Editorial

Bush's electoral debacle

The resounding repudiation of George Bush in yesterday's election signifies the total failure of 12 years of Reaganism to conceal the deep economic, political and social crises gripping this nation. Neither the West's vaunted "Operation Desert Storm" nor Bush's military victory in the Gulf War; neither Reaganism's attack on the forces of revolt here at home nor itsideo-

logical alibi, the "cold war," was able to subdue the profound dissatisfaction felt by masses of people at the deep, unremitting economic crisis. Indeed, the unprecedented anger of the American people at their de-
teriorating conditions of life and labor is what propelled Bill Clinton into the White House. At the same time, we cannot assume that Clinton's victory necessarily repre-

sents the end of the crisis. In fact, we may be headed into a most dangerous period.

It isn't that the American people hold any great illu-
sions about Clinton as the savior. On the contrary, most voted holding their noses, but are willing to give him "100 days" to prove himself. The danger lies in the fact that this crisis is so intractable that what threatens is a new authoritarianism out to contain any new revolts that might emerge against the system.

The election campaign provided ample proof of this new authoritarianism. It was voiced openly by the likes of Pat Buchanan, who set the tone for Bush's reactionary campaign. But it could also be sensed in almost any of the candidates, including both Clinton and Perot, avoided any discussion of the critical issues facing this country, from its racism, poverty, abuse, and the inner cities, to sexism. They were all determined to subsume the way those issues were raised, by the Black and Latin-

American masses emerging in the Los Angeles revolt of last Spring.

It is the specter of such revolts which explains the ap-

peal of one of the most retrogressive elements to appear

(continued on page 5)

Black World

Cuban Missile crisis—30 years after

by Lou Turner

Oct. 22 marked the 30th anniversary of the Cuban Missile Crisis. Television networks provided a retrospec-
tive on the "missiles of October," interviewing principal government figures such as President Kennedy and Secretaries of State and Defense, and others. Yet, the words of Fidel Castro, and documenting how incredibly con-
fused and uninformed President Kennedy and Nikita Krushchev were, have been buried, as if there were no cloth world had come to nuclear annihilation.

However, the African American struggle for freedom that had put the American antagonist in this nuclear stand-off on trial, was not to be found in the television retrospectives. Removing the historic struggles of hu-

manity from the world stage, while it was the minds of struggling humanity for which Kennedy and Krushchev competed in their race to armageddon, had the effect of elevating the confused mediocrity of Kennedy and Krushchev above the cataclysmic events they had set in motion.

Where the world saw the masks of statist bureaucrats with the power of a modern policeman and held its breath in 1962, the bourgeoisie, in 1992, wants us to see the "humanity" of the people behind the masks. Yet, haven't American workers, in their struggle for freedom, been driven by the envy of a new, altogether different society than the ones Ken-

nedy and Krushchev ruled over, that Black humanity, was submerged. However, a view of the significance of the Black struggle can be found in the praxis of Raya Dunayevskaya.

DUNAYEVSKAYA'S PRAXIS

The praxis of Dunayevskaya in the Cuban Missile Crisis was revolutionary in the true sense of the word. She was the "power of a single human being" of the African American freedom struggle as the ab-

solute opposite of that nuclear madness, has a dialecti-

cal significance which extends beyond its Cold War con-

text, disclosing three compelling determinations.

First, she assumed an uncompromising anti-war posi-

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News & Letters

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25c

"Human Power is its own end"—Marx

East Europe's revolutions

three years later

by Stephen Steigler

Editor's note: November, 1992 marks an important month in which to recollect the history of freedom struggles in East Europe. It marks the 75th anniversary of the 1917 Russian Revolution, the 36th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution, and the third anniversary of the "velvet revolution" in Czechoslovakia. The present situation, characterized by the breakup of Czechoslova-

kia into two nations, deep economic crisis in countries such as Poland, and the continuing uncertainties brought forth by the long-overdue collapse of the Soviet Union last year, testifies to the need to reexamine the outcome of the efforts to bring forth a new society in these countries. The following article is by a long-time Czech Marxist-Humanist who participated in the major political events in that land over the past four decades.

Prague, Czechoslovakia—The present situation in all the East European countries is very bad economically, confused politically, and disordered ideologically. Former East Germany and Czechoslovakia, and Poland and Hungary to a smaller degree, are returning to their previous levels a huge part of the property confiscated after the Communist coup in 1947 and 1948. It is only "natural" that privatization of state-owned companies is accompanied by all sorts of cheats and swindles in which both the old and new nomenklatura* are taking part.

Foreign capital has become most welcome in these countries and favorable conditions are being created to attract it. Big German and American companies like Siemens, Volkswagen, Westinghouse, Proctor & Gam-

de, Dupont and multinationals like Shell, Brown Boveri, Phillips and others are buying whole factories or the most profitable parts of state-owned conglomerates. They are trying to get an early foothold in Eastern Eu-

rope in order to be prepared for sharing in the exploita-
tion of their markets once Western "consumerism" floods them.

In the case of former East Germany, it is clear the real winners of German unification were the West Ger-

man trade companies which flooded the East German market with consumer goods as soon as the deutsch mark was introduced as a unified currency on July 1, 1990. This made them immense profits and ruined East German producers of similar goods. Despite proposals

* Nomenclatura refers to the old Communist Party ruling classes.

made by some of the East German left dissidents that the work force be made the decisive managers of "peo-

dle's enterprises," nothing of this kind materialized once the GDR became part of a unified Germany.

In the case of Czechoslovakia, the government has tried to involve all citizens in the privatization process. Coupons were issued by the government that could be bought for 1,000 crowns* (less than one-fourth of an average worker's yearly income) by every adult citizen, thereby making it possible to invest in the companies that are being privatized. More than eight million Czechs and Slovaks (out of a population of 15 million) did so in the hope of quickly receiving dividends and getting rich.

(continued on page 10)

Labor after

a decade of

Reaganism

by John Marccote

A Black elevator worker, a member of Local One, who was working on a non-union construction site paying $8 an hour less than union scale, told me, "They say when you're in the union, you're not supposed to work a non-

union job, but you can sit on the bench a whole year and not work." He was getting laid off that same day and hadn't worked long enough to collect unemployment.

He, like every worker I talk to these days, cited Rea-
gan firing the PATCO air traffic controllers in 1981 as the turning point for labor in this country. "When Rea-
gan firing the PATCO air traffic controllers in 1981 as

a way a striking sugar worker put it on the picket line outside the Astoria (Dominio) sugar refinery on the Brooklyn waterfront. The workers are members of In-

ternational Longshoreman's Association Local 1814.

JOBS, WAGES, BENEFITS GONE

This Black worker was telling me, "I am a laborer. I pick up sugar with a wheelbarrow. I get $14 and change an hour. There are no more jobs like that. Don't get me wrong; I am proud to be American, but America is not what it was. Something is gone. The way it's going, there will be an uprising. Something's got to give and it better be soon."

The workers told me how years ago there were a cou-
ples thousand workers at the refinery and said, "We used to see the machinery and computers they

From the Writings of Raya

Dunayevskaya—Adorno, Kosik and the movement from practice

(continued on page 4)

the Latin America and U.S.—Anti

Columbus protests

(continued on page 12)

On the Inside

(continued on page 5)
Oregon's anti-Gay/Lesbian Measure 9

Editors note: Oregon's Measure 9 has just been voted down 57% to 43% but Colorado voted to bar homosexu­al men and women from teaching. The following article appears in the next week's issue of the Oregonian, where it was written by Diane Lee.

Everywhere I go these days, I have to tell others what is happening in Oregon. The visit of the Fearless Women to the State Capitol and gay liberation and women's freedom are less than sangine. Measure 9 would have amended the Oregon Constitution to prohibit any civil right or freedom that is somehow an 'issue' that 'reasonable' folks can discuss about.

That's one of the reasons I decided to join with other measures of program that will help and not hinder? If welfare money and that the welfare mother’s thirst for oil in the

San Francisco, Cal.—On Oct. 13 over 300 people participated the treatment of 10 Chinese women whose wages have not been paid even their below minimum wages for work they did. As rampant in the fashion industry, the designer Jessica McClintock hired a subcontractor, Lucky Sewing Co. of Oakland, to do dresses that sell for $375. The Chinese women employed by Lucky Sewing Co. get $5 for dress, far below the minimum wage. In what is known as "stitch and ditch," the subcontractor closed the sweatshop without paying the women even on work permits. She paid the landlord and is not responsible for the back wages. We don't agree. At the demonstration flags in various colors flew—red, orange, yellow, green, blue, purple. We need a vision to work across lines of divisions that have been created.”

WAC erups in Bay Area

Sisters of Color meet

by Diane Lee

San Francisco, Cal.—The first WAC (Women's Action Coalition) meeting in the Bay Area was held on Aug. 5. The women were overwhelmed the "organizers." After a story in a local paper, over 500 women ready for action crowded into a hall for the meeting.

After some discussion of New York WAC, someone suggested the organizing of a walkout. San Francisco had been holding their conference and voting on a resolution on abortion. It may be a coincidence, but after a very noisy session, the delegates of a movement that has been a resolution supporting women's right to choose! In September WAC organized the national conference of the infamous Talkback Conference in Las Vegas. About 100 women gathered at the en­trance to the Alpine Village, with a slogan of "chastising Talkback, we want a second look!" and marching an effigy of an "officer as aagraha" through a gang of cops.

In October WAC organized a protest of the "Queen Island" beauty pageant, the coronation of the queen by decorating the hall with banners: "There is nothing glamorous about genocide!" and "500 years of colonialism don't justify the coronation of the queen." The protest was called off when the police showed up. A billboard reading, "Shhhhh...don't let anybody see, you'll be hurt..." which perpetuates the silencing of women. WAC has really arrived in the Bay Area.
Struggle under impact of Caterpillar strike

Decatur, Ill.—The 850 members of Allied Industrial Workers-AFL-CIO (A.I.W.) Local 837 now are laboring under conditions that John L. Lewis himself could recognize. The company is Caterpillar Tractor Co., engaged primarily in the design, manufacture and sale of earth-moving equipment and industrial processing plant. The impact of the six-month strike at Caterpillar, which requires skilled workers, has not been merely on the industry. However, as Bill Taylor, chairman of the Corn Council, observed, no other company in the industry is in such dire straits as to those with whom the waters of action and thought are running together. Caterpillar is trying to introduce in this contract.

A.W. members held a rally outside the lunchroom.

COMPETE WITH WHOM?

The principle refrain of Staley's rhetoric has been that the company cannot compete with the industry. However, as Bill Taylor, chairman of the Corn Council, observed, no other company in the industry is in such dire straits as to those with whom the Waters of action and thought are running together. Caterpillar is trying to introduce in this contract.

Creating our own change is painful and unknown. We have not thrown in our lot with the companies in concessions or with the Democrat politicians, rather than with our Teamster locals never told us about it. We are the starch-slurry pipeline which runs between the command to save ourselves. 

Women's Response to PATCO

The management at the shop I work at 9:30 PM tonight. I am the shop steward and have the responsibility for trying to get women into the union to help with the steward work. We have a contract which is written from scratch to replace the one that took 50 years to get.

MANAGEMENT'S RIGHTS

Staley seeks to reduce the number of stewards and link union representation, while giving the company's work rules an added dimension. The company claims that if the union gets too strong, it will continue into a newly introduced third step. This new contract is a last step in the company's "just manage- ment," assuring the company in favor with wages, promotions, as well as the elimination of selected stewards. The contract negotiations have been accompanied by a public relations campaign on the part of Staley representatives, including an "informal luncheon" for members of the union's executive board. Invitations extended you may be called upon to provide guidance during this difficult process. It is to you about the support programs available to our employees...

Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

مانifested four men because we run 24 hours a day. Pretty soon the foreman will need degrees. The company is on the same kind of roll that the artist must use is that we can't pick up a more, that I figure we are out in another two years. The company has the resources to do this. The company said they want to get down to 325 workers.

Another thing they told me: "Six years ago, we let them go, the three shifts to five. We had the five- dollar an hour step and three years to catch up. The union said let the new guys take their灯笼. We all laugh, yeah, let them pay their dues. Now we out on strike because the company wants us to go back sick of the job and do it again, and no raise.

Labor's Response to PATCO

All of these givebacks, two-tier wages and scabs started after PATCO. Labor's response to PATCO was the National Revolutionary Organization for Women organized a picket at the plant. A woman who works for them said that she was afraid that they would destroy the human mind.

Solidarity Day was a stillbirth because it scared the masses into staying away. That is why I think every worker should read The Stakhanovite, which is a collection of articles. The management presented by the company is written on every worker's lips. Its full repercussion is yet to bear fruit in action as in thought.

"We are going to hit you hard all at once, rather than try to divide you," said Bill Taylor, chairman of the Corn Council. The new contract is necessary to compete within the industry. However, as Bill Taylor, chairman of the Corn Council, observed, no other company in the industry is in such dire straits as to those with whom the Waters of action and thought are running together. Caterpillar is trying to introduce in this contract.

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LAUNCHING WORKLINE

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Adorno, Kosik and the movement from practice

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya

By Raya Dunayevskaya

From Raya Dunayevskaya

Manifest-Humanist Archives

Editor's note: The contentious ongoing debates being waged on the future of Marxism after the collapse of Communist states at the end of the 20th century are fascinating to read, especially as they delve into the complex and often tangled history of dialectics as a subject of study. This particular text, from the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya, explores the work of philosophers and theorists like Theodor Adorno and Karel Kosik, who contributed to the development of dialectics in the late 20th century.

The above two works are not only the most serious contributions to the study of dialectics in the past half-century, but path-breaking originals. Adorno's Negative Dialectics, in particular, opened vast new theoretical vistas. They were inspired, but, again, he keeps his distance and has little to do with the positive that flows from a double negation, and declares: "The book is written from such alternative forms without reducing its determinant" (p. xix).

The two magnificent decades since the very first edition of Negative Dialectics in 1966, and the next year of 1967—entirely devoted to fighting fascist totalitarianism. Their demand was "Bread and Freedom". Strikes by workers in the rest of Eastern Europe followed, opening a new epoch of freedom struggles.

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in this election campaign—Ross Perot. The fact that Perot received far more support than expected shows the extent to which he is seen as a viable alternative by many voters, including working people. History is full of examples of the appeal exerted by a so-called "outsider"—promising to resolve the economic problems with an "inside." The kind of ultra-reactivity phenomenon Perot harbings was expressed bluntly by one Black columnist who exclaimed: "Thank goodness David Duke wasn't a winner!"

The just-concluded election campaign underlines the fact that racism remains the Achilles heel of American civilization. Ethnologists have it that Illinois voters are finally sending a Black woman like Carol Mosley Braun in the U.S. Senate, that it took all the way to 1992 to achieve this breakthrough speaks volumes about the depth both of racism and sexism in this land. That is why, although the race for their respective offices has just ended for the rulers, for us, the struggle against the debasing conditions of life in this country has just begun.

In the aftermath of the Los Angeles rebellion, America has changed. On the one hand signs of a new social consciousness are emerging within Black and Latino communities in the inner cities, among rank-and-file workers, women's liberationists and youth. On the other hand the president's election campaign unveiled a new authoritarianism that not only clings to all the old dogmas but is reaching for something totally new. We are defining feminism across races, across our own future. We are defining feminism across all races, not just for the women who are oppressed. There was a lot of discussion about the need to fight against the capitalist, sexist society, but not to fight against the potential power of new relationships, a new society, a new America.

In the 1984 interview with Perry Anderson and Peter Dunayevskaya at the height of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement, Habermas is often seen as the sole living inheritor of the "critical theory" tradition of the Frankfurt School. "But he associates with recovering a "missing branch of American civilization on trial," both as a new social consciousness are emerging within Black and Latino communities in the inner cities, among rank-and-file workers, women's liberationists and youth. On the one hand signs of a new social consciousness are emerging within Black and Latino communities in the inner cities, among rank-and-file workers, women's liberationists and youth. On the other hand the president's election campaign unveiled a new authoritarianism that not only clings to all the old dogmas but is reaching for something totally new. We are defining feminism across races, across our own future. We are defining feminism across all races, not just for the women who are oppressed. There was a lot of discussion about the need to fight against the capitalist, sexist society, but not to fight against the potential power of new relationships, a new society, a new America.

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Printing Dunayevskaya's first writing on state-capitalism from 1941 together with Kevin Anderson's new essay on Capital, October 1992, is a bit awkward, not only that her theory is alive and under­went great development since its in­ception, but also considering the in­tensive list of "samples" of her other works written over those 50 years from the 1940s—but that it is open to all to de­velop for their particular context. And­erson's piece isn't just a list of changes through Dunayevskaya's theory and rea­lization: "The abolition of religion as the il­lusory happiness of the people is re­alized..."

It is too painful to give to you in its entirety. Suffice to say that it is not a "dia­lectic" without humanists" and that it opens says—in a key word—"...the philoso­phy..." That is the very first analysis she was restating Marx's concept of freely associ­ated labor as the pathway out of capital­ism must have been considered an outrage. It meant to me that we should not fear to dispel them rather than promote it, a letter calling for "Execution-Cas­tration-Imprisonment" of homosexuals, and that it openly says—in a logic that all of us can develop to our full hu­man potential..." Readers who want more information can write to:

March National Office
1012 14th St., NW
Washington, DC 20005

CHILDBRN

Our 1993 Peace Calendar, "Children of War, Children of Hope," shows the theories and practices of those who know war and violence firsthand and are working for a world built on peace and justice. The artwork is by re­nowned artist Mary Frasik, and the in­terviews are by the John Hope Peace Fund

The attitude of the Left in the United Kingdom is working against the idea of Ireland in Marx's time, has illuminat­ed problems at the very core of social­ism over the past 20 years. It is the ques­tion of correct tactics on the "national question." I think it goes to the heart of what we are fighting for—human emancipation from all forms of oppres­sion. Shouldn't liberation from national oppression be part of this project? Yet for most Marxists, the deeply rooted de­pendence on national liberation is an awful distraction from the "class struggle." Patrick Kane

The most significant concrete situa­tion we face today is the international one, a world capitalist market so inter­dependent as to reduce any form of "na­tional independence" to illusion. Yes, imperialism can be useful, but it is our job to dispel them rather than promote them. It's the internationalism of oppo­sition that moves socialism from the abstract to the practical, the material into the concrete. We must fight class basis across national lines, rather than on a cross-class national basis, and that is what I believe we as socialists should be emphasizing.
AND WORSE TO COME

GM fired Robert Rtembel as corpora­
tion chairman because he didn't do enough. A big guy who put together the plans to close 21 auto plants, lay off 74,000 workers and cut the earnings of all the white collar workers. As bad as the economic situation is now for GM workers, you can be sure that it's going to get much worse.

Auto worker
Detroit

Under threat of closure of the Pee­
boody Coal Company in #6 Mine, UMWA Local 9819 conceded on Oct. 10 to a 19-month contract sacrificing vacu­
ated vacation days, "local work prac­
tices," and the option to strike. Approx­
imately 1,400 jobs were lost through "dis­
solidation" of job classifications, while 450 were spared—as long as the mine's only leader, Custodian with Edin­
son's Kincard power station, continues to pur­
chase from it.

ComEd will not buy coal from the mine after Jan. 1, 1966, which time it is to comply with the federal Clean Air Act by burning coal of lower sulphur content. People behind the commis­
sions to reduce "production costs" by $1.50 per ton of coal.

Correspondent Kincard, Illinois

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 75 YEARS LATER

The Russian Revolution of Nov. 7, 1917, even with all its contradictions, is the highest stage we ever got as workers. In her book on state capitalism, Raya Dunayevskaya shows it isn't own­
ership but control of labor that is the key. When Stalin turned the revolution into its opposite, legal ownership was in the hands of the rulers. In pre­
Stalinist days, the legal title was the same but production relations were dif­
ferent. Before the worker entered the factory he himself decided on the plan of production. The system had representatives to con­
test any bossy conduct from the factory
director. And when he got his pay he again had recourse to his trade unions to discuss production results. I wish I had that power over my life and labor!

Many people today think of Lenin as an iron-handed ruler, but history shows that after the revolution, he supported the workers going out on strike and criticized any party member who didn't instinctively walk out with the workers. As for all the contradictions in this revolu­
tion, Raya Dunayevskaya tried to work out the question of "what comes after" before the next revolution. That is why I think the 75th anniversary isn't either for celebrating or for looking back in order to set it straight, but for looking forward so we can build on the higher stages of revolution and all the struggles with capital.

David Anderson
Chicago

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ism that I read in N&L far more relevant and interesting to my personal life than the Marxism that seems unrelated to today. But I like the analysis of major political-economic world events. Here's a couple of reasons why I renew my subscription, and a name I'd like you to send a sample copy to.

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Ongoing challenge of L.A. rebellion

Black freedom, a limit which essentially tried to bind
the Black movement to the economic needs of capitalist
production.

For more than two decades the African American
leadership concentrated their efforts on having the
Black movement and particularly themselves enter the
mainstream of American politics. In their view, politics:

Police sweep projects

Youth searched in Chicago housing project

Chicag0, Ill.—There were no pachinos included in
to counsel the traumatized children of the Cabrini-
Green housing project when 7-year-old Dantrell Davis
was shot down by a sniper while on his way to school.

This wasn’t the white northern suburbs. Black children
and their parents had not been ready to receive the
monsterment of senseless violence in which they live on
their own.

There were no private moments of grief, the glare of
media-driven public clamor to “do something” crowded
in behind the full scale police operation into East
Green, following the Oct. 13 murder of young Dantrell
Davis. Instead, residents in the 10-story building from
which Dantrell Davis was shot were given one day’s no­
tice to move out.

This, however, was only the beginning of the authori
zation camps of the 911th “Detroit Zones,” setting
up to “weed out” the gang

Los Angeles, Cal.—An overflow crowd of more than
200 angry residents of South Central L.A.
thused into the Greater Bethany Community
Church on Oct. 19 for a heated public hear­
ness, those of us who do not accept the con­
cept of the “classless society,” the “human
headquarters” of senseless violence in which they live.

We have been told that we do not have one leader. If you want to stop us,
we’ll have to cut all down.

* See “Call to Reject the Federal Weed and Seed Program in
Los Angeles,” published by the Labor/Community Strategy
Center, 14540 Haynes St., #200, Van Nuys, CA 91411.

In the summer of 1991, the Los Angeles police
began a “targeted neighborhoods” of large
neighborhoods of violence.

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leadership concentrated their efforts on having the
Black movement and particularly themselves enter the
mainstream of American politics. In their view, politics:

Protest “weed and seed”

Los Angeles, Cal.—An overflow crowd of more than
200 angry residents of South Central L.A.
over the “riots.” It proposes to—in Bush’s own words—“Join
the White House in standing up against drug dealers,
the violent criminals, and the drug dealers who plague our
neighborhoods.”

The “weed and seed” strategy has been aimed at “targeted neighborhoods” of large
cities, with South-Central and Pico-
Union/Koreatown in L.A. added to the list after the
“riots.” It proposes to—in Bush’s own words—“Join
the White House in standing up against drug dealers,
the violent criminals, and the drug dealers who plague our
neighborhoods.”

The “seed” component consists of money for social
services, much of it transferred from other funds and
realigned in the U.S. Justice Department-sponsored “ Weed
and Seed” program, the Bush administration’s response
to the Los Angeles rebellion.

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Britain’s economy hit by mine closures

Oxford, England—Job losses have been constantly in the news in Britain through the summer and autumn, as an already depressed economy slid deeper into a serious trough. Overall, 2.84 million people or 10.5% of the workforce are unemployed, but once youth and married women are included, a truer figure is 3.99 million or 13.7%.

For a long time, the public mood seemed to be one of resignation. Arguably, it is only with the beginning of Parliament, one of whom called the decision “a callous display of the wicked face of capitalism”.

The immediate need is to halt the pit closures and save the mines. A more likely solution is that achieved by forcing the government to subsidize the coal industry, a task which would require a great deal of political will and the determination to make the kind of tough decisions necessary to save the mines from their present seemingly hopeless state.

Coal mining in Britain has a long history, of workers’ struggles against capital under both private and state ownership. A great deal of that history has been lost, as well as much of the wisdom which can be acquired from it.

September 1984 to August 1985 saw a great wave of miners’ strikes in Britain. These were not just a protest against the general state of the mining industry but a direct attack on the Thatcherite ideological assault on working people. The struggles are not over, and more than 150,000 miners and their supporters marched in London, Oct. 25, denouncing the government’s economic policy.

More than 160,000 miners and their supporters marched in London, Oct. 25, denouncing the government’s economic policy.

Report from Israel

Ramat-Gan, Israel—The general situation in Is¬rael is much better (since June, 1990) than what it would have been if we hadn’t had a new government. Our last right-wing government ruled many years, and managed to destroy the society and economy. The present government also has faults, but I hope we already had the worst.

I’m sending you some photographs from the newspaper, where you see Palestinian demonstrators being hit and shot. My friend that was there told me that one demonstrator that fell and lay on his back was shot. A few days after that, someone who was in the hospital, a reporter from the Communist newspaper took a photo of the demonstrator being shot. Her camera was taken from her by someone who took the photo of a policeman doing what he is not allowed. Soldiers and police are forbidden to shoot from the minute there is no danger from the person. Luckily the event was photographed by another camera too, so it cannot be denied.

Many crimes are committed in the occupied territories. The army gives the public false information (or in other words, lies). We have our beliefs and no one can take them away. We defend them both now when we are exercising our freedom.

Britain can’t work without jobs

Discussion article: on nationalism and socialism

Reading the July edition of your paper was, as always, interesting. One of the sections devoted to your tasks and programme for the coming year.*

I think the new government, with its glaring omission amongst your considerations. What place, may I ask, does the national question occupy in your tasks and programme of your party? The political implications of the new government’s policies for national liberation movements. Yet here we are, with Europe fragmenting at one end and the richer states moving to some degree of political co-operation in both of national opposition, and somehow you overlook it.

I would be the first to admit that possibly, from a U.S. perspective, this may not seem such a pressing matter. Yet from elsewhere around the globe, faced as we now are with a “West-Wing” scenario induced by American arms, helped by the former colonial powers, many nations must be concerned for their fragile indepenence.

Take a few examples closer to both our homes. Recent Constantino summarises the position of the Culo­nial in the post-Second World War period, saying it “manifested itself most harmfully in the myths and slogans of the developing nations, as they were absorbed...before it could become a bona fide nation, with genuine national consciousness. The implica­tions are profound: for the future it means that the national movement in political terms and that fact, not the im­plication of the national movement, will be the most im­portant factor in the future of the United States, accounts for the fact that the independence movement has not thus far been successful.”

Other widespread independence movements in Scotland and Wales suffer from similar problems. Both are split over the degree of nationhood they wish to create. Cen­turies of colonization are used to justify dependency U.S. perspective, this may not seem such a pressing matter. Yet from elsewhere around the globe, faced as we now are with a “West-Wing” scenario induced by American arms, helped by the former colonial powers, many nations must be concerned for their fragile indepen­dence.

Nationalism can certainly be a double-edged sword. In the hands of the Right it becomes an instrument of fasci­sm. But for the Left, there is always the potential of its becoming yet another unifying factor in defeating op­position.

At the very least, Left organisations ought to clarify their attitudes towards it, for, as a recent (but deeply flawed) article in your paper* points out, in imposing its definition...then this will be supplanted by a broader, pan-Slavic definition, which may be a cru­cial element in the opposition of Left and Right.”

Jim Clancy London

* Editor’s note: Copies of our Draft of Perspectives, 1992-93, entitled “Spontaneity, Philosophy, and Organization: The Test of Today’s Crisis” are available from N&L.
The East European revolutions three years later

(continued from page 1)

Russia is now following suit with what it calls "nationalizing privatization." This program in Russia has never considered this possibility, relying more on direct investment by foreign capital. In Poland the government has been following a policy of more social with privatization and has not yet decided to what extent "people's assemblies" can be formed to mention all this as a clear example of how people's minds could be poisoned with pretenses of enrichment, the purpose of course being to make the current government more strong. The crisis in Poland is breathtaking. The forces of history had no more funds for his post. The crisis in Poland is breathtaking. The forces of history had no more funds for his post. The crisis in Poland is breathtaking. The forces of history had no more funds for his post. The crisis in Poland is breathtaking. The forces of history had no more funds for his post. The crisis in Poland is breathtaking. The forces of history had no more funds for his post. 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Protests across the U.S. sink the Columbus myth!

**New York**

On Oct. 15, all over America hundreds of thousands of people gathered in protest as the columbuss-\-ish invasion, which began with the arrival of Columbus to this land, but also to celebrate the people who have fought against it. The political tide in the US is turning and over 1,000 people converged at the United Nations for a rally organized by the League of Indigenous Sovereign Nations.

The presence of Indigenous people from South, Central, and North America has only one mother, that for me is like a tree with roots that are the capitalist system imposed in our worlds. Against this system we have to unite, we have to cut its roots which are the destruction of humanity...and create a new society where the exploitation of this world is not possible for us.

- Carlos Varela

San Francisco Bay Area

The City of Berkeley replaced Columbus Day with a brand new holiday called Indigenous People Day, the first such celebration in the nation. On Columbus Day itself, the annual parade in San Francisco was disrupted by protesters, and a police car was torched. Hundreds attended the ‘International Tribunal of Indigenous Peoples and Oppressed Nations in the Americas’ Oct. 4-6, sponsored by the American Indian Movement (AIM) and which put ‘Columbus’ legacy on trial. Participants were there from all over the U.S. and from Germany. The Tribunal’s highpoint was the panel on the ‘Americus, 500 Years of Resistance Through Women’s Eyes,’ where Lourdes Lugo, a Puerto Rican independence activist, said, ‘We have to fight against all these things. We must not forget about liberation of humanity as a whole.’

- AIM spokesman Glen Morris said, ‘We will never forget about liberation of humanity as a whole.’

Over 1,500 people filled the Denver, Colorado Civic Center Park vowing to lie down in front of the official Columbus Day parade, until 20 minutes before the starting time, when the parade’s organizers gave in to the demands of the American Indian Movement and canceled the event. AIM spokesman Glen Morris said, ‘We will never allow another Columbus Day parade in this city. This proof is we can stop it.’

Gay liberation must aim to totally change society

**Chicago, Ill.**—I attended a debate between International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Queer Nation called ‘Queer Nation and Identity: A Debate’ at the Midwest Radical Scholars and Activists Conference here Oct. 25. As a gay liberationist, naturally I was curious to hear Queer Nation, a radical, direct action gay organization.

The ISO member, Lance Selt, critiqued identity politics, ‘radical humanism’, as an escape from socialist reality. He argued for a socialist transformation really want a radical democracy that goes beyond ‘solutions’ of identity. He also argued that the women’s movement was broken down in the 1970s. He gave the example of how the San Francisco Queer Nation chapter became divided when two lesbian cops wanted to join it. The white men were in favor of admitting the two, because of their ‘gay identity’, but the black men were against it. Thus the group is now polarized.

The identity politics of the ISO was drawn straight into straight society instead of totally uprooting it. But what actually I heard him saying was that you need to distance yourself from the people who youPing as intellectuals and activists just doing what the ISO says. "It's a question of champions," he said.

On the other hand, Queer Nation, represented by Queer Nation, I am sure that she didn't speak for all members of Queer Nation when she stated that, “There's no such thing as being a lesbian...and she doesn't want her concerns as a lesbian to be ignored and then be told what to do on top of that. My concern is that some women are not in this movement; I don't want 'the revolution' to undermine the independent movement for gay liberation. I want to be able to live my life without homophobia and I have to fight for that every day. If there aren't groups like Queer Nation and Act-Up, who will fight for gay liberation?"

- Tom Williamson

Chicago City College students protest class cuts

**Chicago, Ill.**—Filling the streets with chants of ‘No education, no peace!’ over 300 angry City College students demonstrated outside the college on Oct. 13 from Harold Washington College to the corporate headquarters of Helene Curtis to demand that Ronald Gidwitz, the company’s president, be ousted from his position as City College board Chair. Several hundred City College students and over 100 community members converged at a press conference Sunday to present the class action suit they had already filed, to support the class on Columbus Day, Oct. 12, and staged a teach-in at the Martin Luther King Commons Mall. Lakota, Algonquin, Seneca, and Cherokee American and Marxist-Humanist perspectives were articulated at the teach-in. Then students gathered at the Center for Community Organizations to organize a march and to continue marching. The students, how­ever, denounced working class white Americans for not only tolerating but also supporting the ‘insur­rection of capitalism’ against the struggle of Native American and color liberation. Many speakers denounced the historical oppression of Native Americans and the need to cut its roots which are destroying humani­ty. Their attacks were pointed towards the white establishment. Over a thousand people converged at the United Nations for a rally organized by the League of Indigenous Sovereign Nations. Over a thousand people converged at the United Nations for a rally organized by the League of Indigenous Sovereign Nations.

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Indian protests sweep Latin America

**CHILE**—In Santiago, thousands took part in a march denouncing "600 years of submission." In the city of Valdivia, six Mapuche Indians were arrested when they tried to take over a church owned by landowners. In Peru, in Cusco, former capital of the Inca nation, thousands of Indians commemorated the victims of European conquest.

**DOMINICAN REPUBLIC**—A trip here by the Pope marked the nation's anniversary was preceded by weeks of street protests. Part of the bizarre processions was a funeralpara which began on the day for the lighthouse and its surrounding gardens. Another 20,000 families were evicted in Santo Domingo during a day-long demolition of "slums" and "poverty" in a 002 tourist boom which never happened. Police killed two people during the march.

While the Pope, opening a special meeting of Latin American bishops, thanked God for the missionaries who "built a church in the Americas," some observers were concerned that the government that overthrew Haiti's democratically elected president, Rev. Aristide.

Millions strike in Italy

The Italian labor movement, perhaps Europe's strongest, has suddenly stepped into the forefront of nations and the world especially among those huddled in towns besieged by the genocidal forces. At least 8,000 people are, and we want to be represented. We are people, and we would like to take the human com­munity world attention on the over-centralized-long civil war in Guatemala, where a brutal right-wing military has killed over 100,000 people, most of them Indians.

New horrors in Bosnia

The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina moves daily to new levels of horror. Organizations such as the UN are predicting that Bosnia's population was 44% Muslim, 31% Serb and 17% Croat. Today, Serbs control 70% of the territory, from which they have killed or driven out other groups as part of their so-called "eth­nic cleansing." The poorer armed Bosnian forces are on the verge of being overrun completely, as they now have to battle Croatian as well as Serbian forces. The UN and the so­called international community have done nothing ex­cept deliver food aid and impose an economic blockade on Serbia. In a situation reminiscent of Spain in 1936, the fighting has brought on the genocide, war crimes, torture, concentration camps, gang rape and sex­]

Who We Are and What We Stand For

**Savimbi threatens Angola**

In Angola Jonas Savimbi, once the darling of Jesse Helms and the U.S. ultra-Right, as well as the spearhead of South Africa, lost the September elections with a mere 12% of the vote. He is now threatening to resume his terrorist war. The ruling MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) President Jose Eduardo dos Santos got 49.5%. In parliamentary elections, the MPLA defeated Savimbi's UNITA (National Union for Total Independence of Angola) 70-20.

Some 800 international election monitors certified that the balloting results were free from tampering. Ap­parently there was no war for an open confrontation on the streets was coming from the Black, white, and mixed workers, dragging along a reluctant labor leaders.

Last July, all of the leading union federations, includ­ing the CGT, CFDT, and CFDI, refused to support the lead­ed by the Party of the Democratic Left (the former Communist party). However, the government announced the state ending forever one of Italy's labor parties' accomplishments: a national level which automatically pegged wage increases to inflation, first set for as low as 4%. A few days later, in the first sign of trouble for the government, the CGIL, the country's largest labor federation, decided not to accept the law. Partly, the CGIL leader who signed the new accord, was even forced to resign for a period of time. But an American agreement, under severe pressure from international creditors as well as the German and French governments, has been enhanced by some reforms, including a plan to slash national health insur­ance and pension benefits. By September, 100,000 work­ers were on the picket lines. The government held firm for a few weeks, even succumbing to pressures to remove the CGIL leader and his entire block of the houses of parliament. But then the sheer force of the Oct. 13 demonstrations forced it to see reason. Two days later, Azzini backed down.

Chinese Party Congress

The recently concluded 14th Chinese Communist Par­ty (CCP) Congress reaffirmed leaders committed to what at one time seemed to be a new system, what dissidents call "free market authoritarianism." Chinese leaders have announced plans for a "socialist Mark­eteer" economy, cutting 20% of the labor force, and de­centralizing authority in the state-owned enterprises. As the New York Times noted, China has a "hot-house 23% rate, resulting in rural dislocation, un­employed, and strikes. No less than in the West, Chi­na's next century will be the capitalist century, if they are going to deal with their own state-capitalist crises while crushing any re­volts. According to the 14th Congress line, "reform is also a revolution...whose goal is to liberate the productive forces of China."

The Communist leaders have also decided to test what leaders call "free market authoritarianism." To do that, China leaders have been given the power to act "in the spirit of the Constitution, in the spirit of the Chinese people, and in the spirit of the Chinese state." However, China leaders have also been given the power to "act in the spirit of the Chinese people, and in the spirit of the Chinese state." This means that "to accelerate economic growth we must have a number of policies that are in the spirit of what is social and what is capitalist." One dissident observed that "preserving Communist Party rule is all that all Chinese want." It is significant that one of the three new people on the CPP Politburo Standing Committee, Liu Huaqing, is the only person in the group who is not tightly attached to men who rule over one billion people. The CCP Cen­tral Committee is now 25% military, and this does not only reflect their reward for crushing the 1989 Tiananmen Square uprising. It was Maow who put the Army on a par with the CCP. The military will likely be playing a major role when 88-year-old Deng's passing gives the go ahead to a new power struggle.