsibility only for a philosophy, not for a mass movement, a curious position for people who believe only the masses, not a vanguard, make the difference. You wish to recreate the Idea of Freedom, which strikes me as a project for the academics Raya Dunayevskaya detested, not for social activists.

Reader Washington, D.C.

When I was reading the Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives 1990-91, I paused at this sentence: "Precisely because Marx rooted the dialectic in the live proletarian struggles for freedom at the point of production and in the struggle for new man/woman relations, the power of thought could finally be unchained, for cognition was now rooted in the human dimension." I thought of the impact that reading Raya Dunayevskaya's Marxism and Freedom had made on me. Before reading it, I had started asking myself why I had such a lowly state in life. Marxism and Freedom made me see why. It made me see that when human beings come together in questioning this society, they think. That thinking is powerful, and that is what capitalism wants to put a stop to.

Cecilia Chicago

Editor's note: "The Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1990-91," was adopted at the News and Letters Convention over Labor Day weekend as our Perspectives for 1990-91. See p. 10 for how to obtain copies of the Reports discussed there. Copies of the Thesis, printed in the August-September issue of N&L, are available for 70 cents.

VOICES OF LABOR

I go to work each day, and am forced by the economy to work all the overtime I can get. My wife is forced to take a job to help meet the weekly bills, to just barely live. My two boys are young, in grade school, and it is up to me to get home from work by 2:00 in the afternoon to be there when they get home from school. It is awfully hard because I have to be back on the job at

12:00 midnight. What kind of life is this? Is this the kind of life I am raising my sons for? At work we were talking about the changes in Eastern Europe, where the people got rid of their Communist Party rulers. One of my friends said, "This country is the one that needs a revolution."

Chemical worker California

I almost killed myself the first day on my new job in freight trucking, when a 1,000 pound skid went over the tail of the truck. If it weren't for the worker-to-worker solidarity I've experienced I couldn't last. You're pushing a 2,000 pound flat of piece goods on the sidewalk and a total stranger grabs hold and pulls with you. When he leaves, another grabs on. It happens every day.

Trucker New York City

Our union said the contract was passed while 20,000 of the votes were still out. What kind of job are they doing? They're not supposed to take a lousy contract and present it to the members for a vote. They're supposed to fight for a good contract, and say the other is unacceptable. This contract has less money than the last one, and they agreed to hire part-timers. That's why we're voting for Ron Carey for president next year.

UPS driver New York



DIALOGUE ON WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Terry Moon's article on the National Women's Studies Association conference was truthful, but not insightful as to the reasons NWSA is experiencing such an upheaval, long overdue. The white, middle class women representing NWSA's leadership are not any different from any other patriarchal group I've known. Women, as a group, have not thought about the ways to accomplish our goals. We think we know how.

Suzanne Casey Chicago

What has happened is that the culture clash of race and class has been brought out into the open and the white women don't see it yet. They think everyone is just like them. Women of color (of which I am one) must not continue to play the power game with our dominant white sisters. We need only to claim our identity and live it as central to ourselves instead of on the margins of the white playing field.

Potawatomi Wisconsin

SUPPORT WAR RESISTERS

Two billion dollars will be spent next year to lure 250,000 young men and women into the military. Money will be spent on glossy magazine ads, action-packed television spots and a team of 15,000 recruiters. We have produced a new brochure to counter the military recruiters that we want to distribute in high schools, community centers and wherever young people hang out. Donations will help us reach more students this fall, get speakers and slide shows into more high school classes and stir up more public demand for an end to the militarization of young people. Young people, parents and teachers call us for advice every day.

War Resisters League 339 Lafayette St. New York, NY 10012

I've watched with dread Bush's military build-up in the mid-East, sure that it is preparation for an actual war. Within the first ten days, we received a call (our phone is unlisted), from an Air Force recruiter looking for our 19-year-old son who is away at college. This week, I got a chill when I found in our mail a card from the Selective Service System, requesting an update on our son's current address and phone number. I was an anti-war activist in the 1960s and 1970s, and seeing Born on the 4th of July with my two teenage (read draftable) sons renewed my determination to fight like hell over sending our sons (and now daughters) into such madness again.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

—BOOKS—

- 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 1989 edition. New introduction by author 372 pp. by Raya Dunayevskaya \$14.95 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

- Constitution of News & Letters Committees 25¢ postage
Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts Special bulletin on Marxist-Humanism as a body of ideas by Raya Dunayevskaya, Eugene Walker, Michael Connolly and Olga Domanski \$1 per copy
The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard. Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby \$2 per copy
Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.25 per copy

—PAMPHLETS—

- Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought, by Lou Turner and John Alan New Expanded edition contains Introduction/Overview by Raya Dunayevskaya, Lou Turner and John Alan Appendices by Rene Depestre and Ngugi wa Thiong'o \$3 per copy
The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts by Ron Brokmeyer, Franklin Dmitryev, Raya Dunayevskaya \$1 per copy
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Bush's drive for war demands total opposition

(continued from page 1)

world the U.S. is prepared to use force to protect its "vital interests" anywhere—be they oil today, or counter-revolution tomorrow.

As Secretary of State James Baker told a Congressional Committee in calling for a "new regional security structure" to guarantee a permanent U.S. presence in the Gulf, "We must seize this opportunity to solidify the ground rules of the new world order."

A "WINDOW TO OUR FUTURE"?

The world got a taste of those "ground rules" at the Helsinki summit between Bush and Gorbachev on Sept. 9. Just as the "new era of cooperation" forged over the last year between the U.S. and Russia gave Bush the green light to send troops to the Persian Gulf, so the Helsinki summit further freed his hands for outright military action. Though the summit was supposedly called to discuss the Persian Gulf, it was not until the joint press conference following it that Gorbachev revealed what he called "our little secret"—the fact that the U.S. had agreed to involve Russia in a future Middle East Conference on the Israeli-Palestinian dispute.

Stunning as this reversal of 13 years and more of U.S. opposition to Russian participation in any such Middle East Conference is, this "little secret" was spelled out in nothing less public than the concluding lines of the nine-paragraph joint statement issued by the two rulers following the summit. It read, "As soon as...we have demonstrated that aggression does not pay [we will] work actively to resolve all remaining conflicts in the Middle East and Persian Gulf. Both sides will continue...to pursue these broader objectives at the proper time."

A Bush administration official called this statement "a window to our future." But what "future" does this really hold for the world, if it means Russia is now giving Bush a blank check to engage in military adventurism in exchange for being included in future deliberations on the Middle East, where it too has its own "vital interests"?

There is no way of knowing what, if anything, was discussed between the two rulers concerning the Israeli-Palestinian issue, nor is it possible to predict the realignments that could unfold in the months ahead. What is clear is that so massive, rapid and unprecedented has Bush's imperial foray into the Persian Gulf already proven to be, that it has shaken up the entire regional configuration of Middle East politics.

SINGLE WORLD DOMINATION

The new regional realignments in the Middle East range from Syria, which for now has swung over in support of the U.S. deployment, to Iran, which has opened new links with Iraq while leaving the door open to the West through contact with its regional ally, Syria. The realignments range from Saudi Arabia, which in September established diplomatic ties with Russia after a 52-year break, to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which has virtually fallen into supporting Saddam Hussein, as if he represents some "alternative" to U.S. imperialism. Meanwhile, Israel, whose iron-clad grip over Palestinian lands in Gaza and the West Bank grows ever-tighter, has been told by the U.S. to tone down its open calls for a massive first-strike on Iraq. Much as Bush "appreciates" Israel's support, he is determined that the U.S. will decide when and where the shooting starts.

The military intrusion of the U.S. into the Persian Gulf has also shaken up relations between the U.S. and its allies, especially Germany and Japan. Shortly after the U.S. troop deployment began, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl offered the U.S. \$650 million for the venture. This figure was quickly criticized for being "paltry." Japan, which offered a similar amount, likewise came in for heavy criticism. All of this must have been a rude awakening for Kohl, who labored under the impression that achieving reunification placed Germany at the center of world politics. But once the nuclear-armed U.S. plunged headlong into the Middle East cauldron, the center of gravity quickly shifted.

Germany has now been pressured into providing some \$3 billion for the Gulf operation. More ominously, Kohl promises to revise the German Constitution following the December 2 elections, so that German troops can be stationed outside Europe. Japan has meanwhile offered \$4 billion for the Gulf operation, and is under growing pressure to revise its Constitution, which also forbids the deployment of combat forces overseas.

More than dollars is involved here, though that is of course crucial. Bush is making it clear to the allies that it is the U.S., not they, who decides global priorities. He is showing that it is the U.S., not they, who possesses the military muscle to posture as the global superpower. The events confirm how the "new era of cooperation" with Gorbachev's Russia unleashes a new stage in the U.S.'s struggle for single world domination, beginning with the Middle East.

PERSISTENT INSTABILITY

Bush may imagine that the U.S. drive for single world domination will impose "security and stability" on the Middle East. But the area remains anything but an island of stability.

In Jordan, tens of thousands of mainly Arab and Asian workers and their families from Iraq and Kuwait are flooding into refugee camps lacking adequate food, water, and shelter. Though the U.S. and its allies, with UN approval, have proved able to airlift tens of thousands of troops to Saudi Arabia in a matter of weeks, these state powers haven't found the time, money or



Bush and Gorbachev at Helsinki

concern to help get these refugees back to their homelands. Concern for human life is the last thing on their agenda.

Jordan's economy has been hit especially hard, not only by the influx of refugees, but also by the Iraqi trade embargo and Saudi Arabia's cut-off of oil supplies taken in retaliation for Jordan's King Hussein's conciliatory position towards Iraq. But the crisis in Jordanian economy and society, which is tottering on the brink of collapse, far predates the present crisis. Not much more than a year ago, huge food riots swept the country in response to the imposition of an International Monetary Fund (IMF) austerity program.

Egypt's economy is likewise in shambles. Unemployment is reaching 35%, while tens of millions more experience poverty and deteriorating conditions of life and labor. The memory of the food riots which erupted in 1977 is ever-present, especially now that the IMF is negotiating yet another austerity program with the government.

It isn't only in the poverty-stricken Arab lands, however, that recollection of mass revolt is never far beneath the surface. That is true in oil-rich sheikhdoms like Saudi Arabia as well, which has experienced revolts against its exploitative rulers, the most famous being the 1979 occupation of the Grand Mosque in Mecca, which lasted more than two weeks. The pouring of billions of dollars of advanced military hardware into Saudi Arabia is not alone to "protect" this sheikhdom against "foreign invasion," but is also part of the effort to protect the rulers against "persistent instability" at home.

It is precisely the rich legacy of mass revolt in the Middle East that Saddam Hussein is trying to harness today for his own narrow purposes. Though Hussein is now using an assortment of "anti-imperialist" rhetoric, it would be the gravest folly to consider this as in any way "revolutionary." This is not alone because of the counter-revolutionary origins of his Ba'ath Party; as then Ba'ath-Party leader Ali Saleh al Saadi said of the 1963 coup against the genuinely revolutionary regime of Abdul-ul Karim Qasim which first brought it to power, "we rode into Baghdad on a CIA train."* It is also because throughout his bloody reign, Hussein has brutally repressed the many forces struggling for freedom, be they Kurds or Assyrians, striking workers or students, women demanding equal rights or intellectuals demanding freedom of expression. The very power of his mechanism of totalitarian repression is a measure of the depth of the revolutionary struggles which have erupted against him.

Far from Hussein's mouthing of anti-imperialist rhetoric having anything in common with the revolutionary nationalism that erupted in the Arab world with the birth of the Afro-Asian revolutions of the 1950s, his is counter-revolutionary anti-imperialism.** In 1979, Khomeini's use of counter-revolutionary anti-imperialism helped him usurp the human energies released by the Iranian revolution. Ten years later, the global retrogression has become so total, and the philosophic void within the movements so unfilled, that many in the Middle East and elsewhere are now falling for Hussein's "anti-imperialist" posturing, though he continues his counter-revolutionary repression against the masses at home. Such a narrowing of the struggle can do nothing but help the rulers bury the very idea of human liberation.

The truth is that Bush's military intervention in the

* See Hanna Batatu's *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq*, especially pp. 974-94.

** For the contradictory development of the dialectics of liberation in the Middle East in the post-World War II world, see Raya Dunayevskaya's *War, Peace and Revolution: Shifting Alliances in the Middle East*. See also her *Iran: Revolution and Counter-Revolution*.

Persian Gulf is directed, not against Hussein's counter-revolutionary legacy, which the U.S. long supported through arms sales and other measures, but against the revolutionary aspirations for freedom of the masses.

This is not just a question of the Middle East. It is a question of the needed American revolution. Bush is trying to wipe all questions of human freedom off the map with his military intervention, especially those which relate to the ever-deepening economic, social, and ideological crises in the United States.

THE CRISES AT HOME

Long before Hussein's invasion of Kuwait and Bush's foray into Saudi Arabia sent the price of oil skyrocketing, the U.S. economy was in serious crisis. According to Sindlinger & Co., a Pennsylvania consulting firm, by July, 1990 70% of households in the U.S. were living in "recession conditions." For Black America, the reality has been depression conditions for over a decade. The decline in real wages, deteriorating health care and education, and soaring unemployment all marked the downward spiral of the U.S. economy.

Since Bush's troop deployment, the domestic crisis has even more sharply manifested itself. In the past month, unemployment has increased by 200,000, with even the Labor Department indicating we are virtually in a recession. While some \$25 billion was collected from allies and gulf sheikhdoms to pay for the troop build-up in the Persian Gulf, Democrats and Republicans argued over how best to further cut spending on domestic social programs. Their Oct. 1 compromise "solution" to the budget crisis amounts to little more than making the elderly pay for the economic crisis, through cuts in Social Security and Medicare.

It is the economic crisis and the "persistent instability" right here at home which has as much to do with why Bush sent troops to the Middle East as anything else. Bush is using the troop deployment to deflect attention from the internal reasons for the deteriorating U.S. economy; he is using the troop deployment to deflect attention from growing dissatisfaction with the worsening conditions of life and labor at home; and, most of all, he is using his conflict with Saddam Hussein to smother the very idea that there can be a new society different from all on earth under an avalanche of military adventurism.

WHAT TO DO?

It is the effort to smother the very idea, the very vision of a new society through today's drive to war which poses the greatest challenge to the newly-emerging anti-war protests that have erupted against Bush. The much-needed opposition to Bush's troop deployment cannot afford to be caught unaware of the counter-revolutionary nature of Hussein's "anti-imperialism." But neither can we leave it there. The crucial question is how to combat the effort to smother the very vision of a new society, when such retrogressive tendencies as we see today are allowed to dominate the global stage.

The vision of a new society that the rulers so seek to subdue, and which finds its fullest expression in a philosophy of revolution, is integral to today's force of liberation—workers, women, youth, the Black Diaspora. The struggles for a totally new way of life by masses of people must not be allowed to be covered over. The vision of a freedom-filled future contained in them must be made explicit and developed anew to meet the challenges of the 1990s. Anything less cannot help but fall into the traps set by Bush as he embarks on ever-new imperial adventures.

What we projected within 48 hours of Bush's troop deployment is more crucial than ever before: "So serious is the Bush-Hussein military confrontation in the Persian Gulf, and so ominous are the long-term implications of a prolonged U.S. armed presence in Saudi Arabia, that it becomes necessary to work out a whole new stage of anti-war activities, that does not separate what we oppose, from what we are for. As we oppose Bush's imperial foray into the Persian Gulf, and demand the total and immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops, we must under no circumstances tailend any state power."***

—Oct. 2, 1990

*** See "Bush's Imperial Foray into Persian Gulf threatens prolonged war," *N&L*, August-September 1990.

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Explore Raya Dunayevskaya's analyses of Middle East events

1967

"Marxist-Humanists cannot allow themselves to be drawn into the criminal maneuvers of either Big Powers or little power politics. What does concern us is how to utilize the events in the Middle East, what they all over again revealed about global conflict among the Big Powers, and also what they revealed about the failure of the struggle for the minds of men in the freedom movements themselves..."

—The Arab-Israeli Collision, The World Powers, and the Struggle for The Minds of Men, June 8, 1967, (Raya Dunayevskaya Collection microfilm #3831)

1976

"...the New Left, born in the 1960s, so disdainful of theory (which it forever thinks it can pick up 'en route'), has a strange attitude toward imperialism. It is as if imperialism were not the natural outgrowth of monopoly capitalism, but was a 'conspiracy, organized by a single imaginary center, rather as the Nazis used to refer to the Judea-Catholic-Masonic Alliance, or Communists under Stalin to the conspiracy of the Trotskyists and Rightists in league with the imperialist secret service.'

It is such an attitude to imperialism, along with the theoretic void that has pervaded the Movement since the death of Lenin that has led revolutionaries to collude with narrow nationalism on the ground that it is 'anti-imperialist' though purely nationalist. Evidently nationalism of the so-called Third World is of itself revolutionary even when it is under the banner of a king, a shah, or the emirates. Thereby they canonize nationalism though void of working class character, as national liberation."

—Lebanon: The Test not only of the P.L.O. but the Whole Left, August 19, 1976, microfilm #5245

1986

"Acts of war by any other designation—and Ronald Reagan chose to christen the bombings of five cities in Libya as a 'right of self-defense'—are acts of war.... The leader of one nuclear behemoth, Reagan, has now slapped down the Libya of Muammar Qaddafi. But the implications are global. Ronald Reagan, Commander-in-Chief, seems determined to be in command of a war...."

It is precisely because of the global implications, including those here at home against the American masses, that we must make our opposition to the terrorism of a Reagan unequivocal. We cannot allow the unsavoriness of a Qaddafi to impede the necessity of a full opposition to Reagan, especially here in the U.S. To oppose Reagan in Libya and globally is inseparable from opposition to the despicable acts of Qaddafi's regime. We need to stay the nuclear, imperial, terrorist hand of Reaganism ideologically and by mass activities. Only then can masses everywhere, including in Libya and here in the U.S., open doors to full freedom."

—"Stop Reagan's Acts of War!" Editorial, News & Letters, May, 1986, microfilm #11060

These writings are only a few of the extensive collection of Marxist-Humanist writings on the Middle East from the 1940s through the 1980s available in The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection. The Guide to the Collection may be ordered through the literature ad on p. 7. For an index of selected writings on the Middle East by Raya Dunayevskaya, write to News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren, Chicago, IL. 60605.

Chicano Moratorium 1990

Los Angeles, Cal.—On Aug. 25, thousands marched in East L.A. to commemorate the Chicano Moratorium of 1970, a protest against the Vietnam War, racial discrimination, class inequities, and other social abuses. Chicano journalist Ruben Salazar, killed by the police during the 1970 protest, was remembered as a martyr of a movement whose advances have been steadily losing ground under the Reagan and Bush administrations.

Latino artists like Tierra and Culture Clash entertained the crowd at the beginning of the march, which swelled to 6,000 as it took to the streets. The marchers included Chicano men and women of all ages, some of whom had travelled from northern California, Texas and Arizona. Some had taken part in the first march. This time they came with their children and parents.

There were recently immigrated Mexicans and Central Americans. There were workers, students, political refugees, labor leaders and Vietnam vets. Blacks, whites and Asian-Americans also marched, as well as Argentinians and Colombians.

Unlike the 1970 Moratorium, this march was peaceful. Slogans and conversations expressed excitement and solidarity. Although community leaders were present, such as United Farm Workers vice president Dolores Huerta and professor/writer Rudy Acuna, many spoke at the rally at the end of the march. The spirit belonged to the people.

The dominant theme was the unity of La Raza—strength in numbers to create change. The changes people were calling for were decent wages and working conditions for agricultural and industrial workers, "documented" or not; quality educational facilities in Latino and Black neighborhoods; an end to police and immigration department abuses; no borders on the American continent; no more jails in Latino neighborhoods; no U.S. intervention in Central America or the Middle East; and respect and dignity for Latino people by Latino people.

The march represented a new wave of consciousness and strength in Latino communities in the U.S.

—Solidarity activist

Mohawk solidarity

Editor's note: The Native American writer Shainape Schapwe recently interviewed an activist who had participated in the/Mohawk defense of their land at Kanesatake, Quebec, Canada. For a story on the resistance of the Mohawk Community at Kanesatake see August-September N&L.

Through the press, they begged us to come to the negotiating table with them. And in the process, they made us look like a bunch of crazies, threatening people's existence, but we went with our representatives, prepared to deal in good faith.

On their part, they sent several small bureaucrats and a labor negotiator as an impartial observer, who weren't empowered to negotiate what they were going to have for supper. Then, after we broke off the talks, Mulrone let Quebec know that the national armed forces were ready to do what they must to maintain peace.

The hardest thing to deal with here is the terrorism we've experienced from the Army and Air Force. For example, on Tuesday (Sept. 18) they maintained that they heard about a cache of highpowered weapons on the reservation. They threw tear gas bombs 200 yards from a hospital and around one of the schools.

Both staff and patients at the hospital, amounting to 75 people ages from 5 to 72, were treated for tear gas inhalation. Their helicopters buzzed two school buses and a group of elderly people, looking for this cache. That was life threatening and terrifying.

The government is always trying to turn one band of Indians against another. This situation has totally changed things. The government people could never have imagined how much this has unified Indians across Canada and the U.S. into one nation. Hell, we've got more support from minorities looking for their rights to self-determination. It's been wonderful.

Panama invasion inquiry



Bombed-out Chorrillo barrio in Panama City

New York, N.Y.—On Aug. 15, a program sponsored by the Commission of Inquiry on Panama drew 200 people to hear a delegation's findings six months after the U.S. invasion. We were horrified to learn that no one yet knows how many Panamanians were killed—they are still unearthing mass graves of soldiers and civilians, including children. The U.S. has nearly completely hushed up the truth about the slaughter caused by its intense bombing of poor neighborhoods. The U.N. estimated the body count last spring at 2,500-3,000, but human rights groups such as the Commission think it may be as high as 7,000.

The devastation was not only to human life, but to the economy and to human dignity. An already fragile economy was weakened by the U.S. embargo before the invasion, and then destroyed by the bombing and occupation. There is mass unemployment and homelessness. The U.S. military is everywhere throughout the country and in every department of government. The government has fired 18,000 workers and plans to lay off more, as well as to privatize industries. Many political prisoners are being held without charge, and anyone who protests is harassed.

Unions are fighting the lay-offs and the erosion of affirmative action and the Labor Code. Residents of the refugee camps hold demonstrations to win small improvements in their miserable conditions. One speaker said, "The U.S. has stabilized Panama, but it has not rooted out nationalism; it has caused it to increase." In spite of the occupation and unemployment, there have been mass demonstrations, strikes and prison rebellions.

—Anne Jaclard

URPE drifts to right

New York, N.Y.—More than 100 radical economists and friends gathered near Monticello, N.Y. in late August for the summer conference of the Union for Radical Political Economics (URPE). URPE is a 20-year-old organization representing the left-wing of academic economists. Presentations dealt with a wide-range of theoretical and policy-oriented economic issues. Plenaries of invited speakers discussed racism and resistance, AIDS, the environment, and the transformation of Eastern Europe.

Conspicuously absent from the official schedule was any discussion of the Persian Gulf crisis. Its absence reflected URPE's desire to maintain internal unity in the wake of deep divisions within the Left over how to respond. As one long-time URPE member put it, "Why should we talk about it now, it's still going on?" An Iranian activist organized an impromptu caucus on the issue.

The transformation of Eastern Europe was a key theme throughout the conference. Speakers nonetheless consistently failed to recognize the magnitude of those upheavals. Many seemed to think that "socialism" can still be saved through tinkering, while others, noting that "socialism is a dirty word," wanted to use the phrase "economic democracy" instead. A few had traveled to Eastern Europe and asked inhabitants "What went wrong?," as if what had been wrong was something less than the nature of the society as a whole.

That a significant part of URPE is drifting to the right was evident from the lack of ideas about revolutionary transformation in East Europe or at home. Though at least three sessions took up economic crisis theory, what was considered a serious issue for debate was whether the economy is in crisis, with one self-described "ultra-Leftist" even claiming that a majority of Americans "did better" under Reaganism. As Marx said, "The ruling ideas of the age are the ideas of the ruling class."

Nonetheless, when theoretical alternatives were presented, they engendered significant discussion, not only among the youth and non-economists present, but also among some revolutionary economists. A Marxist-Humanist presentation defended Marx's theory of crisis as rooted in the perverted relation of machine to worker, and as disclosing the need to abolish the capitalist system and to establish a new human foundation for any further economic development. There was new-found interest in Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts as well as his method.

—Participants

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Black/Red View

by John Alan

When President Bush nominated the little-known federal judge David Souter to fill the vacancy on the U.S. Supreme Court created by the retirement of Justice William Brennan, the Republican leadership in the Senate braced themselves for what Senator Robert Dole called a prolonged "political bloodbath." It was then generally expected that liberals, Democrats and the "pro-choice" members of the Senate would stall the Judiciary Committee hearing on Souter's nomination and turn the whole thing into a political issue of the first magnitude to coincide with the November election.

What was obviously at stake was the Constitutional reversal of the *Roe v. Wade* decision of the Warren Court that "legalized" the right of women to have an abortion. Judge Souter was the nominee that would shift the balance on the court toward reversal.

Needless to say, Senator Dole's pre-Persian Gulf war crisis scenario didn't materialize. Neither did there emerge a vigorous coalition of civil rights groups to challenge Souter's confirmation, as happened in 1987 at the time of the Robert Bork hearing. Only the women's organizations had the spirit and the determination to stand before the Senate's Judiciary Committee to challenge the confirmation of Souter. The full ramifications of this has yet to be understood. After all, both Souter and Bork are foes of civil rights.

BEHIND SOUTER'S 'OPEN MIND'

The "stalling" came not from the Democratic majority on the Judiciary Committee, but from Souter himself. He refused during his three days of testimony to indicate how he would vote on *Roe v. Wade*, claiming that he had an "open mind" on this issue.

Now Souter's "open mind" can mean that, out of political necessity, he wants to conceal his real opinion about abortion until he is safely on the bench of the Supreme Court. Or it could mean that in the past 17 years of his judicial career he has been totally indifferent to the very idea of women's liberation, i.e. to what's occurring in life and society.

Women stand alone against Souter

But what we do know is that political necessity, as well as indifference to the rights of women to control their own productive power, permeated the Judiciary Committee as a whole. This was revealed not just in the failure of the committee's members to vigorously challenge Souter's "open mind" ploy, but also by the eagerness of the "pro-choice" members on the committee to provide the ground for confirming Souter as the "least hostile" nominee that could be expected from the Bush administration.

In fact it was the "pro-choice" members of the Judiciary Committee who were the most vigorous in putting down Molly Yard of the National Organization for Women and Fay Wattleton of the Planned Parenthood Action Fund. Senator Arlen Specter told the women that they were "not realistic" in their opposition to Souter. Another self-declared "pro-choicer," Senator Simpson, told the women: "I really believe you are making a big mistake on this abortion should not be the only issue" in considering a Supreme Court nominee. Senator Simpson went so far as to call the women's attitude "tiresome arrogance." No one on the Judiciary Committee challenged this outburst of male chauvinism.

WHERE WAS BLACK OPPOSITION?

It is unfortunate that women had to stand alone in their opposition to Judge Souter and did not get the full, militant support of other civil rights organizations. Pro forma opposition, as in the case of the NAACP, is not enough, particularly at this moment in American history, when a retrogressive administration in Washington has the audacity to manufacture its own war crisis in the Persian Gulf to gain national consensus here at home while it faces a brewing economic crisis, rising racism, a monstrous Savings and Loan scandal and its own inability to do anything about a werewolf national debt.

The issue is not so much the question of whether or not any opposition would stop the confirmation of Judge Souter, or that we might get someone worse than Souter. The issue is that the opposition itself is crucial as an act of "self-determination" that begins to recognize the limits of constitutional rights in the

presence of the need for human rights. It is not a constitution or a law or a judge that creates freedom, but rather the self-activity of people in a struggle for freedom.

When Rosa Parks, in 1955, refused to go to the back of the bus because she was tired, her action set into motion a spontaneous mass movement that re-defined the very idea of civil rights in this country. The retrogressive Bush administration is still engaged in a battle with that movement as it threatens to veto the new civil rights bill now before Congress.

Watts revolt remembered

Los Angeles, Cal.—On Aug. 8, a meeting was held to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Watts Rebellion. At this meeting, in the heart of Watts, were about 125 Black men, women, and children, all hungry for freedom.

That spirit of the rebellion, which left 35 dead and thousands wounded, lives on to do battle against racist police practices today. In fact, many of those present were participants in the 1965 rebellion. They said, don't ask why we rebelled but why it took so long, and when is the next one.

They fought the police as the common enemy of the whole Black community. Many were in rival gangs like the Slausons, whose differences with gangs in Watts dissolved through the rebellion. They fought side by side against the racist police and store owners. We need that same movement today to bring an end to gang violence, which has left 125 dead so far this year. No amount of petty-bourgeois political promises, such as a call for more police, can solve this problem of "gang violence."

One speaker from the Slausons, a major gang before 1965, spoke of how our solution won't come from Washington, D.C., but "has to start at the bottom not at the top." He called for the community to look within to solve our problems.

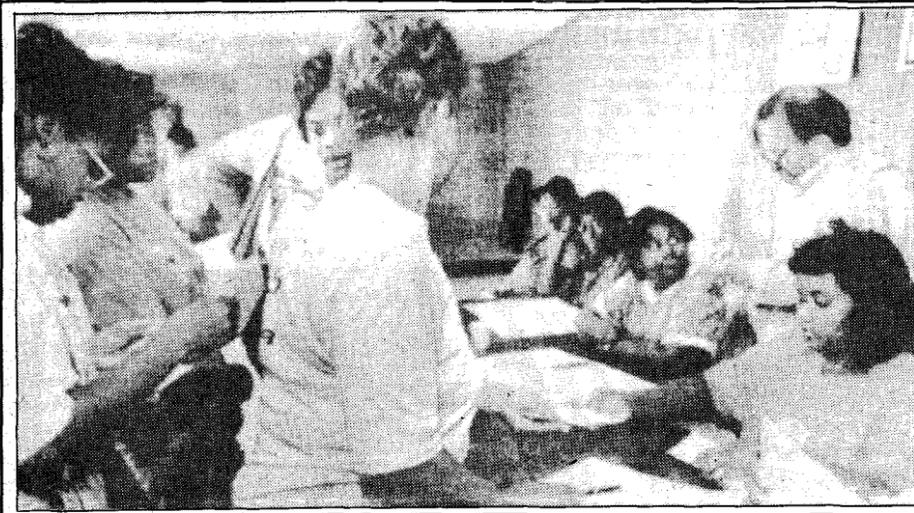
While the Watts rebellion opened the door to the Black Power movement of the Black Panthers, and many gang members joined the Black movement, the problem of Watts in 1990 has a more intense face of despair, fear and death than 1965.

Today we have many more gangs, "Crips" and "Bloods", killing one another. The failed Black Power movement has transformed itself into some Blacks reaching for political office and capitalism, while poverty has increased with drugs and death being injected into the Black community.

The Black community in reality is a reflection of a capitalist system that is destroying itself through its vampire thirst for wealth, which leads to war and destruction. To overcome this form of death in the 1990s, we need to get rid of this senseless system of capitalism. Our only alternative is a philosophy to transform an oppressive Black reality.

As Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in *Philosophy and Revolution*: "There is a dialectic of thought, from consciousness through culture to philosophy...in each case it calls forth new forms of revolt and new aspects of the philosophy of revolution." That is what is demanded of Black communities like Watts; a demand for life which is reaching for a universal concept of freedom.

—Gene Ford



Striking Delta Pride workers pick up strike pay. On Sept. 13, 1,200 workers walked off the job in Indianola, Mississippi protesting the small wage increase offered by the company (\$3.80 to \$4.50 per hour over five years). More than 99% of the workers are Black and three-quarters are women.

Black World

(continued from page 1)

over Johnson's wholesale execution of a dozen members of the NPFL. Johnson's barbarism was first publicly displayed to the world when a photographer caught his wanton execution of a Red Cross worker on a street in Monrovia. And it was Johnson, who, after trying to incite a U.S. military intervention by seizing hostages, was responsible for the murder of Samuel Doe and the gruesome exhibition of his decapitated body for a ghoulish Western media.

Because Taylor has received support from Libya and Burkino Faso, Johnson has criticized him for being a follower of Qaddafi's brand of socialism (sic). Taylor counter-charged that far from being any kind of socialist, he is a firm believer in Reaganomics! The U.S. State Department has supported Johnson in the past, which is what deluded him into thinking that he could call upon U.S. intervention. Meanwhile, waiting off-stage in the U.S. imperialist wings is Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, former Minister of Finance for the deposed Tolbert regime. In close touch with the Bush State Department, and apparently acceptable to Taylor as a possible figurehead president, Sirleaf supports U.S. intervention.

With the death of Doe, the spiral of violence has tightened. A divided West African "peacekeeping" force of some 5,000 troops has engaged Taylor's forces. The remnants of Doe's barbarous army have unleashed a desperate campaign of terror upon an already besieged civilian population. However, the dominant faction, outside the spectre of U.S. forces deployed off-shore, is that of Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia.

And yet, the NPFL has no political organization, has articulated no political perspectives for Liberian self-determination, and lacks any ideological ground except that of Taylor's avowed Reaganism, which has gained him the continued support of his biggest benefactor, the conservative president of the Ivory Coast, Felix Houphouet-Boigny. Because the drive to depose Doe has come from such right-wing forces as Taylor and Johnson, the Liberian Left has been driven into silence, the underground, or into exile.

Liberian tragedy

So much is Liberia a manifestation of the unresolved contradictions of the African Revolution, whose roots, moreover, go back to the early 19th century origins of American imperialism, that it is not possible at the moment to see any revolutionary pathway out of the present crisis. Nevertheless, its contradictory history does disclose the indigenous social forces that will embody the self-determination of the nation.

LIBERIA'S CONTRADICTIONARY PAST

Pan-Africanism first assumed state form with the African-American founding of Liberia in 1821 (Liberia as a nation, was constitutionally established in 1847), when an arrogant U.S. naval officer held a loaded gun to the head of a local tribal leader forcing him to cede land to an expedition of freed American slaves, backed by the American Colonization Society.

The Americo-Liberian oligarchy has always been a parasitic growth on the indigenous African society. How much so came to light in 1930 when the world discovered that forced labor, akin to slavery, was being imposed on the indigenous people. Unfortunately, as astonishing as that revelation, was the spectacle of prominent Black radical intellectuals such as W.E.B. DuBois, George Padmore, and Nnamdi Azikiwe offering pathetic apologies for the Liberian ruling class. Pan-Africanism became the ideological veil that the Americo-Liberian elite could always count on to conceal its despotic rule.

Thus, in the founding and development of Liberia is contained the contradictions of its present strife. The abstraction of pan-Africanism was ever in the process of falling apart into a diversity of ethnic groups and factions. However, diversity gave way to open and violent contradiction in 1980, when a young Krahn master sergeant by the name of Samuel Doe overthrew, for the first time in its history, Liberia's 160-year rule of its U.S.-supported Americo-Liberian rulers.

While even the faintest idea of freedom has been absent from the present crisis, it is precisely that idea of African self-determination which must necessarily emerge from the same contradictions out of which Liberia was born and developed.

Dominican general strike

During the middle of August a general strike took place in the Dominican Republic in protest against the rapidly increasing cost of living. The people went to the streets in several major cities. Industrial workers, the unemployed, students, women, children, intellectuals, all were together as one force as they confronted the combined repression of the police and the military. They were brutally repressed, with several killed, and thousands incarcerated and beaten.

The Dominican people have a long history of militant struggles against their domestic oppressors and their international rulers, the Yankee imperialists and the European powers.

Due to the big international debt that different Dominican governments have incurred through the International Monetary Fund, strong austerity measures have been imposed by the government against the people. This has been in order to pay the interest owed on "loan-shark" loans that went into the pockets of the big landlords, military chieftains, government officials, and the industrial bourgeoisie.

While the Dominican workers receive their nominal salaries in pesos, the cost of the commodities are priced according to the exchange rate of the "Yankee dollar" (\$1=14 pesos). It means that if an American worker pays \$2 for a pound of meat, a Dominican worker must pay 28 pesos, and the salary of the Dominican worker is not even one-tenth the value of an American worker.

This desperate situation has forced many people to sail out in boats for San Juan, Puerto Rico. Many people have died before reaching its shores, either from hunger or from sharks. And those that reach the shores of Puerto Rico are captured by U.S. immigration officers and sent back to the Dominican Republic. People come back into a worse situation than they left since they had sold all their belongings to pay for the trip.

However, with the class differentiation widening and sharpening, the desire for freedom is stronger than ever.

—Dominican revolutionary

Youth

Military resister speaks out

Editor's note: Below we print an interview with a young Marine reserve who recently declared himself a conscientious objector and has been speaking out at anti-war demonstrations to oppose the U.S. military intervention in the Middle East.

Chicago, Ill.—I think it's wrong for us to be in the Middle East because people will lose their lives for the price of gas. What is more meaningful? What has more value? Gas or human lives? Why do we put such value on material things when it is human life that is more important?

For me, becoming a conscientious objector was not an instantaneous thing. There was a whole process that led me up to it. When I enlisted, I was working full time and going to school, and needed money to pay my tuition. I didn't know anything about the military, but the ads on TV which say: "Be all you can be," and promise to pay your school tuition if you train for one weekend per month.

When I joined, I went to Boot Camp and the Military Occupation Service. Then I enlisted as a reserve in the Marine Corps. Then I decided to become a paramedic. That was when things started to change.

I was doing two things at the same time. On weekends I was practicing to kill people. On weekdays I was working 20 hours a day to save people's lives; people who were Black, white, Asian and of different races and nationalities. Each person's life was valuable.

In the spring of 1989, we had a practice mock war. They showed us many weapons. We had to practice mock war with blank rounds. I couldn't do it. That was when I started to say no. Before that, I had questioned what the military was doing, but now I said no. I was spending so much time saving people's lives. My job in-

involved valuing human life. But the military is against that.

Then I thought, maybe if I got into the medical corps, it would be different. But I realized that if you help someone there, that is to keep the military going again. You bandage someone up and then say: "Here is your gun. Go back and fight."

At that point, I was asking myself what to do. That was when I stopped going to the Marine reserve training sessions. I went on unauthorized absence, and the sergeants started calling me. They threatened me on the phone: "Why aren't you showing up for your drills?" "We own you; you are our property." That just supported my belief that I couldn't go back to the military. So I decided to ask for help, and declared myself a conscientious objector.

I am still in the process of fighting to get recognized as a conscientious objector. If I get to have my own choice about what to do in life, I would like to become an emergency physician. I also want to talk other people out of serving the military. The U.S. government cannot force its belief on people.

Bulgarian youth protest



Bulgarian schoolchildren and teachers protested industrial pollution, Sept. 17.

Oak Park/River Forest High

Fight the Power!

Oak Park, Ill.—At Oak Park/River Forest High School, problems such as racism, sexism, homophobia and disrespect for students rights, need to be dealt with. For a while now, the administration has been on a war-path of diminishing the students' rights and ignoring the students' needs. For example, students are prohibited from posting or handing out flyers or other materials that do not bear the school's stamp of approval. When students spoke up about this injustice, the school used a cheap excuse, saying passing out of such flyers would cause litter.

In the school there is a newspaper called the *Trapeze* (Trap for short). This so-called newspaper is for students to express their feeling, but in order to work on *Trap* you have to take a class, and you have to write what you are assigned, not what you want to write. The only section there is for students who haven't taken the class is called *Letters*, where you can express your "Gripes & Grievances." But the only thing it has been, is an arena for fights about racism, homophobia and Physical Education finals.

The school claims to be dealing with the racism problem. Our assistant principal, Larry Walker, said, "Racism is not a problem among the student population. There are only isolated incidents." I bet while Mr. Walker was saying this, a Black student was being assaulted and two other students were painting swastikas in a corner of the school.

In addition to racist attitudes at our school, there are no steps being taken to change the homophobic and sexist viewpoints of students, teachers and even parents. These prejudices are just as terrible as racism, but are somehow socially acceptable. The homophobia prejudice made its entrance with the human dignity and diversity policy, which allows teachers to mention homosexuality in health classes. Hundreds of parents showed up at the board meeting to deny the policy, thinking that if we allowed homosexual teaching in the school, that the whole school will turn homosexual. And so what if it did? We still are your children, homosexual or not.

Sexism is the next problem. Each day, the women of the school experience sexual harassment—from teachers, male friends, and boyfriends. They even go as far as to joke about rape. What has happened to the mentality of the school!?

Another student right being violated involves locker searches, which are illegal and unfair to us. One student, who had his locker searched, was told by the macho security guard that the reason was his parents are in APPLE (African American Parents for Purposeful Learning and Education), a Black activist group.

And what is next? Harassing students who hold opposing views from the school? People do not deserve to be treated as less than human. Ever! Now that problems are pointed out, it is up to the school, administration, parents and students to solve them. In complete darkness we are all the same. It is only our knowledge and wisdom that separates us. Don't let your eyes deceive you. LIBERATION, EQUALITY, JUSTICE, FIGHT THE POWER.

—Oak Park high school student

Anti-war actions in U.S.

(continued from page 1)

San Francisco Bay Area

George Bush's imperialist mobilization into the Middle East has sparked an anti-war movement in the San Francisco Bay Area. The largest action so far was an indoor rally, Sept. 14 on the campus at Berkeley. Some 2,000 people turned out for the event, called a "teach-in" by the "Ad Hoc Committee Against A Vietnam War in the Middle East."

Ron Kovic, Vietnam War veteran and author of *Born on the Fourth of July* recounted how his war disability turned him into an opponent of the Vietnam War. Turning to the current crisis, he declared, "We won't only bring the boys home, we'll change the country to a country of the people, for the people and by the people." This kind of defiant patriotism, tied to the words of the Constitution, and other speakers' appeal to write to Congress gave the rally a reformist tone.

The Ad Hoc Committee invited participants to return to a meeting the following weekend to plan future actions. About 150 people, most of them students, turned out. They arrived to find the committee was no longer "ad hoc" and the apparent purpose of the meeting was to get the students to distribute 25,000 flyers for a mass rally, Oct. 20. Even though the majority voted to cut off discussion in the main meeting, the minority that wanted to continue wasn't so small, fully a third of the house. Workshops allowed no time for any talk other than activity reports.

A Central America activist, disgusted by the high-handed techniques, said, "Why would you want to cut off discussion? First meetings of a new organization like this take a long time. You have to have time for people to discuss ideas so you can have a vision of what the organization is for."

While the Oct. 20 demonstration is sure to draw in even more opponents to Bush's Pax Americana, the 1990s anti-war struggle also surely has to mean more than repeating the Anti-Vietnam War movement.

New York City

New York's first mass Persian Gulf anti-war event was a speak-out Sept. 13 featuring Ramsey Clark. About 2,000 people appeared, filling Cooper Union and turning its plaza into a rally site when loudspeakers were set up for those who could not fit inside. It was heartening to see the number and variety of people who came for this event: Lower East Side youth and anarchists, connecting their fights with the City to national imperialism; high school youth and their teachers; Black and white radicals; liberals of all ages.

Speakers included a Marine who vowed not to go to the Gulf, and a representative of the Mohawk struggle in Canada who asked why the U.S. did not blockade Canada, when it too had invaded a sovereign country. The call to transform the Middle East question from oil and imperialism to social revolution was unique to *News & Letters*.

At a later meeting to plan for Oct. 20 demonstrations, over 100 people turned out but were limited to poster-ing, not decision-making.

Mobilization For Survival reports that demonstrations to stop the war in the Persian Gulf are planned for Oct. 20 in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Boston, Minneapolis, Atlanta, Houston and on Oct. 21 in St. Louis. Mobilization For Survival can be contacted at (212) 385-2222.

Korean teachers organize

Los Angeles, Cal.—Recently two members of the illegal year-old Korean Teachers and Educational Workers Union (Chunkyojo) visited Los Angeles as part of a short national tour. I attended a small meeting held for them—South Korean youth and other supporters were there—where they told us about the student movement and the efforts of the teachers to organize a union independent of the government "Teachers' Association."

One year ago this month a mass March for Genuine Education was held, which saw the largest participation of students since the April 19 Student Revolution overthrew the Syngman Rhee dictatorship 30 years ago. The teachers told us gory stories of the suicides among third-year high school students (over 200 a year) who prepare for university entrance exams: over 800,000 compete for some 200,000 spaces. They also spoke about the most recent efforts of students to fight such conditions.

Much of their activities have been in support of a new union which has also gained wide support from many trade unions. When 1,700 teachers were fired for their membership in Chunkyojo, students participated in a 40,000-strong march to support the union.

One of the teachers told us: "A student at my high school in Seoul was suspended for writing 'I support the teachers in Chunkyojo' on an exam and a group at the nearby Girls Secondary School have been organizing classes at one of the fired teacher's houses. In Kyung-sang-Namdo, 50 high school students went on a hunger strike demanding that all teachers who had resigned from the union due to the government's firings should rejoin. Many were arrested. At still another high school 1,000 protested when a student leader was arrested for organizing protests through their student organization."

—Mitch Weerth

Youth in Revolt

by Franklin Dmitryev

Protesting Temple University's stonewalling against a faculty strike, about 30 undergraduate students are holding a sit-in at the Philadelphia school. Hundreds of other students have blockaded streets in support. On Sept. 17, seven members of the Graduate Student Employees Association, which has been seeking recognition for a year, were arrested in related action. An undergraduate student was arrested for trying to block the police vans carrying the arrested students.

In Mandalay, Burma, on Sept. 10 about 1,000 people, including many youth, destroyed a fire station and stoned police in a protest against the military dictatorship's continuing repression and its refusal to hand over power to the opposition party that won the May election. On Aug. 8, two students and two monks were killed in Mandalay during a demonstration commemorating the anniversary of the massacres that crushed a popular uprising in 1988.

Dozens of students held two rallies at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor this summer, demanding the resignation of Deane Baker, a regent with a penchant for making anti-gay remarks. In particular, Baker has railed against practically any employment of presence of gays on campus.

Thousands of South African students held demonstrations in late August against the collaborationist Inkatha party, blaming it for murderous attacks that have resulted in the deaths of hundreds of Blacks. At the University of Zululand, students called for Inkatha's Chief Buthelezi to be ousted as the school's chancellor. Ensuing death threats forced all 3,400 students to flee the campus for five days.

In Seoul, South Korea, 10,000 students rallied at Yonsei University Aug. 15, calling for Korea's reunification and for the expulsion of the 40,000 U.S. troops from South Korea. Hundreds of students were detained, but the next day saw another pro-reunification gathering of 4,000 at the border with North Korea.

Over 100 people blockaded traffic in Atlantic City during the busy labor day weekend to protest police brutality and the city politicians for ignoring the needs of Black youth, valuing tourism projects over community programs and parks.

Children's march in India

A week-and-a-half before the United Nations World Summit for Children commenced in September, 400 children in India carrying such signs as "Give Us Back Our Childhood" marched on the Prime Minister's house, demanding action against the exploitation of child labor.

Organizers of the march are trying to mount a boycott against products made by the hands of children who are little more than modern-day slaves. It is estimated that 55 million children under age 14 work in India and that one-fifth of them are "bonded" workers—working to repay their parents' debts to their employers, debts which never get paid off.

The use of children as bonded "slaves" in India's carpet industry is notorious, and they are also exploited in the textile and brick industries. The protesters asked that crafts and other products be labeled if they were made in a workshop "free" of exploited child labor.

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

On Sept. 24, by a vote of 305 to 36, the Russian parliament granted Mikhail Gorbachev emergency powers to cope with the economic crisis and to "strengthen law and order," but there was less here than met the eye. The reality is that political power is slipping away from Gorbachev and from the old-time Party-police-military apparatus as a whole. The utter bankruptcy of the state-capitalist system has become obvious. Take just a few examples:

- On Sept. 3, a massive bread shortage emerged in Moscow itself. People returned from their summer holiday to find no bread in the shops. This is all the more tragic given the fact that 1990 saw a bumper crop in wheat all across Russia. But ethnic unrest, farmer disillusionment with the system and bureaucratic disorganization of the harvest and storage system have meant that a huge portion of the crop will either rot or be fed to livestock, rather than reach needy people.

- The housing shortage is getting worse even as win-

Gorbachev's Russian empire in deep crisis

ter approaches. Homeless people in Moscow have erected a tent city in the city's center. Even returning soldiers and officers and their families are sleeping in tents, awaiting housing. The lack of housing is a big part of why Gorbachev wants a slow withdrawal of Russian troops from Eastern Europe.

- Near civil war conditions continue in Azerbaijan and Armenia, despite the dispatch of thousands of troops to Baku last January.

- It was revealed for the first time in August that the area surrounding the Siberian city of Chelyabinsk, home of the nuclear weapons industry, has been exposed to catastrophic levels of radiation ever since 1949. Highly radioactive wastes were simply pumped into a local lake, while other waste followed rivers all the way to the Arctic Ocean. Since 1949, the cumulative dosage of radiation in the area is said by Russian and U.S. scientists to have exceeded those of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945!

For these and other deep-rooted problems, a new chorus of ideologues has an instant answer—convert to a

"free market" economy. From Gorbachev, to his supposed opponent Boris Yeltsin, to many of the opposition intellectuals, a push toward private rather than state property in the economy will supposedly work veritable wonders. Russia can thus follow the great "success" we are now seeing in Poland. The only arguments at the top are over whether to accept with or without some small reservations the Reaganite economic proposals for a "500-day" transition to a "market economy" as put forward by Gorbachev's "radical" economic adviser, Stanislas S. Shatalin.

The fundamental continuity between Stalin-Brezhnev type state-capitalism and Reagan-Thatcher type private capitalism is shown by the ease with which former Party bureaucrats and state plan ideologues (like Gorbachev and Yeltsin) have become instant free marketeers, without so much as blinking an eye. Their contempt for the masses, and especially for a genuine revolution, remains constant, however. Far more than the old discredited Communism, real revolution with mass creativity and all of its "disorder," remains their chief enemy.

Bush welcomes de Klerk with open arms

The high media visibility South African president, F.W. de Klerk, gained with his historic three-day visit to the U.S., Sept. 23-25, on the invitation of George Bush, caps the apartheid regime's media campaign to present a "kinder, gentler" apartheid. F.W. de Klerk is the first South African head of state to be invited to the White House in 43 years.

Coming as it does in the midst of Bush's war drive in the Middle East and sanctions against Iraq, Bush's meeting with de Klerk represents the most serious undermining of U.S. sanctions against apartheid to date. It is a fact made more glaring by its timing with events in South Africa, namely, the most violent civil strife and "iron fist" repression since the 1976 Soweto Uprising.

Embraced by the West as a prodigal son returned to the fold of white civilization, de Klerk's Washington visit was effectively aimed at removing the stigma of apartheid, and its status as a pariah nation, from his regime. His state reception, along with his meetings with Congressional "critics," has bolstered that image. Which is why de Klerk could assert that he is "not going hat in hand...with a particular objective of getting sanctions lifted." He doesn't have to ask.

Price hikes 'shock' Peru

After only 13 days in office as president of Peru, Alberto Fujimori instituted exactly the kind of economic "shock treatment" he said he would avoid during the electoral campaign this year. The poor and unemployed took the price increases first and most directly.

Literally overnight the price of bread and milk tripled. One gallon of premium gasoline went from 13¢ to \$4 per gallon. Basic commodities such as rice, sugar and cooking gas went up 700% on average. The aim of Fujimori's plan is to lower the soaring inflation rate in Peru, regardless of the human suffering.

Instead of Fujimori's campaign promise of "work and technology," this first presidential act has left Peruvians even more destitute. Official reports had counted 7.5 million to be among the poor in Peru, but after "Fuji shock" another 5 million people are considered to be in poverty—adding up to half of Peru's population.

Within days of the plan's implementation, police reportedly had detained 10,000 people from Lima's poor and working class barrios for looting. In rural areas, poor people harvested all the crops overnight. Nearly all of Peru was put under a state of emergency when the austerity plan went into effect.

Bush's gushing about de Klerk's "reforms" being "irreversible" is less a code word to pressure white South Africa to relinquish its power—which, in any case, no ruling class has ever voluntarily given up—than a code word to the anti-apartheid movement that he intends to dismantle American and European sanctions. George



Demonstrators outside the White House, Sept. 24, protested the meeting between Bush and de Klerk.

Bush is on an "irreversible" course to dismantle the sanctions that the anti-apartheid movement successfully pressured Congress to enact over Ronald Reagan's veto in 1986.

Thus, Bush's scolding of his Congressional critics for presumably wanting to "reinterpret" the sanctions law is sheer hypocrisy. For according to his Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, Bush is already pressing Congress to lift sanctions as soon as de Klerk meets four of the five conditions demanded by the law. Bush has reinterpreted the sanctions law to conform with his policy of clearing the way for U.S. capitalist re-investment in South Africa.

The question for the anti-apartheid movement, whose protests were conspicuously small during de Klerk's visit, is whether it too has been diverted by de Klerk's public relations campaign at this most crucial moment in the Black freedom struggle in South Africa.

Unrest in Germany

Unification of the two German states came on Oct. 2, one year after the mass revolts in East Germany. Elections for state governments will now come on Oct. 14, and for a new national government, Dec. 2. There is much uneasiness, especially in East Germany, which is supposed to be benefitting the most. According to some estimates, there are already 1.7 million people either unemployed or working involuntarily part-time. Western capital is proving not to be as abundant as predicted.

After massive protests by feminists, politicians have reached a compromise on abortion. East Germany's more liberal law will remain in effect for two years, during which time West German women can go East to have abortions. This has hardly satisfied feminists.

Other protests are also building. Even as unification was being voted in the East German parliament Sept. 20, demonstrators on a hunger strike disrupted the session, protesting the fact that citizens will still not have access to the six million dossiers which the old Communist Stasi (secret police) maintained on them. Earlier, on Aug. 28, 45,000 municipal workers in East Germany walked out on strike, demanding better wages and more job security for the future.

This fall at least two large protest actions against the politics of unification are being planned. Feminist groups from both East and West will march against state restrictions on abortion and around other issues, while independent Left groups from East and West will protest against racism, militarism and McCarthyite-type attacks on East German writers such as Christa Wolf and Stefan Heym.

Bolivian Indians protest

Close to 800 Indians representing ten different groups from Bolivia's Amazon basin were cheered by thousands of supporters as they marched into La Paz on Sept. 17, completing a month-long 500-mile trek to protest deforestation of their lands.

The popular support for the Indians was so great that President Jaime Paz Zamora travelled to meet the marchers at a midway point. Reportedly the government is willing to recognize nearly all of the Indians' 1.5 million acre land claim except for nearly half a million acres of the Chimane Forest which the government ceded to loggers three years ago.

The Indians want the logging companies, settlers and cattle ranchers to leave because they are destroying the forests. As one Indian leader described it, "Money and money, they squeeze the land dry, they exploit it until it cries out, they kill the trees—we don't understand it."

A section of the Chimane Forest is covered by Conservation International (CI), set up to trade off foreign debt for government set-asides of forest reserves. Indigenous peoples in South America and elsewhere in the Third World are demanding a total restructuring of CI which to date has been an "arrangement" between logging interests and the state, in which they have had no voice.

Anti-Semitism in Poland

With little or nothing in the way of welfare benefits, the unemployment rate in Poland is expected to reach 11% by the year's end, according to the government's own economists. The Solidarity movement has split into two hostile camps: One oriented completely toward the "free market" and technocratic liberalism, the group presently in power, and the other one around the still more conservative program of union leader Lech Walesa.

Walesa will now run for the Presidency. At one level, he talks workers' rights: why so many layoffs, etc. But at another level there is something quite ominous—right-wing nationalism and anti-Semitism. Walesa has taken to attacking "hidden" Jews in the government: "Jews are great patriots, have done a lot for culture, but when they hide their nationality, they provoke anti-Semitism." When "translated," these code words mean something like this: The present government is filled with "hidden" Jews such as Adam Michnik, just as were the Communists. This is something we have heard before, in the 1930s.

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.