Poisoning the environment has become the way of life and labor

by Franklin Dmitryev

The 400,000-gallon crude oil spill that is still polluting beaches near Los Angeles took place on Feb. 7, just one week after the state of Alaska reported that much of the oil spilled by the Exxon Valdez last March still fouls the Alaskan shoreline.

While the press focused on the cleanup efforts and the death toll, even Bob Bush's,textbook was a simple intransigence that it would in no way affect plans for the expansion of offshore oil drilling. Evidently he has not forgotten the premier example over the intransigence of the "cleanups" by the federal government and the oil and shipping companies in the wake of six huge oil spills in the past year.

Only about 10% of all the oil spilled is ever recovered; the rest stays around to keep poisoning the environment. Every year the Coast Guard reports over 5,000 spills in U.S. waters, adding up to about the 11 million gallons of oil spilled by the Exxon Valdez. All of this is just the tip of the all-pervasive pollution iceberg. What two decades of the environmental and anti-nuclear movements have brought to light is that every aspect of the ecology is daily contaminant-coped by a wide variety of industries causing a large increase in the world's cancer and other diseases—while the government scrambles to cover it up: the food we eat is adulterated—even milk, a necessity for children. Recent tests of milk found substantial residues of antibiotics, which can cause serious allergic reactions and fasten the development of more resistant strains of bacteria, and may even cause cancer. The Food and Drug Administration (FDA) brunt to the dairy industry's rescuers, trying out a test that "proved" there were no antibiotics in the milk—over the objection of their own chemists.

In an internal memo, a high-ranking FDA official revealed the real aim of the Dept. of Health and Human Services: "The H.H.S. goals are to end media interest in drug-resistant tainted milk as soon as possible and avoid criticism of H.H.S. or any other Government agency."

POISONS IN THE AIR...

The air we breathe was fouled by at least 2.4 billion (continued on page 5)

Mandela is released!

What path for South Africa?

Franklin Dmitryev

When 71-year-old Nelson Mandela finally walked through the gates at Victor Verster Prison, the clenched fist he raised high above his head was a symbol—not only of the defiance all of Black Africa has hurled at the rulers of their continent, but also of the I dea of Freedom that had sustained him throughout the 27 long grueling years of his imprisonment. Indeed, what forced the rulers to release Mandela at long last was the actualization of the power of that Idea of Freedom as it was embodied in the mass of men, women and children, who have been fighting the apartheid regime day after day of their lives.

THE CELIBATE REVOLT

Despite the thousands upon thousands the rulers have slaughtered, that revolts have proved impossible to kill ever since apartheid became law in 1950. The moment Bantu education was introduced in 1953, African students went on strike at every institution of higher education throughout South Africa. Black workers' strikes more than doubled between 1964 and 1965 after they were forbidden. And so massive were the protests of the women when the regime demanded they carry passes, that Ang. It., the day 20,000 converged on Pretoria in 1956, has been known as "Women's Day" in South Africa ever since. Even the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, the Rivonia Trial and the life prison sentences meted out to all the Black leaders could not stop the revolt.

Instead, a whole new stage arose with the 1976 Soweto uprising when Steve Biko and the concept of a revolutionary Black consciousness made the world conscious not only of the revolt but of the philosophers of revolt. The dialectic of the revolt in South Africa has continously brought over-broad segments of society into the struggle, including the mixed race— and Indian communities as well as white students. It has involved all dimensions of Black South Africa—the youth, women, and labor days after Mandela's rally, the far-right Conservative National party—whose victory was a third of the white vote in the September elections—organized a rally of thousands in Pretoria to demand the resignation of...
No! To parental consent

Detroit, Mich.—Governor James Blanchard vetoed the bill passed by the Michigan Legislature requiring parental consent before allowing abortion. He noted that parents no longer have a legal obligation to support her or the baby. Ann E. Levine of Choice, New Jersey wrote in the New York Times: "Nine years of experience in Massachusetts and five in Minnesota shows that the only way to improve quality of life is to connect people to masses in motion. She recognized that an idea that had become a movement—and she was the one who transformed that movement from practice that is itself a form of theory—when it refused to recognize a new force and new human relations.

It is striking because what you hear here is the story of how the public changed when they were connected to masses in motion. They did not care about "family values" but want as many reproductive choices as possible. They are considered an "emancipated minor" and her pregnancy is not limited by the law. The next day or the day after... The hunger strike became an expression against the misleadership of the Labor and Social Democratic parties. The fact that nearly 60% of the public is said to favor such laws.

In Minnesota case, now before the U.S. Supreme Court, both parents must be notified—no matter what the circumstances. The state has a complication to down play society's responsibility. The right to abortion was granted by voters when they passed the 1970 law. They must wait 48 hours before getting the abortion. No judicial bypass—no option to petition the court if consent is unable to be obtained.

In many states when a teenager becomes a mother she is not a victim. She is in the public eye and the lack of support for teen mothers and their babies that they don't care about "family values" but want as many restrictions to abortion as can get. Nearly 60% of people polled favor parental consent. Yet half of those who oppose it are women.

The right to be "claiming family values" in the case of the 16-year-old girl who was refused an abortion, parents no longer have a legal obligation to support her or the baby. Ann E. Levine of Choice, New Jersey wrote in the New York Times: "Nine years of experience in Massachusetts and five in Minnesota shows that the only way to improve quality of life is to connect people to masses in motion. They recognized that an idea that had become a movement—and she was the one who transformed that movement from practice that is itself a form of theory—when it refused to recognize a new force and new human relations.

It is striking because what you hear here is the story of how the public changed when they were connected to masses in motion. They did not care about "family values" but want as many reproductive choices as possible. They are considered an "emancipated minor" and her pregnancy is not limited by the law. The next day or the day after... The hunger strike became an expression against the misleadership of the Labor and Social Democratic parties. The fact that nearly 60% of the public is said to favor such laws.

In Minnesota case, now before the U.S. Supreme Court, both parents must be notified—no matter what the circumstances. The state has a complication to down play society's responsibility. The right to abortion was granted by voters when they passed the 1970 law. They must wait 48 hours before getting the abortion. No judicial bypass—no option to petition the court if consent is unable to be obtained.

In many states when a teenager becomes a mother she is not a victim. She is in the public eye and the lack of support for teen mothers and their babies that they don't care about "family values" but want as many restrictions to abortion as can get. Nearly 60% of people polled favor parental consent. Yet half of those who oppose it are women.
Don't disparage workers
by D.A. Lastick

Chicago, III.—Recent collective settlements in Chicago puzzled me because they fell so far short of workers' aspirations. The feeling seems to be that nothing has changed since the wave of contract concessions began in 1979 and I felt compelled to ask other people about the situation.

Swift-Kerrick workers in Chicago in December won a three-year contract which guaranteed them a two-tier wage system, but otherwise settled for 5% annual bonuses with no improvements in working conditions. The union reports to the membership on changes in their working conditions, but the victories are not the same as in the past. There have been some concessions made to the workers.

Another black worker from Oscar Mayer workers disagreed. People know what they were doing when they voted for the new contract. But they don't know why, and they don't expect much anymore.

And so it goes. We're not going to win with these people. I don't know if anything we say really made a difference. The union bureaucrats who represent the interests of the workers. They're just people. They think the same way. There's no difference between them and any other people we've been trying to organize. The workers write us memos asking if we have the money to pay them for their work.

VORKERS LEFT OUT

Why do workers vote to accept contracts like these? I've heard all the answers and there is nothing else we could do. It was all done when we got to the ratification meeting. We voted in there, and it was all printed out and got it from the union hall. We voted against the union and the workers. It's a problem.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

A New Day: Since the 1978-79 strikes, the unions have been losing members. They no longer have the power to force the companies to make concessions.

The unions today are losing members, they don't have the power to force the companies to make concessions. The workers are forced to accept these contracts in order to keep their jobs.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

One more thing: The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.

The workers are voting to accept these contracts because they don't have any choice. They are being forced to accept them in order to keep their jobs. The union is not doing enough to represent the interests of the workers.
Alternatives for China’s freedom movement

I think people’s hope for a democratic system in Chi­nese society is very real. People are watching and waiting to see what will happen. People want to see democracy happen. On campuses and in the cities, there is a great deal of optimism.

Most of these countries are giving up the Communist monopoly, because China has such a great population, and the production can’t meet the needs. In the cities, the whole state of society is changing. People who are doing business, especially those who have private businesses, their aim is still mostly profit. They are not capitalists. They buy things; they use connections. If they know people who are important, they can get work done with all kinds of things, so they get materials. They sell these materials at much higher prices.

The state has many monopoly sectors, and you don’t have many choices, especially in the smaller cities. Clothes are so expensive and of poor quality. One-third of your monthly pay goes to buy a sweater, or a year’s worth of underwear. In Beijing, a 10 yen. 4 yen is more than $1. My parents worked for about 60 years, and that is all they’ve earned. Now they earn about 150 yen a month, so 4 yen for 10 yen is quite expensive. For younger people it’s even harder.

As the economic situation becomes worse, the anti­government sentiment will intensify. If the government doesn’t know what role the military is going to play, because the government party knows Mao’s theory, that power comes from the gun, and they will also throw of the old society, thereby aborting what Marx and Mao had dreamed. I think that’s one thing that will help them to look at China differently. This is an alternative vision of socialism. Before I read Raya’s work, I knew nothing about this concept of state-capitalism. I thought what I knew about this was just an illusion. But it was more real than I thought.

State-capitalism describes the system the three very poor countries have in this era. I don’t see that those people here have any kind of state’s monopoly in this era. Hungary and the economic crisis there. Because of the economic crisis in the 1980s, Hungary has no way to invest to save the country. I think there is a great interest in material things. It’s kind of disappointing. I think what is going to be reported, how to report that, and what should be known. It’s a unique synthesis of materialism and rationalism. I think what is going to be written about, how to report that, and what should be known by the people.

What is especially new and illuminating is Raya Dunayevskaya’s stress on the debates during the 1930s and 1940s within Critical Theory of Adorno, Horkheimer, and Marcuse. He terms the 1930s Critical Theory of Hor­kheimer and Marcuse as a “system of rationalism” and the 1940s Critical Theory of Hor­kheimer and Marcuse as a “system of materialism and idealism,” closer in spirit to the early Marx...than to the pos­itivistic materialism of Engels. He stresses that Pollock’s 1941 concept of state capi­talism broke with Marx’s view that “new forms of capi­tal accumulation” and the building of an “integrated working class struggle,” with Pollock focusing instead “solely on mechanisms that are external to the working class.” This was also in sharp contrast to Raya Dunayevskaya’s concept of state-capitalism, which emerged in the same debates as an alternative ideology. As Horkheimer and Marcuse were to the Left of Pollock, even though they were both of the concept of state-capital­ism: “Horkheimer advocates a democratic and revolu­tionary concept of socialism” based on a “system of workers’ councils, or Soviets, where the workers them­selves democratically control the workplace, community, and foreign affairs.”

Kellner has reconstructed the Critical Theory of the 1930s and early 1940s as a revolutionary Hegelian Marxism: “Horkheimer emerged with a quite promis­ing bent, was a far cry from the one-dimensional view of society and the rise of society and its culture in Dialectics of Enlightenment (1947).” It was Mar­cuse who, even though he later adopted much of Adorno and Marcuse’s 1944 Con­structive Man (1944), remained closest to the revolution­ary vision of early Critical Theory.

This is of particular interest to the readers of News & Letters, because Kellner has here pointed to something that has been overlooked by the Critical The­ory debate with Dunayevskaya in the 1960s: Hegelian Marxism, state-capitalism, and a vision of human self-emancipa­tion from the point of view of real freedom.

In his Herbert Marcuse and the Crisis of Marxism (1952), Kellner writes: “The crisis that sociology entered in 1941–42 came out of a decade-long dialogue with Dunayevskaya in the 1940s: Hegelian Marxism, state-capitalism, and a vision of human self-emancipa­tion from the point of view of real freedom.”

Kellner’s work is an important source of information on the debates between Dunayevskaya and the other Marxist-Humanists and it in­fluence the arguments of crude Jeffersonian (2).

Their big disagreement over automation was over Mau­reu’s notion that where part of capitalization overthrew automation the Chinese had a great potential for democratic development. But Kellner argues that this is just one thing that will help them to look at China differently.


This is not yet another academic study of the famous Frankfurt School. It is a study by Karl Kellner, an author who has written quite a bit on the issue of what Karl Marx called “a new humanism,” the very words Karl Marx used to define his philosophy at its birth. Karl Marx was the first materialist, a great humanist, as Raya Dunayevskaya puts it, in the expanded meaning of Franz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought.

“Our society today is built upon the struggle of men. It is more important than ever, and it depends on grasping the Rus­sian Revolution, which is the most important fact about what Frantz Fanon called “a new humanism,” the very words Karl Marx used to define his philosophy at its birth. Karl Marx was the first materialist, a great humanist, as Raya Dunayevskaya puts it, in the expanded meaning of Franz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought.

Editorial

(continued from page 1)

de Klerk, while the openly Nazi Afrikaner Weerstandsbesteigung flew their banners and carried signs demanding “Hang Mandela!”

Yet, even more difficult for the freedom movement may be the contradictions that lie in wait within it, which are not only in the ideological pol­lution and pull of Gorbatchevism speaks in many tongues. New ideas are not difficult to be sold as the state-capitalist mentality of the Communist Party, any more than we can ignore the super-power context in which the free­dom struggles are taking place. What the passionate outpouring of the masses before and after Mandela’s re­lease has made clear, however, is that whatever may go on behind the scenes, freedom NOW, and totally, new human relations.

REVOLUTION IN PERMANENCE

Intercultural and cross-cultural conflict is something of the world are struggling. More important than ever, and it depends on grasping the Rus­sian Revolution, which is the most important fact about what Frantz Fanon called “a new humanism,” the very words Karl Marx used to define his philosophy at its birth. Karl Marx was the first materialist, a great humanist, as Raya Dunayevskaya puts it, in the expanded meaning of Franz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought.

“Too much of the old,” the continued, “clings to the newly independent state.” The concept of new human­relations of not盯着 the revolution with the over­throw of the old society, thereby aborting what Marx called the revolution in permanence—become the task for this generation to spell out anew for our age.”

This demands our solidarity with the South African masses.

News & Letters

Vol. 35 No. 2

March, 1990

News & Letters (ISSN 0008-8590) is published 10 times a year, monthly, except bi-monthly January-February and July-August for $33.00 a year (bulk order of five or more — less — by News & Letters, 59 East Van Buren, Box 3345 Chicago, IL 60680). Second Class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois. POST­MASTER: Send changes of address to News & Letters, 59 East Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, Illinois 60602.

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman, Interchange (1947-1987)

Charles Denby, Editor (1955-1983)

Mike Connolly, Marxist-Humanist Archivist

Felix Martin, Labor Editor

News & Letters is printed in a union shop.

Critical Theory: its relevance for 1990s

Kellner argues that the crisis of Marxism is not the end of their debate: “Marcuse later revised this position...eventually coming to accept Dunayevskaya’s position of materialism.” Kellner concludes: “Marcuse, even though he later adopted much of Adorno and Marcuse’s 1944 Constructive Man (1944), remained closest to the revolution­ary vision of early Critical Theory.”

This is of particular interest to the readers of News & Letters, because Kellner has here pointed to something that has been overlooked by the Critical The­ory debate with Dunayevskaya in the 1960s: Hegelian Marxism, state-capitalism, and a vision of human self-emancipa­tion from the point of view of real freedom.

In his Herbert Marcuse and the Crisis of Marxism (1984) Kellner writes: “The question of Marxism and Ma­crouse-Marxist correspondence. Here he continues that dis­cussion, once again stressing their 1960 debates over au­tomation. ”This he cites as an example of how automation was increasing the opposition of the workers, who were no longer battling automation.” He cites not only Marxism and Freedom, but also Charles Denby’s Workers Bat­talion and The Age of Revolutions.

Kellner notes some important ideas here. (1) He stresses that despite their disagreements, the analyses of Dunayevskaya and other Marxist-Humanists did in­fluence the arguments of crude Jeffersonian (2).

MARCH, 19!
From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya

Women's creativity and liberation: nationally and internationally

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Founder of Marxist-Humanism

Editor's note: To celebrate International Women's Day, March 8, 1980, we print below excerpts of a talk given by Raya Dunayevskaya at the University of Michigan, March 7, 1975 at the invitation of the Wayne State University Women's Center. This document is found in Volume XIV, Section IV in the chapter titled at the conclusion of writings by Raya Dunayevskaya, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution; Chapter 6; #14356.

On just such a miserable, cold, snowy day in 1917 in Russia, the Russian women began the great Eliz­
brate International Women's Day; and that quiet 50,000
became 90,000 before the end of the day, and men
of the 第 seven, in the streets in strain, and I mean to
stay in 1917, and though we will be in 1975 very
one, do not want to start that either. Haven't you
sometimes felt that you wanted to tell a story from the
middle? Not because you were an existentialist and
ever expected a revolution. But before that you have to see that
creativity is not just individual. In fact, it first
comes when masses are in motion to uproot society.

Therefore, Women's Liberation, no matter where it is
we start, and whether or not they had an organization,
by Raya Dunayevskaya

The second reason revolved about the fact that the
second issue was爱国主义 revolution, and had
become 90,000 before the end of the day, and men
of the 第 seven, in the streets in strain, and I mean to
stay in 1917, and though we will be in 1975 very
one, do not want to start that either. Haven't you
sometimes felt that you wanted to tell a story from the
middle? Not because you were an existentialist and
never expected a revolution. But before that you have to see that
creativity is not just individual. In fact, it first
comes when masses are in motion to uproot society.

Therefore, Women's Liberation, no matter where it is
we start, and whether or not they had an organization,
by Raya Dunayevskaya

The second reason revolved about the fact that the
second issue was爱国主义 revolution, and had

MARCH, 1990

NEWS & LETTERS

Subscribe to

News & Letters

Only $2.50 a year

$39 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707
Chicago, IL 60605
The Revolutionary Black Dimension as Ongoing

After reading "World View of Black Dimension" by Raya Dunayevskaya in the January-February, 1975 edition of News & Letters, I sat back and wondered why I wasn’t taught more Black History when I was in school. Black people had had a strong impact on American life and culture. They have been the dominant influence in the making of American music. Even the great Czech composer Dvorák had borrowed from African rhythms and songs of the Black American when he visited the U.S. in the late 1890s.

What I really want to know is why isn’t this knowledge circulating? When we are taught U.S. history why don’t we hear the names of Crispus Attucks, Frederick Douglass, Peterloo, and the others? Isn’t there a need to broaden our understanding of our own history? When we are learning about the history of Western Civilization and northern Europe, isn’t it time to give the Black dimension its rightful part in the history of the U.S. and indeed the whole world? They have long ago paid their dues.

Michael Connolly
Chicago

Sure, they released Mandela from prison, but I don’t believe that it was for the sake of Mandela alone. It is now time to give the Black dimension its rightful part in the history of the U.S. and indeed the whole world. They have long ago paid their dues.

Marta Almora
Milwaukee, Wis.

It was so moving to watch all the events surrounding the release of Nelson Mandela. I kept returning again and again to the television. It was so exciting to always want to go to Africa, to see where my people come from. When Mandela’s release made me feel that someday I will really do so.

Black woman
Chicago

I was intrigued a few days after Mandela’s release when I heard Winnie Mandela in a radio interview. She said that she has just grown tired of all the attention. But she was only a woman in 27 years, taken away the best years of his life. Let her be what she wants to be. It is not her job to always be there to get what she wants. She has done her part. They should play politics with this new young Black leader.

Veteran Black activist
Chicago

I attended a meeting held in the Black community to protest the killing of a young man, Oliver Beasley, by a L.A. county sheriffs deputy. Beasley was a member of the Nation of Islam, and he was killed while he was at home. It is a myth that there are Black people who can get away with murder. There isn’t one. Isn’t it like they speak for all Black people, but I don’t agree with their sexism, their racism against the women. Doesn’t it all start at the same time like those for all lesbians and gay men. We have to stop the violence and help the women.

Ms. Almora
Chicago

We have been the first to organize within the F.M.L.N., we have seen men are basketball players but are always the ones who do the cleaning. A woman gets pregnant, that is her problem. But at least there is no corruption within the F.M.L.N. on birth control, on women’s rights.

As women, we are all linked together, all over the world. We have to stand in solidarity. They have been given women’s rights. Women have been given the right to vote and to work. Women have been given education. What a lot to learn from each other.

Salvadoran woman in exile
Los Angeles

I appreciate NAL for giving me a different perspective on news events, such as the January-February issue of the Montreal Maasrake. It should read about such blatantly sexist behavior, what is even more sickening is to see it in my own life. What saddens me the most, however, is to see women giving in to the fight, working in the fields. I do not want to hear that feministic word any more. Now when is the anti-woman sentiment, we must FREEDOM NOW, have anything do with it. I don’t want to hear that feministic word any more.

C. Marie
De Kalb, Ill.

The recent massacre at the University of Montreal brings up a lot of disturbing questions about Canada in Quebec, and Canada. When the shooting took place, it took from 10:30 minutes for anyone to sound the alarm. Now the men intervened to stop the killer. When the police finally arrived, they covered behind their cars with their guns and fired shots for 20 minutes before timidly entering the building. They have never done this during a bank hold-up.

In the aftermath, a whole anti-feminist element has come out of the woodwork. In Montreal it has taken the form of the Montreal Frech-Cantique, en blaming the victims and Right-wing Catholic “morality.” In other parts of Canada, Jewish groups are exerting pressure on the Jewish community and threats against women by Right-wing groups and religious organizations. When certainly reveals the base of violence which lies beneath the surface of today’s Quebec society.

Former Montrealer
Berkeley, California

It is admirable that you think of the women in this article and the importance of your sisters, and equate those shootings with abuse to all women. But shouldn’t you consider that the five men who were killed by a Black children that were brutally killed in a California schoolyard also by your black brothers. I refuse to believe that a school shooting being equated to violence against Asian women. Or what about all the many postal workers who were killed as a result of a shooting rampage by their fellow postal worker? TheShooters legislation not only to protect women but also Asians, Latinos, and postal workers?

A.F. Windor

Frederick Douglass—editor of The Other Israel—was sentenced to 28 days in jail, after he was arrested at his military unit and declared his refusal to perform reserve military service. When one is in prison, he was forced to schedule by certain corners, rushing and getting your done early and then some. We know a punch you out later. I know at least three more workers off who are working two jobs like that. Some of us can a human being do that?

Worker
New York

I thought you would be interested in a report I have just put together for the Initiative for Independent Labour Union Unites. They have been making basically changes in the position of the working people in the production process. The JDLF does not have the slightest chance of surviving economically. We will fall into the hands of international big capital—only to be squeezed empty like a lemon or a Third World country.

Observer
East Germany

I enjoy reading the paper. The analysis is all I am hungry for, when reading newspapers. We know United educational work.

Subscriber
Toronto, Ontario

Personally, my eyes are set on the future of the earth. We can work to educate the world.

Subscriber
Windsor, Ont.

Being a subscriber to NAL is like a breath of fresh air. Capitalism needs all the disinformation and distortions to keep the masses in a state of despair. And each person that supports NAL now, may two more take it up in the next year.

A.F.
Reseda, California

What I think is the saddest thing is that I’m not going to change my eyes and dreams for the future are directed towards reversing the destruction we are causing to the natural environment. Our planet is the only one we have. Your paper shows a similar destruction of our human nature that not only strengthens my conviction about the need for us. We need is awareness of what is happening around us. For that I thank you and offer my mea­

Phi

Students of philosophy
Chicago

Our Subscribers Respond

Being a subscriber to NAL is like a breath of fresh air. Capitalism needs all the disinformation and distortions to keep the masses in a state of despair. And each person that supports NAL now, may two more take it up in the next year.

A.F.
Reseda, California

I enjoy reading the paper. The analysis is all I am hungry for, when reading newspapers. We know United educational work.

Subscriber
Toronto, Ontario

Personally, my eyes are set on the future of the earth. We can work to educate the world.

Subscriber
Windsor, Ont.

Being a subscriber to NAL is like a breath of fresh air. Capitalism needs all the disinformation and distortions to keep the masses in a state of despair. And each person that supports NAL now, may two more take it up in the next year.

A.F.
Reseda, California

What I think is the saddest thing is that I’m not going to change my eyes and dreams for the future are directed towards reversing the destruction we are causing to the natural environment. Our planet is the only one we have. Your paper shows a similar destruction of our human nature that not only strengthens my conviction about the need for us. We need is awareness of what is happening around us. For that I thank you and offer my mea­
The CONSEQUENCES OF TODAY’S THEORETICAL VOID

The pity in East Europe now is that the Communists have discredited the very term of Marxism in the eyes of many people. In the 40 years since the publication of Raya Dunayevskaya’s 1985 “Letters on Hegel’s Absolutes” in The Phsycological Motive of Marxian-Humanism the struggle for freedom has erupted worldwide, from China, June 1989 to East Europe, November 1989 to South Africa, February 1990. I’d like to think that what can have a positive influence on events like these is how the 1983 philosophical breakthrough opens doors to grasping the philosophical foundations of Marx-Humanism.

Jerry K.
Chicago

ON THE “CREATIVITY OF COGNITION”

Having just read a bunch of articles and book chapters on Lukas, I was especially interested in Peter Wermuth’s article on Dunayevskaya’s critique of his thought. After reading the article three times, I found that Dunayevskaya’s views on Erinnerung and so forth were more or less in my own. Lukas’ views after all are objectionable, Stalinist, unwilling to break with bourgeois thought. My problem with the kind of discourse favored by Dunayevskaya, and also Wermuth, is that even when a cognitive breakthrough excites me the most, it seems to me unusually terminologically fuzzy.

Boeing machinist
Seattle

—BOOKS—

* Marxian and Freedom...from 1776 until today...1989 edition. New introduction by author by Raya Dunayevskaya $17.50 per copy

* Philosophy and Revolution from Einstein to Sartre...and from Mao to Marx...1990 edition. New introduction by author $11.95 per copy by Raya Dunayevskaya

* Rosa Luxemburg, Women’s Liberation, and Marx’s Philosophy of Revolution...1985 $10.95 per copy by Raya Dunayevskaya

* The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya. Contains “Proem to Humanism and Philosophy of June 1, 1987,” and “1952 Letters on Hegel’s Absolutes.” $15.95 each

* Women’s Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future...by Raya Dunayevskaya $13.50 per copy

* Constitution of News & Letters Committees...pg 25c postage

* Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts...$1.25 per copy

* The Coal Miners’ General Strike of 1904-05 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S...by Andy Phillips $2 per copy

* 28 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...$2 per copy

* Statement of the National Editorial Board. In support of the UN/Germany peace conference...by Raya Dunayevskaya, Luz Long, and Olga Donsmark $2 per copy

* Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-American Revolutions...by Raya Dunayevskaya $1.25 per copy

*—NEWSPAPER—

* Subscription to News & Letters Unique combination of worker and intellectual, published 10 times a year...$20.00 per year

*—ARCHIVES—

* The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—A Half-Century of Its World Development...contains 28 issues on eight reels...$160

* Guide and Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Core of Concepts...Full description of 15,000-page microfilm collection...$4.95

MAIL ORDERS TO: News & Letters, 59 East Van Buren, Chicago, Illinois 60603
Enclosed find $...for the literature checked. (3/90) Please add 75c for each item for postage. Ill. residents add 8% sales tax

NAME
ADDRESS
CITY STATE ZIP

Subscribe to N&L

AN APPEAL FROM POLAND

News has just reached us that Zuzanna Dabrowska, a member of the National Council of the Polish Socialist Party (Democratic Revolution) has been refused a passport for foreign travel by the Polish authorities. This is not only a grossly undemocratic interference with the basic right of freedom of travel, it is a politically motivated attempt to prevent Polish socialists widening their dialogue with the interested labour movement.

We therefore appeal to the international labour movement and to everyone who supports democratic rights, to protest against this decision and demand that Zuzanna be given a passport forthwith. Please write in personal and immediately to the appropriate Polish embassy (The Polish Mission in New York, NY 10016). To the UN 9 E. 66th St., New York, NY 10021 with copies to Zuzanna at: Czarnomorska 201A, 29, Warsaw.

Dave Holland
England
**The meaning of Glory**

_by John Alan_

"Glory" may not be the greatest war film Hollywood ever produced, but it has the distinction of being the first American film to deal with the Civil War, to break the long-standing taboo against showing that Black Americans thought about and fought against slavery in the United States. The director and writers of "Glory" did not deal with this in any specific way. But there are several passages that resonate between the unshakable will of the Black soldiers to fight for their freedom and the equivocations and cynicism of the White army. "Glory" is a departure from the accepted stereotypical image of Black soldiers as traitors to the Union, as depicted historically by gallant Confederate officers and their families with the solicitude of their loyal Black slaves, an illusion that has dominated the American psyche since David Ward Griffith filmed the "Birth of a Nation." No attempt was made to present the Black soldiers as traitors, but rather as those who fought for their freedom and their dignity.

**Direct from South Africa**

**Mayekiso: On negotiations**

The following excerpts of a speech by Moses Mayekiso were taken from *Black World*.

"Moses Mayekiso is an important political leader in South Africa, known for his role in the struggle for freedom and democracy.

"If the community says they don't want the barricades, they will be heard. If the police say they want to negotiate, they will be heard. And if the people say they want to make a platform for the real voice of the community, and to call on the state and the state and the organisations of the people at all.

"The MDM, in fact most organisations working in the area of Black and Latino South-Central LA have been trying to develop a strategy for action. At every intersection along the perimeter of the neighborhood, there are heavy wooden easels with metal signs declaring, "narcotics enforcement area; entrance to residents only." The neighbors are now contesting the police, who have already exerted enough pressure that the police chief now says, "...if the community says they don't want the barricades, they will be heard."

"But we must not allow the barricades to act as a lid on the open issues. They must be in favor of the masses. Negotiations are not a game of chess. They are a matter of allies in other countries must sit at the table of all. And to add insult to injury is the LAPD's propaganda offensive. By claiming that the barricades are a success and exonerating their victims. Their survey claims that 598 out of 600 residents questioned want the barricades, but activists point out that the barricades do not stop all acts of violence, which safeguards only the interests of imperialism. Negotiations are a means for change. We cannot let the balance of power be in favor of de Klerk and his allies. It must be in favor of the masses."
Poisoning the environment has become the way of life

(continued from page 1)

pounds of 320 toxic substances in 1987, if we are to...
Direct from Czechoslovakia

Some reflections on East Europe

Prague, Czechoslovakia—The East European revolutions are probably the most spontaneous peoples' movements against totalitarianism that have occurred in the last 50 years. No wonder that the slogan "We are the people" was one of the most repeated ones last autumn; first during the massive general strikes that took place in Leipzig, Dresden and East Berlin that led to the fall of Honecker and the GDR government. This slogan was also used by the youth in Czechoslovakia and Romania. The demonstration wished to underline two facts: 1) the people's sovereignty, not those who pretended to speak for them, who the constitution declared had the power; 2) the domination of the working class, with all the apparatus and power that had humiliated them.

WAYS OF REVOLUTION

The waves of revolution extended also to the dictatorships of Bulgaria and Romania. "We are the people" turned out to mean something different as compared to the two superpowers. The smaller countries that lie between the Soviet and the West German borders aspire to have as much influence in their external relations as they are introducing internally.

The speed and divergence of the political scenery in these countries is conditioned by the differing weight of those social groups who were leading the revolution. Let's start with the youth. There were no youth representatives at the round table in Warsaw last year, at the conference on the "capitalist and the PCF" domination in Czechoslovakia, it was the students who spearheaded the uprising last November. The youth's part, however, might be underestimated. The youth seemed to be only latent. In East Germany (GDR), the youth had no outstanding role. This is the case in Hungary as well. ROLE OF THE WORKERS

As far as the workers are concerned, they joined the beginning of the revolutions against the "old guard" in East Europe—the Hungarian workers let it pass "over their heads," and are mostly concerned with keeping their jobs, trying to get paid on time, and to get their rights back. It seems to be the first time that workers have had such a strong influence in the political life in the GDR. It is the same case in Poland. The situation is different in Czechoslovakia. The umbral role of civil society that has spoken for the first time, for example, in the strikes and demonstrations, both in shacks.

The election is the next crucial point and it will show whether the new forms of organization shown by the opposition, the people, continue once the opposition takes power. The most important question is: how can one make sure that the new regime is not just another face of the same thing? How can one make sure that the new regime is not just another face of the old regime?

In-person report

What kind of E. Germany?

Erfurt, East Germany—In January and February there were again massive demonstrations in Berlin, Leipzig and Erfurt. The East German Prime Minister Modrow's call to reform the officially distanced "socialist" system was met with protests that continued even after the Berlin Wall was broken. The demonstrations were the largest in East Germany since the 1960s. In Leipzig and Erfurt, where I was, the masses chanted "Stasi Raus," ("Stasi Out") and "never again" to the Communists. The leaders of the opposition and the demonstrators began to talk about the need for a new system that would bring an end to the 40 years of tyranny; many spoke of 55 years of tyranny, linking the Nazis and the Communists.

"We'll take care of the neo-Nazis," the people shout. "We'll take care of the Nazis when," and Modrow says, "Reichskanzler Karl and Rosa" (Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg) the people shout back, "That's how we do it." After 40 years of indoctrination the people have begun to question the repression and the lies. They are speaking of 1989, not 1949. These are the historical figures of German history that appeal to them the most.

ROLE OF THE WORKERS

The opposition parties are the SPD, Democratic Call, Democracy Now, and Democratic Bridge. New Forum does not call itself a party, but a movement for discussion and advocacy. All these parties are, in varying degrees, for a social-democratic program, against any coalition with the Greens or with the CDU/CSU. But a similar role was played by many East German workers. They either supported the opposition underground publishing houses in Poland, during the emergency years following Jaruzelski's 1981 coup, or underestimat,ed them. The workers in Europe did not believe in the possibility of the change in Eastern Europe. The dissidents helped to write that chapter played no small part in the story of how freedom can be reached.

The elections are the next crucial point. Will they be free? Will they be free to any one who wants to speak, and I found this amazing because in the U.S. only "experts" and party bosses can decide.

The struggle now in East Germany is to keep the state down and prepare for the elections. In the Weimar days in 1919, 1920, the workers demonstrated with great success. They will have to demonstrate with even more success in the GDR. The strike for freedom cannot be halted, not even by the superpowers. How much freedom they will gain for themselves will depend also on forces we have tried to sketch here. Share the experience, be open, be free to all the new freedoms that have opened up, be open to the societies and the country's class factory life. To see if the newly won freedom is to stay.
Women fight parental consent laws  
by Sheila Fuller

"As a woman, I have a mind. Even if I'm a youth, it does not mean that I have less of a mind than anyone else. My body is my own. I know what's good for my body and mind. Any childzx of age should be responsible for abortion is not good for my body or mind. It creates me of my inter­
ests to defend my woman and my human right.

The thought of having parental consent robs young women of having control of their own bodies and puts it in the hands of their parents. That's the right I will fight this to the very end."  

Young women speak up. A 17-year-old high school student who spoke at a rally for women's reproductive rights in January in Chicago. At this rally of 300 mainly teenagers, girls took the lead, spoke out loud at an open microphone session and spoke passionately of their opposition to parental consent laws, their strug­
gle against mandatory legal adulthood and their desire to be recognized as independent thinking human beings.

This rally was another manifestation of a new phe­
nomenon—the large presence of young teenage girls at women's liberation and anti-war rallies over the last few years. In most major cities across the U.S., young wom­
en have been organizing groups in their high schools and neighborhoods.

As young women become more and more involved, we have faced a barrage of at­
tacks from the Bush and Reagan administrations which are talking to the women of America to decide on an as­
ppect of our lives. Presently, the U.S. Supreme Court is deciding on two cases from Ohio and Minnesota, where state legislatures have been passing parental consent laws. The court's decision could end the right of a woman to a legal abortion last July, state legislatures have been passing parental consent laws. The court's decision could end the right of a woman to an abortion.

Young women are being forced to negotiate their futures without the dialectic of absolute negativity, Marx's concept of freedom and human liberation.

"Avoid 'empty utopianism'"  
by Franklin Dimitryev

"Avoid 'empty utopianism'," one of my reasons for the necessity of woman's liberation and the need to internalize the philosophy if we are going to have new beginnings. I was struck by the following para­
graph.

"Lukacs never reached this vision of a totally new society. Nor the philosophers of post-Marxism. But today's Marxist-Humanists who accept this vision must not skip over the difficult task by which Marx comes to define his theory there, first by projecting the inseparability of His­
tory from the dialectic, and second by plugging deep into the dialectic of absolute negativity—1. As the idea of the Marxist-Humanist youth in De Kalb, III.

I'm beginning to see the objectivity of Peter Wermuth's main article, "Dunayevskaya vs. Leninists," which first appeared in the News & Letters, especially what he says about the need to internalize the philosophy if we are going to have new beginnings. I was struck by the following para­

From my experience in the youth movement, I've found that much of the youth of the Reagan-Bush era are very disillusioned. They've been subjected to a constant barrage of negative propaganda that attacks the ideas of empty utopianism. This skepticism does not come from conservativism, as it might first seem. It comes from the dialectic of absolute negativity, with the young women's liberation and anti-war movement against the existing society and an awareness of the ultimate struggle for liberation against capitalist totalitarianism and the mass movements of the 1960s.

It is from this common ground that we have to ap­
proach our dialogue with other youth. We hope to ex­
press the concrete universality of our vision of a new society, a concept that has the ability to unify and refine the ideas when talking to someone who is new in the movement, and to present our vision of a new approach our dialogue with other youth, if we hope to ex­
cess of News & Letters, especially what he says about the need to internalize the philosophy if we are going to have new beginnings. I was struck by the following para­

"As the idea of the Marxist-Humanist youth in De Kalb, Ill.

I'm beginning to see the objectivity of Peter Wermuth's main article, "Dunayevskaya vs. Leninists," which first appeared in the News & Letters, especially what he says about the need to internalize the philosophy if we are going to have new beginnings. I was struck by the following para­

From my experience in the youth movement, I've found that much of the youth of the Reagan-Bush era are very disillusioned. They've been subjected to a constant barrage of negative propaganda that attacks the ideas of empty utopianism. This skepticism does not come from conservativism, as it might first seem. It comes from the dialectic of absolute negativity, with the young women's liberation and anti-war movement against the existing society and an awareness of the ultimate struggle for liberation against capitalist totalitarianism and the mass movements of the 1960s.

It is from this common ground that we have to ap­
proach our dialogue with other youth. We hope to ex­
press the concrete universality of our vision of a new society, a concept that has the ability to unify and refine the ideas when talking to someone who is new in the movement, and to present our vision of a new approach our dialogue with other youth, if we hope to ex­

About 75 students faced a dozen well-armed riot police, Febr. 14, as they protested CIA re­
cruiters on Northwestern University campus in Evanston, Ill. As plainclothes police video taping the protest, one student said, "The people of East Europe have spent the last year throwing out the secret police—they'd be sur­
prised to discover the kind of totalitarianism that exists here.

NYU Black grievances  
by Sheila Fuller

"As a woman, I have a mind. Even if I'm a youth, it does not mean that I have less of a mind than anyone else. My body is my own. I know what's good for my body and mind. Any childzx of age should be responsible for abortion is not good for my body or mind. It creates me of my inter­
ests to defend my woman and my human right.

The thought of having parental consent robs young women of having control of their own bodies and puts it in the hands of their parents. That's the right I will fight this to the very end."  

Young women speak up. A 17-year-old high school student who spoke at a rally for women's reproductive rights in January in Chicago. At this rally of 300 mainly teenagers, girls took the lead, spoke out loud at an open microphone session and spoke passionately of their opposition to parental consent laws, their strug­
gle against mandatory legal adulthood and their desire to be recognized as independent thinking human beings.

This rally was another manifestation of a new phe­
nomenon—the large presence of young teenage girls in women's liberation and anti-war rallies over the last few years. In most major cities across the U.S., young wom­
en have been organizing groups in their high schools and neighborhoods.

As young women become more and more involved, we have faced a barrage of at­
tacks from the Bush and Reagan administrations which are talking to the women of America to decide on an as­
ppect of our lives. Presently, the U.S. Supreme Court is deciding on two cases from Ohio and Minnesota, where state legislatures have been passing parental consent laws. The court's decision could end the right of a woman to a legal abortion last July, state legislatures have been passing parental consent laws. The court's decision could end the right of a woman to an abortion.

Young women are being forced to negotiate their futures without the dialectic of absolute negativity, Marx's concept of freedom and human liberation.

"Avoid 'empty utopianism'"  
by Franklin Dimitryev

"Avoid 'empty utopianism'," one of my reasons for the necessity of woman's liberation and the need to internalize the philosophy if we are going to have new beginnings. I was struck by the following para­
paragraph.

"Lukacs never reached this vision of a totally new society. Nor the philosophers of post-Marxism. But today's Marxist-Humanists who accept this vision must not skip over the difficult task by which Marx comes to define his theory there, first by projecting the inseparability of His­
tory from the dialectic, and second by plugging deep into the dialectic of absolute negativity—1. As the idea of the Marxist-Humanist youth in De Kalb, Ill.

I'm beginning to see the objectivity of Peter Wermuth's main article, "Dunayevskaya vs. Leninists," which first appeared in the News & Letters, especially what he says about the need to internalize the philosophy if we are going to have new beginnings. I was struck by the following para­

From my experience in the youth movement, I've found that much of the youth of the Reagan-Bush era are very disillusioned. They've been subjected to a constant barrage of negative propaganda that attacks the ideas of empty utopianism. This skepticism does not come from conservativism, as it might first seem. It comes from the dialectic of absolute negativity, with the young women's liberation and anti-war movement against the existing society and an awareness of the ultimate struggle for liberation against capitalist totalitarianism and the mass movements of the 1960s.

It is from this common ground that we have to ap­
proach our dialogue with other youth. We hope to ex­
press the concrete universality of our vision of a new society, a concept that has the ability to unify and refine the ideas when talking to someone who is new in the movement, and to present our vision of a new approach our dialogue with other youth, if we hope to ex­

About 75 students faced a dozen well-armed riot police, Febr. 14, as they protested CIA re­
cruiters on Northwestern University campus in Evanston, Ill. As plainclothes police video taping the protest, one student said, "The people of East Europe have spent the last year throwing out the secret police—they'd be sur­
priised to discover the kind of totalitarianism that exists here.

NYU Black grievances  
New York, N.Y.—Black New York University (NYU) students and administrators debated their situa­tion at a viewing of “Black By Popular Demand” on Feb. 13. The video, made by Iowa State University stu­
dent G. Thomas Ferguson, focused on the problems of Black students at the predominantly-white school. The event was sponsored by the Office of African-American Student Services.

The video was mostly interviews with Black students and administrators, white administrators and faculty. The Black students talked about feeling alone and fi­
nancially strapped and that Iowa State didn't make an effort to retain them. Black administrators dislsted the students' claims saying that while there was some truth to them, the students had to be more assertive and re­
sponsible. A white professor focused on the unsupervised­ness of the Black students to be at Iowa State in the first place. Most of the audience took offense at this professor's remark.

The University’s President said that as costs go up Iowa State would take less risk on Black students, espe­
cially those labelled “at-risk.”

Black students talked of the need for more unity and as a solution. The video's maker even said "I'm sick and tired of sitting around.” In the discussion that followed, many of the students said that Iowa State's situation was like NYU's.

Many grievances were voiced but the most powerful was that "...NYU students aren't unified," according to a Black NYU administrator. Students talked about the lack of an African Studies major; the level of advising; the 16% increase in tuition since 1984; lackluster finan­
cial aid; the administration and retention of Black students and student apathy.

I had to agree with the complaint of apathy and dis­
unity because that made up the bulk of the biggest prob­
lem, and the administration at large to take ad­

The students also talked about the small number of Black faculty. One of the first things we did was to draw up petitions to protest education budget cuts. The footage was backed up with a series of documen­ted grievances that were taped the protest, one student said, "Somehow, somehow we've got to get together.”

—Anthony M. Thompson
**Dissent in Mongolia**

By Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

As Russian lurches from one crisis to another, some observers continue to fret over the future fate of the country. For even the master politician Mikhail Gorbachev can't seem to get the job done.

Currently, the biggest crisis is in Azerbaijan, where Gorbachev sent thousands of troops in the dead of night on Jan. 20 to quell a bloody uprising of anti-Armenian pogroms in Baku and elsewhere, pogroms which have gone on for over two years, cutting and attacking Armenians for over two years, and over a year ago, the late Andrei Sakharov called for government approval of this type of terrorism against Armenians against these pogroms, but nothing was done.

Thus, when Gorbachev dispatched the troops on Jan. 20, it was not mainly to protect Armenians. As he himself stated openly, the intervention was against "secu­ lism forces" in Azerbaijan. Not only that. Still more important, as admitted a few days later, was the imminent collapse of the Communist Party in Azerbaijan.

The Russian masses caught his meaning very well, and bold demonstrations against sending their sons into another Afghanistan-type war. As the weeks of occupa­tion must, by still more sinister explanations came to the fore. The local KGB and CP, it seemed, had been forced months to encourage the most reactionary and racist forces in the Azerbaijan to aid against theAxis forces. It was unclear to what extent they were either following or defying Gorbachev, however. This served two purposes: 1) a continuation of the Stalinist policy of ruling over the oppressed na­tions by keeping them at each other's throats, 2) a complete discrediting of the Azerbaijani nationals in the eyes of the world, thus justifying intervention.

While the murderous ethnic hostility toward Armenians is certainly evident and needs to be con­ trolled, Gorbachev's war in Azerbaijan has gone far beyond this. Most recently when the CP and KGB have been caught recently who was behind the CP or the KGB would have had actual address lists of Armenians to give out? youth and intellectuals who are either "allowed" or secretly encouraged to attack Armenians from the outside and the hands of the crowds?

As we go to press, Stalin, not Lenin, who transformed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics into a totalitarian empire ruled by Great Russian chauvinists, swallow­ ing up the Baltic countries in 1939, the very ones that the 1917 Revolution had freed from the Czarist yoke, and who are struggling for independence again today. It was Stalin, and it is now Gorbachev, who allowed the anti-Semitic Russian Orthodox Church to increase its influence. We have a new Tsar.

Today it and other Russian chauvinist groups openly threaten Jews with pogroms and yet nothing is done about this.

At all costs, Gorbachev is trying to avoid what the masses yearn for, genuine self-determination up to and including independence for the various nationalities. Yet that is the only solution to the murderous ethnic ten­sion that is gripping the immediate future for all the peoples of the region.

But Gorbachev's biggest problem is that of the econo­ my. Neither planost nor perestroika, neither promise has been made. The people have lost faith in the powers for the President (i.e. Gorbachev)—none of the promises and turns can improve the miserable lot of the working people. On Feb. 9, it was announced that meat supplies will be reduced even further, due to the lack of feed. In the cities, the real crisis is that meat and food supplies have deteriorated even below that of the 1989-90 price for wheat per ton.

In the coalfields, some mass strikes in 1989, the workers threaten new strikes because none of the promises for improved food, jobs, health, and so on is kept.

None of the moves and counter-moves from the top have stymied the ever-deepening crisis at the heart of the whole rotten state-capitalist state that Stalin built, that Khrushchev and Brezhnev maintained, and that Gorbachev now seeks to save via reforms.

---

**Phony 'anti-drug' summit**

For the February "anti-drug" summit, Cartagena, Co­ lombia, was turned into a military camp. The U.S. gave the Colombian police, frogmen and bomb-sniffing dogs, squads of helicopter gunships and fighter-bombers, and 17 naval warships and patrol craft. The U.S. government aid goes for long-term alter­ nations to strengthen the police and the military, which were involved in the cocaine industry for years.

By some estimates, the cocaine trade in the three An­ delian countries comes to around $4 billion annually, with at least one million people directly dependent on it. The Clinton administration has promised to threaten Jews with pogroms and yet nothing is done about this.

The U.S. invasion of Panama continues to be so sub­ standard a development in the region.

Despite President Barco's declaration of war against Colombia's drug lords last August, which has since cost at least 300 Colombian lives, the produc­ tion and flow of cocaine into the U.S. is still close to 80% of its former level. And while giving lip-ser­ vice to the campaign to "curtail demand" in the U.S., the Bush administration continues to use "drug war" for promoting and expanding the U.S. military's role in Latin America.

The U.S. has begun AWACS surveillance planes, F-16s and F-18s, a high-tech blockade of the whole Colombian coastline, shutting it down. The EEU (the U.S. government aid goes for long-term al­ ternatives to strengthen the police and the military, which were involved in the cocaine industry for years.)

The U.S. government aid goes for long-term alter­ nations to strengthen the police and the military, which were involved in the cocaine industry for years.

By some estimates, the cocaine trade in the three An­ delian countries comes to around $4 billion annually, with at least one million people directly dependent on it. The Clinton administration has promised to threaten Jews with pogroms and yet nothing is done about this.

The U.S. invasion of Panama continues to be so sub­ standard a development in the region.

The U.S. has begun AWACS surveillance planes, F-16s and F-18s, a high-tech blockade of the whole Colombian coastline, shutting it down. The EEU (the U.S. government aid goes for long-term al­ ternatives to strengthen the police and the military, which were involved in the cocaine industry for years.)

---

**Eritrean war continues**

In recent weeks, the leftist Eritrean People's Libera­ tion Front (EPLF) has taken most of Massawa, which is the key seaport for both Eritrea and Ethiopia. Already, over 500 Eritrean media and others have fled to Ethiopia.

For 30 long years, the Eritreans seem closer than ever to victory. Despite the U.S. invasion of Panama, included in the "war on drugs"—has given U.S. imperial­ istic yet another ideological "nationale" for politi­ cal and military occupations and outright military domination in Latin America.

The U.S. invasion of Panama continues to be so sub­ standard a development in the region.

In recent weeks, the leftist Eritrean People's Libera­ tion Front (EPLF) has taken most of Massawa, which is the key seaport for both Eritrea and Ethiopia. Already, over 500 Eritrean media and others have fled to Ethiopia.

For 30 long years, the Eritreans seem closer than ever to victory. Despite the U.S. invasion of Panama, included in the "war on drugs"—has given U.S. imperial­ istic yet another ideological "nationale" for politi­ cal and military occupations and outright military domination in Latin America.

The U.S. invasion of Panama continues to be so sub­ standard a development in the region.

In recent weeks, the leftist Eritrean People's Libera­ tion Front (EPLF) has taken most of Massawa, which is the key seaport for both Eritrea and Ethiopia. Already, over 500 Eritrean media and others have fled to Ethiopia.

For 30 long years, the Eritreans seem closer than ever to victory. Despite the U.S. invasion of Panama, included in the "war on drugs"—has given U.S. imperial­ istic yet another ideological "nationale" for politi­

---

**Nickaragua**

In recent weeks, the leftist Eritrean People's Libera­ tion Front (EPLF) has taken most of Massawa, which is the key seaport for both Eritrea and Ethiopia. Already, over 500 Eritrean media and others have fled to Ethiopia.

For 30 long years, the Eritreans seem closer than ever to victory. Despite the U.S. invasion of Panama, included in the "war on drugs"—has given U.S. imperial­

---