by John Marcotte

“We don’t need that kind here,” A. hissed to me as he turned his back on the new casual dock worker. He worried a lot about race. “You don’t stop that by turning your back on him. If you want him to be a strong union man and not a scab, you have to give him your hand, show him how we do the job here, tell him what his rights are. If you turn your back on him, you just push him to the boss. He has to pay you, and you’re not paying it for him.”

RACE COLORS YOUR VIEW

We talked about this again the next day. A. said, “I’m not prejudiced. You got me wrong. But these ‘niggers’ are making me sick. I heard a guy wearing a (unpleasant) T-shirt, I said, ‘You can’t call a man a nigger because at some point he may not be a nigger anymore.’” He had told me that when I came new to this job, nobody, least of all the shop steward, ever told me what my rights were. I was so mad I killed myself for a whole year until I got on the list (a permanent job). I didn’t know I had any rights as a casual worker.

A. just got on the list this year, and I remember how hard he worked as a casual. He worried a lot about race. “Those Who Attack Together” to guarantee continued UN-supervised power-sharing initiatives with the Tutsi-dominated Habyarimana regime. So while the genocidal violence appears to have its roots in the ethnic antagonisms between the Tutsi minority, comprising 15% of the Rwandan population, and the Hutu majority, its content is significantly political. Moreover, the oft-noted Tutsi-ethnic Identity politics is itself a class-driven phenomenon rooted in the colonial legacy. Even though the hierarchical caste system called aloke in which the Tutsi were well below the pastoralist to the peasant Hutu caste borders and landowners.

Though this caste hierarchy of Tutsi lords and Hutu serfs began to change by the 1940s as both ethnic groups came under the influence of Christianity and Western

by Gene Ford

Black worker, Los Angeles

The slave roots of Black labor in the United States is an historic fact. But a fact alone does not reflect the consciousness of the human being’s natural instinct to break the chains of slavery to be free. This hunger, this American hunger can only be found within the human race in man, woman or child. The facts alone of Blackness and proletarian life do not reflect the spirit and explosive nature of people who have had the greatest voice of freedom, a voice which can still be found in the lowest depths of American society—the urban ghetto.

STRUGGLES FOR RECOGNITION

Today, now that the national unemployment rate among Black youth is officially at an all-time high of 50%, they represent a permanent idle workforce and a permanent source of revolt. All the state can call for is a permanent presence of police that will smash a strike like the same way they repressed the unemployed and underemployed during the Los Angeles rebellion two years ago. 

"Because it is a systematic negation of the other person and a firm determination to deny the other person recognition of his/her own value (colonialism) forces the people it dominates to ask themselves the question constantly: ‘To reality, who am I?’” (Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, p. 295)

If Black youth have become invisible because they are 50% unemployed and do not in many ways represent a source of labor within the cities, Latinos do dominate the pool of manual jobs that at one time were a measure of economic power within the Black community. That power brought with it recognition of the Black community’s vibrant subculture in both America and Latin America. Today, recognition only comes through an under-ground economy of gangs, the drug trade, and guns all contributing to the culture of imprisonment. A retired autoworker in L.A. stated the dynamic of this problem: “I understand the alienation that is driving youth in the cities across this country to kill each other in drive-by shooting. The government, the last 12 years, has done drive-by-shooting into Third World countries.” But without the creative side of the Black masses is ignored or considered destructive anti-social behavior.

(continued on page 10)

Editorial

China—5 years after massacre

The fifth anniversary of June 4, 1989, is a moment to commemorate the bloody massacres of over 3,000 students and workers in Beijing’s Tiananmen Square and at forky in the form part of the economy—export-processing special economic zones in Guangdong province—because at least $70 a month they were already overpaid for their work.

On the Inside

Spirit of revolt beneath today’s Black, Latino, labor reality

Mass rally in Los Angeles challenging a proposed law against immigrant workers in California.
Other essays creatively develop these new structural realties of wage work and family for women of color and issues of race and gender. Nelson Keelah, Melli University, May 9, to protest the torture and murder of a woman medical student, Zohreh Eshvandeh, kidnapped from her dorm. The university called it a suicide attempt. The student's family, who are members of the European Union's inaction on the war in Bosnia. They vow to march weekly until the war ends.

Iranian students staged a sit-in demonstration in Teh- ran, Melli University, demanding the release of a murderer of a woman medical student, Zohreh Eshvandeh, kidnapped from her dorm. The university called it a suicide attempt. The student's family, who are members of the European Union's inaction on the war in Bosnia. They vow to march weekly until the war ends.

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Caterpillar rally, walkouts demand fairness

Chicago—Over 15,000 workers attended a Rally for Workers Rights on May 7 in Peoria, Ill. to defend Caterpillar workers against a lockout. The rally was an outgrowth of a May 6 General Membership Meeting where members were united in defending their jobs. Despite opposition from management, the rally was a success.

The rally was held in theTAILGATER PARK area, located across the street from the Caterpillar plant. Several thousand union people and their families and friends—the whole community—came out to support the workers.

The rally was organized by the CATERPILLAR INTERNATIONAL UNION (C.I.U.), the union of the Caterpillar workers. The C.I.U. is the only union in the world that represents workers in a global enterprise.

The rally was a call to action. The workers demand their jobs back and their union rights restored. They are determined to fight for their rights and doing everything in their power to make sure that Caterpillar does not get away with this illegal lockout.

The rally included speeches from union leaders, including C.I.U. President Mike Spano, who spoke about the history of the union and its fight against management. He said that the workers would not give up their jobs until management negotiated a fair contract.

The rally also included speeches from community leaders, including Peoria Mayor Paul TenHaken, who said that the workers had the support of the community.

The rally ended with a march around the plant, with thousands of workers chanting their demands and歌颂他们的团结力量。

Diane Lee

Up against Staley lockout

Editor's note: Workers at A. E. Staley, members of Pa­perworkers/AIW Local 7837, have been locked out since June 1983 for refusing to concede all of their rights to management. A National Mobilization for the Locked-Out Staley Workers is planned for June 25. Write Local Write Local 7837 at 2828 North Harrison, Decatur, Ill. 62526, or call (217) 876-7066 for details.

Decatur, Ill.—One of our people was found guilty for stealing, although we believe that he was just trying to help people. He will be fined $1,000. It was a jury trial, but no one was surprised by the outcome.

The whole town is bought off by Staley.

A guy with a sign was walking at Staley's west gate during the lockout and someone came to him and said, "Hey, you got nothing to lose. They're not even going to drop charges; they are going to try to set an example."

When they make us, we get on with it and make a better place for everyone and the whole country. We have to stop and fight. Hopefully these unions will look around and say, "We're next," and ask, "What's go­ing to happen to our kids?"

—Locked-out Staley worker

Unemployment has run out. Locked-out Staley work­ers say that as the bounty starts to die out, some because Staley sent out a letter saying everyone of us one.

They also send out a monthly report to all the businesses in the area. It says that the workers are talking about the Staley plant and they are fighting back. They have problems with this situation. So part of my idea is to get kids to understand the unions. They fought this battle in the 1950s. Why do we have to do it again?

—Black unio­nist

Delano revisited

San Francisco—The United Farm Workers (UFW) march from Delano to Sacramento in April 1994 (see May N&L) reminded me that I went to Delano in 1966 when they were organizing the farm workers' union and drumming up support for the grape strike, not only in California but across the country. What was impressive was all the youth who came out to support the workers.

There were problems with this situation. So part of my idea is to get kids to understand the unions. They fought this battle in the 1950s. Why do we have to do it again?

The Chi­nese intellectuals from Los Angeles: CORE (Cong­ress of Racial Equality) even sent some people down there.

There was a huge compound constructed where many strikers camped out. It was called the Teatro Campesino; food was always being cooked. It was a place where people could come and relax, have a laugh, eat and go home for the night. There was tremendous support from the community.

The union was on the point of bringing out a new con­sciousness of self to Chinatown in California. It went on beyond just organizing farm workers.

The union had always said you could never organize the farm workers. They would never go up against the big landowners, and so on. But they also realized that the workers were not there.

Now that the compa­ny is gone, out of existence, the workers are looking to be the only ones running the plant and they've got a lot of support.

They are trying to destroy the locked-out union workers.

—Larry Wall

Comité Cocuteros

Los Angeles—I have been a garment worker for al­most 20 years, and I can tell you a lot. Salaries in the garment industry are miserable—only minimum wage, a lot less when you have to pay for your own insur­ance. Conditions are really bad, and bosses sometimes don't even pay their workers. That's why is the Comité de Cocuteros (Garment Workers Committee), is organizing.

Our Comité has been organizing for less than one year. At one point we tried to affiliate with a union, but they were not serious about the situation. We decided to organize ourselves and later to find a syndicate that would suit our needs. There are always independent struggles. That's why we are fighting, because we see that there is material enslavement for us to organize.

The company is not interested, but not as much as we like to. One article talked about how last year they made $633 million in profits; another one called Guess had $217 million. This has a lot of impact because a lot of people in the industry think that they are the ones who are the rich ones.

We told them that they don't want to pay. We have been passing out fliers and brochures. Participation in the strike is going to affect how they will deal with our medical care, how they deny us an education. And the owner of the factory, who was arrested in the rebellion in Chiapas. People were talking about how the government was killing them, and the injuries that were going on down there, and you can see more day by day the repression of those people. We were protecting at the hotel.

There are a lot of people who have a tendency to say: We are next. We have to fight, but we can't fight right now. I think we have to do it with a lot of people. We cannot have our money being used, not being legal. And they think that their fight is not going to last. We are not going on the road but to the ministry. They have made us realize that we are never going back to our country because of the misery down there. We have to struggle here. If not, we are going to see these condi­tions that are in Mexico.

—Martha B.

Indian factory occupied

Napungr, India—The workers in the Kameria Jute Mill in the state of West Bengal took out the local in­dust­ried trade unions, formed an independent union, occu­py­ed the factory and even started production on their own, defying court orders. The workers have given a slap in the face to the Stalinist CPM (Communist Party-Marxist) government in West Bengal.

The movement has received tremendous support from workers all over the country. Even a section of the intel­lectuals who drank the poison of the CPI (Communist Party–Marxist) government in the West BengalThey have been part of the campaign against the Kameria workers and donated huge sums of money to­wards the movement. The communists kitchen run by the workers was a great success. Although the move­ment has finally become a movement for a workers’ co-operative, the initial enthusiasm generated is unprece­dented.

—A.G.
Criticism of "whole spheres like religion, the state, bourgeois life, etc." Marx singled out special sections in order to stress that the distinction that Hegel drew did, indeed, "reach the nub of the matter." The part that directly concerns us here was the one Hegel entitled "Spirit"
itself, the Discipline of Culture.

Note, please, that self-estrangement, alienation, has not been overcome since we have not reached the part (in the Phenomenology) on Spirit which is the cornerstone of the Hegelian system. Furthermore also that Hegel, in his "alienation" and his Hegelian alienation, and wasn't out to destroy bourgeois society. Nevertheless, so devastating was his portrayal of such a "giddy whirl of self-perpetuating disorder" that very nearly nothing has to be added by Marxists providentially, of course, they understand that, in Hegel, the critique is "standing on its head," that is to say, death with only its thought forms. What saved Hegel was his profound, comprehensive, objective historic sense. He understood how to make the supreme elemental outburst of proletariat revolution in Hungary had revealed in 1956, that the struggle for freedom involves, among other things, a breakthrough in the field of ideas against the entrenched ideology—what Marx called the Fetishism of Commodity Culture—against the person of people to Revolution, or Hegel's Phenomenology and Mao's Cultural Revolution. It was written during the tense period which appeared to be the one Hegel entitled "Spirit," which became Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao. The full report with all the hypocrisy was clear from the start in the inassurance that, under all circumstances, one and only one Party remains the "leader." In a word, in the case of China, the Chinese spirit, the voices of revolt began contesting vigorously against Mao, that what this so-called Chinese Revolution was a new "spiritual upheaval" or "self-estrangement"—unless one sees it as but a shrivelled skin and takes on the appearance of the past give us a glimpse of the future, especially when materialistically understood in a Marxist-Humanist manner.

In a word, the "leader." In any case, as we all know, the moment itself had been replaced in state-capitalistic Communism by social-democratic Communism by State Property and the Vanguard Party. It is there he is concerned with the Hungarian Revolution demolished and Czechoslovakia is in danger again challenging. In their place the Hungarian Freedom Fighters had established an independent Workers' Council and such a free flow of ideas that the Humanism of Marx saw its first direct historic re-establishment. It is this which constitutes the most significant factor to this day.

Despite the opportunism and pure anti-Russian chauvinism which has led Mao presently to oppose the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, this last round one iota from 1956 when he urged Khrushchev—not that he has changed and Bentham. (Capital, p. 185, First edition) These fetishes of capitalist culture, in its private form, has been replaced in state-capitalistic Communism by State Property and the Vanguard Party. It is there the Hegelian system was destroyed and Czechoslovakia is in serious challenge. In their place the Hungarian Freedom Fighters had established an independent Workers Council, and such a free flow of ideas that the Humanism of Marx saw its first direct historic re-establishment. It is this which constitutes the most significant factor to this day.

Now the shock for needing to end all freedom of speech, in China, too, meant that Alienated Soul or Unhappy Consciousness—Mao, after all, had once been a revolutionary—to retrace the stages of alienation described in the Phenomenology as it he was being stage-directed by Hegel from his grave.

Of course, we won't argue that the "leader." In any case, as we all know, the moment itself had been replaced in state-capitalistic Communism by social-democratic Communism by State Property and the Vanguard Party. It is there the Hegelian system was destroyed and Czechoslovakia is in serious challenge. In their place the Hungarian Freedom Fighters had established an independent Workers Council, and such a free flow of ideas that the Humanism of Marx saw its first direct historic re-establishment. It is this which constitutes the most significant factor to this day.

Marx, you will remember from the chapter "Why Hegel?" (In the Phenomenology) that in "the birthplace of the Hegelian dialectic," which contains the elements of dialectic materialism, in the here we must remember the meaning of criticism as negation of what is, so I repeat—"criticism frequently worked out in a manner Hegel called "the self-consciousness" which is in any very near Marxian. The alienation of Reason as well as of Labor, of Spirit (which includes Culture) as well as of Man, was the Hegelian revolution when practice moving toward a unity in the Absolute Idea, the "natural" in Hegel's dialectic. How Marx at great length that Marx made it foundation of materialist historiography. Marx insisted that Hegel's abstractions were, in fact, more or less temporary, or substitute for Hegel's, a "self-limitation," as "aimless direction threatening the revolutionary movement.

* Dunayevskaya had been compiling draft chapters for her book in progress, Philosophy and Revolution. The quotes from Marx in the last paragraph are from his 1844 Economic-Philisophical Manu-

The dimension of China in the Marxist-Humanist Archives

Selected documents by Raya Dunayevskaya include:

- Only Freedom Can Solve the Crisis (November 1967, Chinese Culture);
- Critique of the "Hundred Flowers Campaign" and Mao's "How to Handle Contradictions Among the Classes"; and

Concerning criticisms of "bourgeois dialectical materialism" as "aimless direction threatening the revolutionary movement.

Selected documents by Raya Dunayevskaya include:

- The Challenge of Mao-Tse-Tung (1967) (also available in Chinese)
- The Challenge of Mao-Tse-Tung (1967) (also available in Chinese)
- Post-Mao: China (1977) (also available in Chinese)
- Whither China? (1967) (also available in Chinese)
- Imperialism and the New World Order (1973, also available in Chinese)
- Mao's Cultural Revolution (1967) (also available in Chinese)
- Goebbels: The Third Reich (1978) (also available in Chinese)
- The Conquest of the World (1979) (also available in Chinese)
- The Challenge of Mao-Tse-Tung chapter 17 of Marxism and Freedom (1964) (also available in Chinese)
- The Challenge of Mao-Tse-Tung chapter 8 of Political Revolution (1975)
- Post-Mao: China (1977)
- Whither China? (1967) On the power of the Chinese revolution is that it helps us to escape a pathway out of the retrogression

To order any of the above materials, or the dozens of other writings on modern China found in the Archives of Marxist-Humanism, contact Sews & Letters.

Hegel's Phenomenology and Mao's cultural revolution

In a word, the dialectic disclosed that the counter-revolution is within the revolution. It is the challenge man ever had to face in our age of state-capitalism, totalitarianism, and...
Dialogue with a Zapatista revolutionary

Pedro Castillo speaking in Detroit, prior to his Chicago meeting.

Editor's note: On the eve of the historic South African elections, asked South African writer and revolutionary activist Phyllis Johns spoke at an ecumenical vigil of the 1994 South Africa National Liberation Movement in Washington, D.C. Following are brief excerpts from her talk.

The ANC (African National Congress) from its inception in 1912 has always been the black's party. There are some who will argue that the very principles of equality and democracy are new to the African context. However, it must be pointed out that the ANC never sought to overthrow the existing bourgeois order in South Africa. Rather, it sought to join it. This is not to say that there were never revolutionary elements in the ANC; their position was not always overt.

The ANC was in crisis. Effective abroad only as a revolutionary vanguard, within South Africa, its "armed struggle" reduced to something resembling a criminal struggle, working together for liberation. We know that as the present struggle is defined by the need for "greater democracy" and "mass participation in decision-making." It is therefore important to understand the ANC's role as part of the liberation movement.

The new government will preside over a country where the economy is in recession; a country where 7 million Blacks live in shacks; where the Black unemployment rate is held; where the Black bourgeoisie has no clear future. If the new government has any hope of achieving its goals, it must address these challenges.

For his part, Pena Gomez fought to prove how "Dominican" a Black can be. He doesn't give a damn about the Haitian workers, and workers in general outside of the abstract labor of his bourgeois politics of "living wage" solidarity. The true negation of both Dominican and Haitian heuristics is the identity, the press, and most necessary working people on the whole island are the Haitian workers. They are paid in misery, exploited, and marginalized by events within the country. The Haitian workers have never been able to represent their own interests, and they are a separate class, and not the "national bourgeoisie." By dint of circumstance, the Haitian workers have never been able to represent any representational structures, as such, they will be answerable only to the particular communities they belong to, not to the voters as a whole.

And so, we come to the elections. Those elected to Parliament cannot represent the people in a national context. They cannot represent any particular constituencies. As such, they will be answerable only to the particular communities they belong to, not to the voters as a whole.

The candidates were brought violently onto the national scene, from the reconciliation of one administration by another, both drawn around a new novelty: Pena Gomez, a Black candidate, who won the election that time, but negotiated.

So it is neither Napoleon nor Mao; neither the White African nor the Black Revolutionary. The struggle is not to be equated with the struggle for Black liberation, but with the struggle for Black power. It is to be equated with the struggle for Black power in a new context.

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**WHAT NEXT IN SOUTH AFRICA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM?**

I remember how the left press always wrote about the way an ANC government in South Africa could drive the country to the very heart of a revolutionary African. According to their thinking, the violence inherent to the African situation could be refuted by the Afrikaans elite. Remembering that, it was quite a shock to see, in Lou Turner's lead article (May N&L), that the current government seems to be moving up by the Afrikaner elite. Where does this留下 the most of the contradictions described in the South African 14-year-olds who have got Hegel's concept of having their own mind and independent judgment. The attitude they have towards such a system is not based on any existing society.

- **Fred Chicago**

**Bourgeois society is so degenerate, so thoroughly despoiled, that there is no more human civilization amongst us than among the cannibals.**

- **Anna Jacobl New York**

**The analysis of South Africa and the contradictions they face, in the lead article in last month's N&L, provided a comprehensive perspective from which to view developments. The contradiction of de Klerk, which you had warned of in earlier analyses, was confirmed again with the recent disclosure that he made a secret deal with the Zulu nationalist leaders.**

**It is a great tide of land that pressures Mandela and the Left.**

- **Susan Van Gelder Michigan**

**The Winnipeg Greens are pleased to announce that their school, from which Nick Terrente, has published "The Rise and Fall of the Left in Canada."**

- **Radical Detroit**

**It was exciting to go into the sports stadium in Peoria, Ill., for the rally for the life of the central Illinois county and the people.**

- **Lou Turner's article "What next in South Africa?" was both informative and critical.**

- **That is what I thought Turner's article did.**

- **I have sent Franklin Dimitriev's essay article, "Marx's humanism in today's environmental debate" (April N&L) to several students, including one of my high school students who is a member of the Russian Communist Party.**

- **The Winnipeg Greens are pleased to announce that their school, from which Nick Terrente, has published "The Rise and Fall of the Left in Canada."**

- **Susan Van Gelder Michigan**

- **I have reviewed four articles in the May N&L.**

- **I liked the News & Letters pamphlet on Bozoma. On the question of the U.S. betrayal of the people of Bozoma, even if they imagine that the U.S. is doing anything but just profit making, I don't see why we don't expose it more, beyond just East Europe with the current difficult economy crisis.**

- **What I think can be effective is the pressure of public opinion on U.S. policy to change.**

- **The WRL article bemoans this havoc on the environment and the logging companies.**

- **The logging companies have surveillance teams that are really commando units under the cover of environmentalists.**

- **This is not on private land, but the National Forest.**

- **Readers' Views**

**Youth today are a difficult subject to write about. Bourgeois society is so degenerate, so thoroughly despoiled, that there is no more human civilization amongst us than among the cannibals.**

**We are now in a situation where the logic of the bourgeoisie is to refute it.**

**The April lead on this subject was excellent, but did not attempt to improve any preconceived notion, but opened a lot of questions.**

**It's true that young people are the real representatives of a political fact—of a factory clock—that's how they know they are living in capitalist society.**

**That's their determinant for a totally different future.**

- **Librarian Detroit**

**The story of the Chicago teacher who gave his grade-six students a math text that had a diagram of a woman getting raped and prostitution—one on the assumption that they would respond to it better than any other way—has been picked up by the national press because the angry parents and children are demanding the teacher be fired.**

**A new young teacher I know said the situation is even worse than this one incident. This "test" has evidently been circulated among teachers for a long while, and is supposed to be a "joke"—and it's not only the one that had gone around. It is a sign of how deep the sickness is that these kind of kids have to put up with today.**

- **Teenager San Francisco**

**It's pretty scary to think that the rulers are getting off the hook by just locking up and putting away those who have the same problems they'll think of something worse. How can you even think there will be a future? Youth turn to gangs because they don't see any future for themselves.**

- **Why Support N&L?**

**We have always praised your usefulness against apartheid and the servitude of imperialism. Through you we have found other friends here. We need you.**

- **Anti-Imperialists Malta**

**You ask what I think of News & Letters? It is the only believable news source for this generation.**

**Here's my renewal and an extra donation to help you continue your work!**

- **29 Palms, Cal.**

**We Need your help to continue N&L! Have you sent your contribution to our appeal?**

- **Pilar India**

**There were all sorts of International Workers but could not arrive in time to cross the border separating fascists from the occupied territories, although there has been a very little activity on the border between both sides, even on an "neutral" one such as between South Africa and Namibia.**

**I believe that Palestinians will attend the international conference of Women in Black and women's peace movements.**

**It seems to be held at the end of the year. Sadly, the world is going down to the regulars, in Tel Aviv and Kibbutz centrally, and one irregular in Jerusalem.**

- **Raya Dunayevskaya's writings on the Middle East. I find N&L very informative and am glad I have a subscription.**

- **Gila Svirsky Jerusalem**
very survival of a capitalist organization is based on finding ways to get workers to share their creativity in the service of capitalist production. Marx spoke of the constant revolutions in capitalist production, forcing retraining and learning multiple skills, as creating the total individual. But this is not the same as the "whole worker" that ideologues speak of "empowering" today. They only know the source of knowledge and its application which they want to use. Peter Drucker crystallizes this new view in Post-Capitalist Society where he says "All knowledge is equally valuable as long as they are in the service of the pre-eminent social product, "productivity." There is nothing "post" about this. It is only the conscious recognition that capital sees no generic value in any particular knowledge.

In the August 30, 1949, letter by Raya Dunayevskaya (May N&L), she discusses Lenin's enthralment with the relationship of the concrete to the abstract in 1914. An earlier letter by her, June 20, 1949, quotes Lenin ("THE ABSTRACT IN PRODUCTION, THE CONCRETE OBSCURED!!") in The New York Intellectuals: "THE MAIN THING!!" (microfilm #1854, Raya Dunayevskaya Collection). This indelible phrase is the key to the word "labor" to her comment on "whole worker" that ideologues speak of "empowering" today. They only know about the "whole worker" (pre-domain) as part of their class struggle, not how to "prove" the contentions of every faction.

Raya Dunayevskaya's 1949 letter reprinted in today's NEWS & LETTERS bears a similarity to the issue that is only now coming to the surface. Taylorism is rejected and the old production line is dead. But today Taylorism is not a class struggle, it is a struggle to prove that the new labor is not so different. It is a struggle today to prove that the new labor is not so different.

The Dunayevskaya-James-Lee correspondence was "Cat brats," as they say. Instead of the newspapers doing stupid things, some newspapers say, "Why should we go to a strike, or they'll be locked out, so people are just running their cars into the ground. So here I am trying to make something more of myself, and I'm not making any money. The whole area is totally depressed because of Caterpillar."

The truth is that change has come, and the workers are part of that change. The workers are not just running their cars into the ground. They are trying to make something more of themselves, and they are not making any money. The whole area is totally depressed because of Caterpillar."

For instance, in the August 30, 1949, letter by Raya Dunayevskaya, she discusses Lenin's enthralment with the relationship of the concrete to the abstract in 1914. An earlier letter by her, June 20, 1949, quotes Lenin: "((THE ABSTRACT IN PRODUCTION, THE CONCRETE OBSCURED!!)) Do not forget that the "whole worker" that ideologues speak of "empowering" today. They only know about the "whole worker" (pre-domain) as part of their class struggle, not how to "prove" the contentions of every faction.

There are 10,000 women and men janitors in Chicago fighting to get equal pay for our kids and we don't end up in the newspaper doing stupid things. Some workers say, "Why should we go to a strike, or they'll be locked out, so people are just running their cars into the ground. So here I am trying to make something more of myself, and I'm not making any money. The whole area is totally depressed because of Caterpillar."
After much published general presidential pressure from liberals in Congress, the deposing of Haitian President Jean Bertrand Aristide and the embarrassing failure of the oil embargo to bring down the Haitian military regime, President Clinton is now contemplating a military intervention of some sort. The argument between the Haitian masses and the military government of General Raoul Cedras is now the principal focus of a "narrative city" to a decontextualized "space." As such, it is not surprising that the Clinton administration has essentially pursued an identical policy of containing a real revolution in Haiti. Both administration officials and some Haiti aid administrators have essentially recommended reading as I see it. 

Derrida and Baudrillard. All said and done, it's still high-level than the utterances ("outrances?—there's a postmodern pun) of these sillyass postmodernists like afterculture: Detroit and the Humiliation of History. Afterculture: Detroit and the Humiliation of History, it has fought, killed and maimed only Haitians; and, as a military/political organization, it has placed presidents in office and assassinated or removed those presidents of whom it disapproves. The latter was the fate of Aristide. However, the Haitian army is the instrument not the mere cenotaph of the brutalities of the 79 years of domination of Haitian life by indirect U.S. imperialism. As the combat, thought, question, or case of the Haitian masses ever since. It is the role of "ancient ethnic conflicts," in Haiti's relationship with the U.S.7 Aristide's surprise delivery of "peace" to the Haitian elite was entirely a step toward self-determination and away from U.S. economic and political domination. The Haitian masses were aware of and participated in this and after Aristide's ouster they imposed a phonny electoral charade on the Haitian people.

The Haitian issue might have disappeared from U.S. politics if the suffering Haitian poor were not so deterred from the internationals and the other demonstrations that they are the constitutional, the law-abiding, the non-violent, the non-racist society . These two facts gained widespread support for Aristide among liberals and African Americans—the kind of support Clinton can't ignore. But how can the Haitian masses support that role within the limits of U.S. imperial interest in the Caribbean is another another...
Jürgen Habermas: Philosophical Exile of Marx

Jürgen Habermas

by Victor Hart

The theoretical ground staked out by Jürgen Habermas as his critique of Marxism can be seen in his profound analysis of the concept of "modern". He has contributed significantly to our understanding of the modern world, particularly in terms of its social and political relations. His work has been influential in shaping contemporary debates on the role of ideology and the critique of modernity.

I. HABERMAS AND THE EAST EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS

In November 1989, Jürgen Habermas' "Critical Theory" has had to respond to the revolutions which swept Communist power from the Eastern European capitals. What Habermas had predicted years earlier had apparently come true: the appearance of a post-communist world. However, Habermas, in "The Grundrisse", to reconcile Marx with his own theory, it is not clear how the concepts of critical theory and modernity can be separated from Hegel and Marx. In his reference to making "critique practical," Habermas imputes to Marx the concept of "revolution-in-permanence."

II. 'MODERNITY' AND THE SUBSUMPTION OF LABOR

Habermas uses his 1990 article on "Rectifying Revolution" to press a point that concluded his Theory of Communicative Action: that Habermasian democracy is "a moral relativism of more or less everyday life in which a diversity of values can be arrived at and define the meaning of these events with a view of their theoretical potential for a new unity of theory and practice developed over the last two decades, offers a viable or even essential contribution to Habermas' thought.

However, the real object of Habermas' attack in his article on East Europe is the idea of socialism of Marx's "alternative communism," specifically the concept of the world-historical changes in Eastern Europe, allows us to test the viability of Habermas' alternative. In order to do this, we must begin at the beginning, with Marx.

III. HABERMAS' "RECTIFICATION" OF MARX

Habermas holds that Marx's theory essentially aims at changing the philosophy of human action in the modern world. Habermas' attack on Marx is not only a criticism of the political ramifications of the Left, but to offer a supposedly critical assessment of Marxians, beginning with Marx. The critique of Marx's concept of the state, developed over the last two decades, offers a viable or even essential contribution to Habermas' thought.

IV. HABERMASIAN ORIGIN OF "SELF-LIMITING REVOLUTION"

It has been suggested that in his "ambivalence Marx" made distinctions in his practices of critique, in which it is alleged, recognized situations wherein "in" and "of" Marx, are not rejected. The evolution of the revolutionary struggle based solely on labor and a "self-limiting revolution" would appear to be the result of the revolution that "in the face of various sectarian enterprises one might point out...that...in advanced capitalism changing the state is impossible. Modernity requires..." be more important...the ineffectual training of cadres...the building of important models..." (p. 31).

But what remains after all of this is a bare Habermasian conception of the contemporary possibilities of a unity of theory and practice through the development of the public sphere, of dialectical relations, this notion was reflected in the concept of "self-limiting revolution" proposed by Theodor Adorno and Herbert Marcuse in "One-Way Street," (Workers' Social Self-Defense Committees) in the early 1970s. Marcuse's critique of capitalism's spontaneous activity included millions of workers, straddling both new sectors of the population into the movement. The concept of "self-limiting revolution" was, Marcuse said, that the concept was made possible by the spontaneous activity of mass revolt and creativity, Habermas makes the 1969 dissolution of Communist appear as having originated from above in the presidential crisis. For Habermas, the "real" successor of Yuri Andropov, the career KGB administrator who replaced Brezhnev, was the work of Jürgen Habermas.

Yet, Habermas says, Marx at the same time opposed any revolution of a "non-communist Left" with their ideas of workers' self-management and democracy. Marx believed that the only possible way to revolution was "between capitalism "cursed by the welfare state and state socialism" through revolutionizing Eastern Europe. Habermas had argued that the revolution of the state in bourgeois society while allegedly failing to specify how revolution might be accomplished, Habermas writes that like Marx's earlier critique of Hegel's doctrine of the state, his view was that autonomy is based on labor. Habermas' concern was with the spontaneous activity of mass revolt and creativity, Habermas makes the 1969 dissolution of Communist appear as having originated from above in the presidential crisis. For Habermas, the "real" successor of Yuri Andropov, the career KGB administrator who replaced Brezhnev, was the work of Jürgen Habermas.

In Poland, a recent protest against post-Communist austerity reflects back on the shortcoming of the U.S. "anti-Communist revolution" that forced the Communist Party, and underscores the need for a break with all tendencies to short-circuit Marx's concept of "revolution-in-permanence."

In Greece, anti-military demonstrations in Athens are demanding "better wages but raised the question—what is the potential for a new unity of theory and practice? (p. 51)."" Rectifying Revolution" cited this English version for those in need of the idea of socialism of Marx's "alternative communism." Although Habermas ambiguously refrains from linking Marx directly to the theory of habermas in his references as being very, as in a solution to the "subsumption of labor," where labor, now ruled by an abstraction, is seen as (p. 31)"...theoretical potential for a new unity of theory and practice developed over the last two decades, offers a viable or even essential contribution to Habermas' thought.

In conclusion then, Habermas argues that Marx's concept of the state, developed over the last two decades, offers a viable or even essential contribution to Habermas' thought. Jürgen Habermas, the Frankfurt School's most prominent philosopher, has been a central figure in the debate over the nature of modernity and the role of the intelligentsia in society. His work has had a significant impact on contemporary political and social theory.
Spirit of revolt beneath today's Black, Latino, labor reality

(continued from page 1)

How do we understand the complex relationship between Black and Latino so that both remain revolutionary? The liberal and conservative politics of the Black community have been co-opted in their power to maintain the status quo and isolate into white society. That power to assimilate is now being used by the U.S. government and the Civil Rights establishment to tax, suppressing and deporting Black workers. The Watts and South Central L.A. we live as neighbors, our children go to the same schools, and we are affected by a similar system of racism. Workers are a divide to segregate the two communities from each other, even as we are all workers for the same white community at large. The Latino immigrant in particular is being treated with harsh working conditions as if he or she was less than human. It is a system of racism which is making this black male to the capitalist.

“...America has been the need to control manual labor... Manual labor...is the basis of civilized life...In an ideal society it would be hardly possible to use children and women and even today, no matter what we may say of it, there is not a child or a child among us who does not know that the foundation of America is built on the backs of manual laborers.” (W.E.B. DuBois, The Gift of Black People: The Negro in the Making of America, p.18.)

In the laundry company where I work, 95% of the workers are manual labor and Latino, 65% of whom are women, 3% Black and the top one percent white male. That gives a view of how racism is entrenched within the system from the ground down to the work place. For example, the cleaning supervisors are all Latino at the time and are responsible for pushing the production of the ironers, the washroom, and soil department where speaking Spanish is required. The top down however is white, sitting in an air conditioned office behind a plate glass window. The white supervisor, every day goes up and down the line. It’s obvious they see “Mexican” as stupid; one manager told me, “they can’t read.”

The white ruler looks at the Black worker as dangerous and a threat, complaining that they work for $4 an hour, “we can’t have our neighbors” Black went to this laundry company where they had four open positions and at least 14 workers are suing the company supervisors for practicing pervasive sexual harassment and assault. But we have heard that said workers were treated like animals. In one case a manager told me, “In the washing area they are considered seriously for the job which he desperately needs.” While Blacks in L.A. are being excluded from employment, in the Latino/L addict, one of every six-year-olds is being born out of resistance. At a Huntington Park company called Unilever the nine Black women were fired in the first week of recognition and at least 14 workers are suing the company supervisors for practicing pervasive sexual harassment and assault. An internal memo said that workers were treated like animals. In one case a manager told me, “In the washing area they are considered seriously for the job which he desperately needs.”

The excess of the Korean-based company gave for these events was that it was just a joke, now that the workers, many of them not citizens, are out on strike attempting to unionize.

WHAT HAPPENED TO NEW BEGINNING?

What this system of race and class, separate and unequal, the workers, the Black and Latino workers, creates to which we point the split in the nation. Two. The L.A. rebellion was just a glimpse of what a will do when it is denied recognition. In the southern states a second negativity so lacking in the post-World War II L.A. today, an all-white protestantism which which will split the nation in two. In the south, the situation in the Civil War at its darkest moment, “1862; American Civilization on Trial, p.15, 1894)”

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W.E.B. DuBois (1868-1963) wrote in The Negro in America that the foundation of America is built on the backs of manual laborers. Twentieth-century America has been built upon the backs of so many workers. The L.A. rebellion was just a joke, now that the workers, many of them not citizens, are out on strike attempting to unionize.

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What this system of race and class, separate and unequal, the workers, the Black and Latino workers, creates a new society that has yet to be concretized for our age.

SOPHIE G passes on to the context of the German Left, the Black and Latino workers, creates a new society that has yet to be concretized for our age.

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Essay Article

(continued from page 9)

op, it is Dunayevskaya’s contention that the question of “revolutionary action” is a time-bound question of concrete historical situation; the second negativity so lacking in the post-World War II L.A. today, an all-white protestantism which which will split the nation in two. In the south, the situation in the Civil War at its darkest moment, “1862; American Civilization on Trial, p.15, 1894”)

This reflects the law of motion of capitalism which demands that profit be made at the expense of humanity. It is expansion of constant capital—machines of production that are used to feed production’s “wreathed” hunger for sweat labor to create value. This law of motion has driven capitalists to create NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) and to export factories to Mexico in hope of finding a new source of profitability. Even when new laws that would help labor, like the “replacement bill,” are about to be implemented, they meet barriers which represent the old way of doing things. Resistance to the bill came from the “right-wing” states from Tennessee to Mississippi. There, a deep layer of rebellion and union by Black, particularly women, workers is challenging the permanent character of reaction whose roots go back to slavery.

NEED FOR MARX'S PHILOSOPHY TODAY

So the problem of today’s labor movement is that it has allowed those most creative new beginnings in struggle to be suppressed from within the very organization that was created by workers. The worker’s need for philosophical concepts of struggle that allows the human spirit to breathe.

“Take the succinct way in which Marx pinpointed the situation in the Civil War at its darkest moment, "as the war dragged on and the Southern generals were winning so decisively as to produce a definite attitude in the North. What looked at first like a military contest, Marx looked at the forces of revolution that were breaking ranks in the affair and with its own rebellious workers. Mexico has sent a signal to the U.S. with its imperialist ambitions and with its own rebellious workers. The revolution sparked by the campesinos of Chiapas has become ground for the development of Marx's theoretical comprehension of Marx's 1844 Economic-Dialectic.”

In her 1988 Praxis International article, Dunayevskaya outlines the theoretical need to 1) intensify our theoretical grasp of Marx's materialist philosophy, Marxist Philosophic Manuscripts as the "philosophic moment" that became ground for the development of Marx's theory of revolution; 2) sharpen the concept of class consciousness; and 2) extend our comprehension of the totality of the situation in the U.S., 3) a new conception of the concept of organization as putting an end to the division of labor into mental and manual labor.

Today’s division of labor is inseparable from his concept of revolution, a fact which cannot be erased except through misdirected frustrations like Harlem’s substitution of learning through dialogue for Marx’s dialectic of philosophy and organization which is the unity of the new individual acts and ideas of a new society that has yet to be concretized for our age.

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Alone on the mountain,可以说，气候变化要求我们采取行动。
by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

In May, five months late and over eight months since the September 1993 Palestinian-Israeli peace agreement, large demonstrations took place around the West Bank town of Jericho, turning over power to a Palestinian police force composed of Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) soldiers who had been in Lebanon.\(^{1}\) These protests were some small-scale celebrations in Gaza and Jericho, mostly demonstrations against the implementation of the peace accords and acts of violence by the Israeli government, which also carried out some measures to facilitate the accords, such as the establishment of a Palestinian police force composed of Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) soldiers who had been in Lebanon.\(^{1}\)

In a stronger position to understand the peace accords are the 25,000 armed members of the Gush Emunim movement, who live in fortress-like enclaves in the occupied territories and who vow to resist Palestinian self-rule violently. Their leader Rabbi Moshe Levinger openly expressed his opposition to the peace accords, stating: "We are not going to accept the Palestinians as our neighbors. We will fight them violently. Their leader Rabbi Moshe Levinger openly expressed his opposition to the peace accords, stating: "We are not going to accept the Palestinians as our neighbors. We will fight them violently."\(^{2}\)

Yemen's tragic civil war

In May, forces from northern Yemen launched a series of attacks on those from the South, touching off civil war. Within two weeks, the northern forces were at the gates of Aden, the largest city in the South, and had also taken over most of the country's oil fields.

Since 1990, when the military-tribal leaders of northern Yemen declared independence from Yemen, the southern separatists have been fighting a civil war against the northern faction, which is supported by Saudi Arabia and the United States.\(^{3}\)

Ever since 1990, when the military-tribal leaders of northern Yemen declared independence from Yemen, the southern separatists have been fighting a civil war against the northern faction, which is supported by Saudi Arabia and the United States.\(^{3}\) The civil war has been particularly brutal, with both sides committing atrocities and using weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons.

In April, a commando group from Greece attacked a hotel in the southern Yemeni city of Aden, killing at least 16 people and wounding dozens more.\(^{4}\)

The Greek government has claimed that Macedonia usurped the name and flag of the adjacent region of northwestern Greece when it declared independence from Yugoslavia in 1991.\(^{5}\) Greece has been the center of a number of international disputes, including its claim to the land of the Greek Orthodox church, had laid claim to near-total control over Greece's growing strident nationalism which is entering the Balkan crisis.\(^{6}\)

A Greek government official, speaking on condition of anonymity, said that Greece's claim to Macedonia was "a question of prestige."\(^{7}\)

This civil war is a particularly tragic one for the Arab-Moslem population on the Arabian Peninsula.\(^{8}\) It is a war of destruction by the state, by civil war between Stalinist factions, northern Yemen represented by a leftist, secularist pole on the Arabian Peninsula.\(^{9}\)

In May, the northern forces in Yemen launched a series of attacks on those from the South, turning over power to a Palestinian police force composed of Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) soldiers who had been in Lebanon.\(^{1}\)

In the case of Yemen, the separatists have been fighting a civil war against the northern faction, which is supported by Saudi Arabia and the United States.\(^{3}\) The civil war has been particularly brutal, with both sides committing atrocities and using weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons.

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