

# NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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## UPS strike helps all workers



by John Marcotte

UPS (United Parcel Service) drivers and loaders walked out all over the nation on Monday, Feb. 7. They showed UPS can't mess around with them. They walked because UPS, without any consultation with the Teamsters union, raised the maximum weight drivers would have to handle from 70 pounds to 150 pounds. A new contract was signed just months ago, and this never came up in the negotiations.

A driver said, "The company didn't even have the decency to tell us. We were the last to know. I'm making pick-ups and suddenly this customer says to me, 'So next week you guys are picking up 150 pounds, right?' That was the first I heard of it. The customers were told a month ago."

### UPS DRIVERS UNDER PRESSURE

UPS drivers make over 100 stops a day. They have to go up stairs. They are under constant pressure to work fast. On a January day of snow and freezing rain, a UPS driver told me, "They'll have me in the office tomorrow morning to know why I was running late today. They know there's ice all over, and traffic's not moving. The other month, the wheel fell off a package truck. The driver could have been killed. But the first thing the supervisor asks is, 'Is there any second day air on the truck?' They don't care if you die out there."

On the picket line, UPS workers said they would stay out as long as it took. UPS settled that afternoon. They said no worker would have to handle a package over 70 pounds without help.

Teamsters president Ron Carey, who used to head the New York UPS local union, defied a court injunction in

(continued on page 3)

## Black World

### Farrakhan's 'frenzy of self-conceit'



by Lou Turner

Back in 1982 I spoke at a week-long conference on Malcolm X organized by a group of Black students at UCLA. The highlight of the conference was slated to be a long-awaited speech by Khalid Abdul Muhammad, national spokesman for Louis Farrakhan and the NOI (Nation of Islam). Clearly, the Black students believed that Khalid Muhammad represented a historic continuity with the legacy of Malcolm X that they expected to hear articulated as the highpoint of their conference. To their shock and dismay, Khalid Muhammad spewed forth a scurrilous attack on Malcolm X as a "Judas" betraying his "benefactor, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad."

Like his own "benefactor" Louis Farrakhan, whose ascendancy in the NOI also began with his doing the bidding of Elijah Muhammad in carrying out the character assassination of Malcolm X as prelude to the latter's actual assassination, Khalid Muhammad demonstrated his zeal to re-assassinate Malcolm's character before an entirely new generation of young Black activists. Which is why Farrakhan's ghoulish display of one of Malcolm's assassins as a hero at two recent rallies is no accident. It's his attempt to drive the ghost of Malcolm X back into the night.

Far from any of this being merely anecdotal, it actually goes to the heart of the current phenomenon of Black anti-Semitism associated with Farrakhan, and which has also taken up residency in Black academia.

### PATHOLOGY OF BLACK FUNDAMENTALISM

Frantz Fanon was surely right: the logic of anti-Semitism is that it is inherently anti-Black. Khalid Muhammad not only attacked Jews in the sociopathic diatribe at Kean College in New Jersey, that finally led to his being censured by Farrakhan, following an avalanche of public condemnation. He also attacked Nelson Mandela and an array of Black leaders and intellectuals. However, it is

(continued on page 8)

## Chiapas: a new form of struggle?

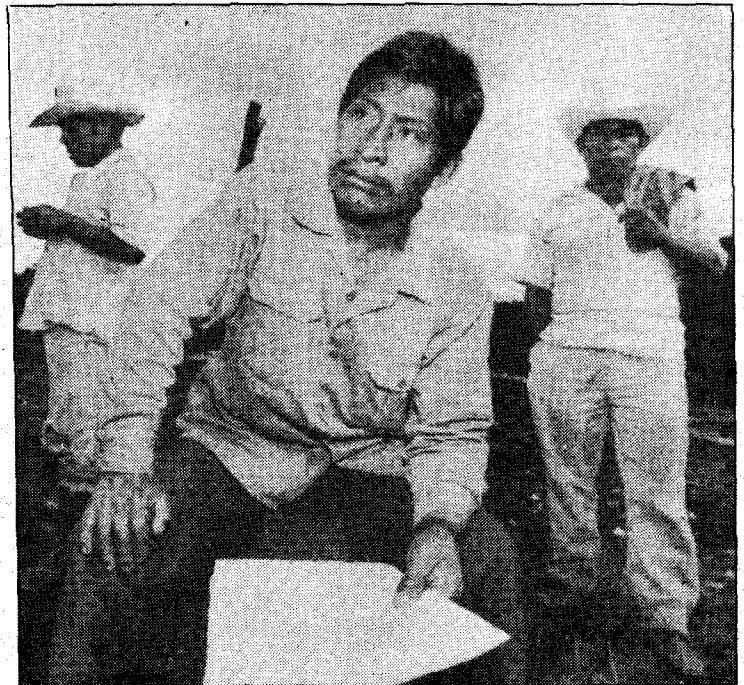
by Carlos Varela

*Editor's note: As we go to press, the Mexican government has announced a tentative peace agreement with the Zapatista rebels. The government's effort to contain the Chiapas revolt gives new urgency to grasping the revolt's underlying meaning.*

On Jan. 1, 1994, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), signed by the governments of Mexico, Canada and the U.S., went into effect. That same day, an army of about 2,000 indigenous people of the state of Chiapas, Mexico, under the name of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN), declared war on the Mexican state, shocking the post-Cold War world. This peasant uprising is a clear response to the exploitation and genocide that the indigenous people have been suffering through the centuries. NAFTA and the neo-liberal policies imposed by the Salinas government, which deepen the inhuman conditions of not only the peasants but also all Mexican workers, were the trigger for the uprising.

### THE NEO-LIBERAL 'MIRACLE'

The social conditions in Mexico were aggravated in the last 12 years by these neo-liberal policies, the new form in which capitalism is presented. In Latin America, the results of these policies are evident not only in the 1989 uprisings in Caracas and Buenos Aires, but also in the revolts in Santiago del Estero, Argentina, this past December (see N&L, January-February, 1994), and in the current Indian, worker, and student strikes and revolts all over Ecuador. These neo-liberal policies mean "economic growth" through the com-



Indian in Chiapas shows papers demanding land.

plete privatization of state companies, a strong reduction in the work force, a reduction of tariffs, the elimination of all social programs, the implementation of an export economy and the reduction of subsidies for agriculture. All this in order to attract foreign capital investment through maintaining a cheap labor force.

(continued on page 5)

## Editorial

### U.S., Russia in Bosnia cockpit

The shooting down of four Serbian bombers over Bosnia on Feb. 27 by U.S. warplanes operating under the guise of NATO has brought a new reality to the crisis afflicting Bosnia-Herzegovina. Together with Clinton's threat to attack Serbian positions following the bombing of the Sarajevo marketplace on Feb. 5 and the subsequent Serb decision to withdraw their heavy weaponry around Sarajevo under the rubric of a Russian "peace plan," the major powers have thrust themselves into one of the bloodiest conflicts of the post-Cold War world.

The Clinton administration's use of direct military might to enforce a "no fly zone" over Bosnia coincides with intense diplomatic moves to impose a settlement on the warring parties. Yet it would be sheer illusion to conclude that the Clinton administration is acting out of deference to the interests of the Bosnians.

This is especially seen in how, despite recent Bosnian military advances against Serbian and Croatian forces, the major powers have said nothing about lifting the UN-imposed arms embargo so that Bosnia could defend itself from outright genocide. That is indeed the rub. The major powers are intervening in order to ensure that they, and not the Bosnian people, determine the shape of things to come in this war-torn land.

In fact, as a result of the recent developments the U.S. and Russia appear poised to pressure Bosnia into accepting a partition of their country—precisely the goal the Serbs have fought to attain in their genocidal war to destroy Bosnia's multiethnic heritage.

As one commentator put it, Western and Russian "policy remains committed to the idea that the government of Bosnia must agree not only to partition but to an unfair partition that leaves the Serbian side substantial areas that were predominantly Muslim. [They] differ only on the degree of unfairness they think the Muslims should accept." If further intervention occurs, "it will be an intervention aimed not at undoing the partition of Bosnia but of stabilizing it." (Martin Woollacott, *The Guardian* [London], Feb. 10, 1994.)

This new situation raises so many questions for those striving to work out genuine grassroots solidarity with the Bosnian struggle for freedom and self-determination that we need to review the path which led to today's contradictory reality.

### THE ROAD TO DIRECT INTERVENTION

At the start of this year the U.S. became embroiled in an acrimonious public dispute with France over Western policy towards Bosnia-Herzegovina. France wanted the U.S. to become directly engaged in efforts to persuade Bosnia to accept its partition, while the Clinton administration insisted that this was less its concern than Europe's. In truth, both the U.S. and France long ago accepted the idea of Bosnia's partition. But Clinton wanted France and the other European powers to press the issue

so that the U.S. could "disengage" from the thorny issue of Bosnia altogether.

All this changed by early February, when the Bosnian army began recording important advances against Serb and Croat forces. The U.S. felt compelled to involve itself more actively on the Bosnian issue, especially following the Feb. 5 Serb mortar attack on the Sarajevo marketplace which killed 68 civilians. The worldwide outcry against this murderous assault brought into sharp focus the inhumanity of the Western powers, which had refused to lift a finger against the genocidal war being waged against the Bosnian people.

Concerned with this image of Western inaction, Clinton got France and other European powers to support the idea of using NATO to launch air strikes against Serbian artillery installations surrounding Sarajevo in exchange for U.S. agreement to press the Bosnians into accepting concessions at the negotiating table.

Yet it is not only the situation in Bosnia per se, as much as broader geopolitical considerations, which appears to have motivated the U.S. turn to direct engagement in Bosnia. Clinton argued that the threat of air strikes was needed because "We have an interest in showing that NATO, history's greatest military alliance, remains a credible force for peace in post-Cold War Europe." One U.S. diplomat in Europe put it more bluntly: "The NATO ultimatum is not about Bosnia. It is about the appearance of NATO credibility." (Quoted in "U.S. Shifts Course on Bosnia, Backing Europe's Partition Plan," by Robert Marquard in *The Christian Science Monitor*, Feb. 17, 1994.)

### THE RUSSIAN FACTOR

The question then is, why would the U.S. suddenly become so concerned about the credibility of NATO when for the last several years NATO has increasingly been viewed as a relic of the Cold War and "a carcass of dead policies"? The answer lies not so much in the situation in Bosnia as in the recent events in Russia.

Russia's move away from "free market" shock therapy and toward a more assertive foreign policy based on its

(continued on page 9)

|  |       |
|--|-------|
| Essay—Feminism & Marx's Humanism Reconsidered.....   | p. 2  |
| From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya—Culture, Commodity Fetishism and Hegel's Phenomenology..... | pg. 4 |
| Palestinian massacre in Hebron.....  | p. 12 |

## On the Inside

## Essay Article

# Feminism and Marx's humanism reconsidered

by Laurie Cashdan

After a decade in which feminist scholars produced a veritable torrent of theoretical writings aimed at freeing analyses of gender from the quagmires of biological determinism and economic reductionism, feminist theory has become synonymous for many with postmodernism. It may seem strange, then, that several scholars have called recently for a reconsideration of Marxism and humanism. Such calls have emerged from some of the feminists who shifted away from Marxism in the early 1980s and now find themselves facing an unprecedented problem. After immersing themselves in the postmodernism of French theorists such as Foucault and Derrida, many

## Filipinas blast 'joke'



New York, N.Y.—Gabriela Network, the Filipina women's organization, has wrung an apology from actor Liam Neeson for his racist, sexist remark, published in the December 1993 issue of GQ magazine. The star of "Schindler's List" had told the GQ writer he couldn't show her his loft because "those Filipino girls are still tied up and stuff." Gabriela sent him and the magazine an open letter, which asks:

"How an actor can immerse himself in such a film and emerge with a soul so crass that he cannot draw parallels between the Holocaust and the systematic trafficking in women from the Philippines....Some 250,000 are funneled into the international labor market every year....Sixteen Filipinas were murdered in Australia by their husbands; over a thousand fled abusive employers in Kuwait; some 75,000 work as sex slaves in Japan...and over 60,000 were prostituted in the vicinity of the U.S. bases in the Philippines."

The letter also condemns jokes about violence against women, noting Neeson's emphasis on race and youth.

After posters about the comment appeared in Neeson's New York neighborhood, and the Los Angeles chapter of Gabriela made plans to picket him at the Academy Awards, Gabriela received a letter of apology, which states in part, "As an Irishman, I know from personal experience the distress that seemingly harmless 'racist' jokes can cause. Please know that I did not intend to denigrate or offend Philipino [sic] women in any way. Indeed I have only the highest regard for all women, irrespective of their race."

The women are demanding that both letters be printed in GQ.

—Gabriela supporter

## Parents walk out

San Francisco, Cal.—I work with a non-profit organization, Parents Helping Parents, which provides training on how to access special education services for parents of disabled children. The state is required by law to get parental input into the running of this organization. I've been working there since September. While the "philosophy" is very noble, since December there's been a change. It used to be parent-focused: all employees are parents of disabled children, we had flexible hours, full medical benefits, and a living wage.

At the beginning of the year the administrator brought in a management consultant. The first thing she did was to cut out flex time. She cut vacation time. She wants everyone there from nine to five. She started changing job descriptions even though they were written as part of the grant. She tried to drive a wedge between us. Out of the original seven workers, only two people now get medical benefits.

People started quitting or going on indefinite stress leave. She wanted me to stay until six. I have three kids who wouldn't have anyone to take care of them. We're supposed to be here to empower each other. How is it that this person can come in here and ruin everything? The worst insult was when she handed down a rule that we can no longer talk to each other in the office.

That's when we staged a walkout. Now we talk to each other more than ever. She managed to bring us together. We felt free and empowered because we were willing to risk our livelihood.

—Black working mother

now worry they have uncoupled theory from feminist politics.

The fall of "Communism" and claims that this represents "the end of history" lend new urgency to these concerns. Feminists who reject this conclusion find it increasingly urgent to work out a liberatory feminist politics powerful enough to transcend former "socialist" countries' failure to abolish women's oppression.

These concerns do not reflect a need to return to the mechanical materialism of post-Marx Marxists who only explained gender inequality in terms of root economic causes. Indeed, the problem has emerged in the process of searching for a non-reductive social theory which shows that women's oppression—because it has no iron-clad root clauses—can also be overturned. This process led many to focus on theories which pose discourse or language as the site where all meaning, including that of gender, is structured. Yet this is the source of anxiety.

Jennifer Ring argues that by deconstructing the way gender inequality is structured through "texts" or discourses, postmodernist theorists act as if "[t]he power of the past is undone by an act of literary will. It is too facile a solution." She calls for a return to dialectics which would have "human freedom as its agenda."<sup>1</sup>

Michèle Barrett writes in a 1992 essay that although Foucault's concept of discourse sees gender ideology as no mere reflection of economic determinants or essential human nature, his anti-humanist theory lacks active human subjects. Indeed, his argument that subjects are also structured through this discourse make it impossible to imagine how individuals have agency—or the will to act to transform our lives and society. "It may well be," she writes, "that to develop a better account of subjective political motivation we shall have to reopen in new and imaginative ways the issue of humanism."<sup>2</sup>

### BARRETT REACHES IMPASSE

Barrett's call to "reopen...the issue of humanism" is significant to trace here because her writings represent a well-travelled road that took many feminists first to post-Marx Marxism and then to poststructuralism. Although Barrett's new turn to "humanism" amounts to little more than feminist ethics and values, other feminists have turned anew to Marx's "new humanism" (his term in the 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts*) to illuminate new emancipatory pathways.<sup>3</sup>

To trace the road which led Barrett to her concern

1. Jennifer Ring, *Modern Political Theory and Contemporary Feminism: A Dialectical Analysis* (State University of New York Press, 1991), pp. 20-21.

2. Michèle Barrett, "Words and Things: Materialism and Method in Contemporary Feminist Analysis," in *Destabilizing Theory: Contemporary Feminist Debates* (Stanford, 1992), pp. 216-17.

3. German feminist Frigga Haug explores Marx's 1844 *Manuscripts in Beyond Female Masochism: Memory-Work and Politics* (Verso, 1992). Raya Dunayevskaya's 35-year journey into Marx's "new humanism" in relation to feminism can be traced in *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future* (Humanities, 1985).

## Reproductive freedom: demands and debates

Chicago, Ill.—On Jan. 22 around 150 high-spirited demonstrators rallied, marched and held a program with speeches and poetry to support reproductive freedom. Their focus was on stopping any parental consent law from being passed in Illinois and to demand that it be revoked in states where it is already in place.

What was so inspiring was that more than half the participants were high school students from the city and suburbs. Most have formed organizations in their schools about many issues. Some of the organizations are youth chapters of NARAL (which has a new name—National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League).

Many said they were organizing to convince legislators in their areas not to pass parental consent laws, while also working to change conditions and consciousness in their schools. They no longer feel alienated and alone after finding so much support from other students.

Speakers from African American Women In Defense Of Ourselves, The Chicago Abortion Fund, and the Emergency Clinic Defense Coalition raised serious issues, including critiques of the pro-choice movement.

One speaker claimed the anti-choicers have won ground because "we have compromised young and poor women's rights" and have looked to Clinton, when "what we need is to orient our movement not only for women's rights, but for women's liberation." Another discussed issues like children as property. And a third pointed to the plight of many young Latinas in the country illegally, who have to face both family and state when seeking an abortion.

This was definitely the best pro-choice event I have been to in a long time!

—Sonia Bergonzi

Chicago, Ill.—The Supreme Court decision Jan. 24, that pro-choice organizations can sue anti-abortion groups trying to shut down clinics under the Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO), appears as a great victory for the National Organization for Women (NOW). Yet Justice Souter's decision two weeks later to allow the Pennsylvania Abortion Control Act to take effect underlines that the RICO decision makes no less urgent the fight for women's reproductive freedom.

The RICO decision allows pro-choice groups to sue for such huge damages that they could put anti-abortion

over the problematic of humanism and the impasse at which she finds herself in her work of the 1990s, we must begin with *Women's Oppression Today: The Marxist/Feminist Encounter* (Verso, 1980). She assesses the goal of Marxist feminism there as a non-reductive, historical analysis of the link between capitalist exploitation and gender. This quest takes her first to French

(continued on page 10)

## Oppose slave labor!

Chinatown, N.Y.—Six months after 43 dining room workers struck the Silver Palace Restaurant, they and their supporters continue to picket every lunch and dinner. A cardboard coffin symbolizes the death of slave labor in Chinatown, where it is common for people to work 80 hours a week at illegally low wages. The workers, who are women and men, explain that they are striking not only for themselves, but for all the exploited immigrants in Chinatown, and this gives them the strength to keep fighting.

The Silver Palace was the only unionized restaurant in Chinatown. Last year the bosses imposed a contract that cut wages from \$7 - \$8 to \$2.90 per hour, eliminated benefits and seniority rights, and required waiters to share tips with management, which is illegal. Workers unanimously rejected the contract and were locked out.

The NLRB (Labor Board) has issued a complaint and the state is investigating, but legal action against the restaurant is interminably slow. Wing Lam of the Chinese Staff & Workers' Association (CWSA), which organized the 318 Restaurant Workers Union, says racism is at the root of failure to enforce the labor laws:

"Everyone knows about the slave labor in Chinatown. The government promotes the stereotype that Chinese people want to work seven days a week, that we don't want to take our kids out one day. Immigrants are allowed into this country in order to be cheap labor. American workers won't take these jobs. African Americans say, 'We've been through slavery already.'

"A lot of people say if you fight for better wages and working conditions, jobs will disappear. We say if you give in, everyone's wages will go down to the level of slave labor. We believe we can't be free unless all are free."

The CWSA is fighting the Chinatown establishment, including the largest social service agency, the Chinese-American Planning Council. Everyone is watching to see what will happen. Waiters from several restaurants have contacted the union to discuss organizing.

Support for the strikers is growing. Complaints to Home Savings Bank about sponsoring the entertainment for a senior citizens' banquet at the Silver Palace caused the bank to withdraw. The Women's Action Coalition (WAC) held a Valentine's Day party that drew 300 people and raised \$1500. Other unions will hold a rally at the Silver Palace March 13. Contact CWSA at (212) 619-7979 for more information.

—Anne Jaclard

groups "out of business." But what the Supreme Court is really upholding isn't women's right to control our own bodies—it's free enterprise! Although RICO has been used in important cases against the Ku Klux Klan, RICO could also be used against environmental and anti-nuclear groups' blockades. Since the Los Angeles rebellion, RICO has been used to indict members of gangs, which the government calls "conspiracies." One commentator on the crackdown in L.A., labor historian Mike Davis, calls RICO "an all-embracing conspiracy statute that circumvents traditional canons of evidence and due process," parallel to the anti-sedition laws of the post-World War I period.

Clearly NOW's goal of stopping the attacks on abortion clinics is an urgent one. However, Souter's decision brings home that to fight the anti-abortionists, we can't look to laws that defend capitalism, but have to fight, uncompromisingly, for women's liberation.

—L.B.C.

## Women Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

More than 1,000 women gathered in Costa del Sol, El Salvador in late 1993 for the Sixth Feminist Encuentro of Latin America and the Caribbean, despite efforts by the right-wing ARENA party to keep them away. Conference organizers and service providers faced death threats; TV, radio and newspaper ads warned women not to attend; and over 100 women were detained for hours at the airport the day before it started.

In the spirit of the South Korean "comfort women" (sexually enslaved by the Japanese military during WWII) who are demanding reparations, the Korean Women's Associations United, a coalition of 12 women's organizations, has presented to the National Assembly a draft Special Sexual Violence Act. It demands changing the definition of sexual violence from "violence against women's purity" to "violence against women's self-determination." Other demands include: protecting all women regardless of status; the inclusion of not only rape but sexual harassment; prompt action in achieving justice, and government shelters to aid victims.

—Information from *Women's News Watch*



# Wave of strikes in Eastern Europe

by Stephen Steiger

**Prague, Czech Republic**—A wave of strikes going on in Romania, Belarus, Russia and Ukraine these days documents palpably the worsening living conditions of a great part of the population.

In Minsk, the capital of **BELARUS**, one of the most conservative of the former "Soviet" republics, free trade unions called for a general, political and unlimited strike in order to force both the Supreme Soviet and the government to resign and to have premature parliamentary elections. To appease the workers the prime minister appealed for a return to some economic measures used under the "Soviet" system, among them government-controlled stable prices.

In **ROMANIA** there were several clashes between police and striking miners in the regional city of Tirgu Jiu. About a thousand miners penetrated by force into the building of the prefecture. The miners have not been paid their wages for at least the last two months.

In neighboring **UKRAINE** more than a hundred miners from the coal region of Donetsk held a hunger strike

inside the building of the State Committee for Coal Industry. Some of the pits had not been able to pay the miners' wages since last December because their customers did not pay for the coal supplied to them. The miners issued a proclamation in which they declared:

"We want to hear from the Ukrainian president what we can expect, what our families can expect. Mr. President, you have promised to meet us. However, you did not keep your promise and you made plain you despised the labor collectives that have sent us to Kiev [the capital]. We will not allow anybody to deceive us."

In **RUSSIA** employees of the universities, including students of 180 of them in 55 regions, held a one-day all-federation protest. A few hundred employees of the institutes and offices in the branches of science, culture and education gathered in Moscow at a peaceful demonstration holding up a banner with the following words on it: "Today it is the students who are starving—tomorrow we will have only a crippled Russia—scientists that go begging are a shame for the government and the president."

The doctors of Moscow emergency services will go on strike beginning March 1. Starting Feb. 21 workers of the wood industry went on strike; strike threats came from the communications employees, telephone operators and workers of some branches of the armaments industry. There are two immediate reasons for these phenomena: lack of government finances for wages as well as debts the government has already made in this respect.

Most of the coal districts were not working in mid-February, the rest being on strike alert. As so often in

(continued on page 9)

## Reactions to Chiapas

**Chicago, Ill.**—It has been a month and a half since rebels mounted an attack on the government in the state of Chiapas in southern Mexico. When I went to work the day after the rebellion began, I was amazed at my co-workers' reactions.

Several workers, including myself, were on break when one of them said he wanted to read the paper, especially on the rebellion. At this point several others decided that they wanted to read about it too, so a struggle began over the one paper that was in the break room. The struggle ended when someone suggested going out to get other papers from the machine.

After everyone was settled with their own paper and quietly reading, several of them made comments such as: "They do the Indians down there just as they do up here" and "I've been hearing that the Mexican people want NAFTA and then I find out that many of them don't want it, just like us." There was "joy" at seeing a revolution unfold right before their eyes in a place that is not too far from here. I did not hear one negative comment about the rebellion.

I have never heard any of these people say anything about politics or revolution. It is like these workers are silently waiting for something like this to happen so they can rise up against the rulers of this world of misery. How many more workers who feel the same way are out there?—the Silent Revolutionaries just waiting patiently for the sign.

I am glad that the Chiapas revolutionaries had the courage to carry out their revolt and not remain silent any longer, yet I am sad about the reprisals many will have to suffer at the hands of the government and its soldiers. I am the son of a Mexican national, and I am proud that the rebellion took place in Mexico, where I have seen the misery first-hand. I am angry about the lies that both the Mexican and U.S. governments have been feeding us. I still have many questions, such as: What is the link between Chiapas and the Los Angeles rebellion of 1992? What would Karl Marx and Raya Dunayevskaya have to say about the revolt? How does revolutionary philosophy fit into the picture?

I have a book at home that shows that foods such as corn, beans, chili peppers and tomatoes originated in Mexico and Central America and fanned out all over the world. Perhaps the seeds of the new revolution will do the same.

—Martin Almora

## Oberlin threatens workers

**Oberlin, Ohio**—The Oberlin College Employees Association—food service workers, custodians, grounds keepers and maintenance workers—sought affiliation with the UAW (United Auto Workers) in 1991. The NLRB (Labor Board) forced it to recognize the union in 1992. Now Oberlin is trying to break the union instead of negotiating a first contract. The Labor Board has charged the college with intimidating employees.

We joined the UAW because the new human resources director, A.G. Monaco, changed the custodians' shifts and put us in teams, what they call performance management. We must log every time we go into a room and say how long we spend in it. They tell you how long you have to clean a room. Two days are never alike. Maybe you'll find a room trashed one day. The next day it will be almost clean.

Our number one demand is better health and safety. The college health and safety person walked us through the biology and science building where chemicals are stored and said don't touch the counter tops. That was our training. In Stockroom Number 163, the supervisors said nothing will hurt us if it is knocked off of the shelf. What's on the shelf is strychnine, acid and formaldehyde. They tell us to walk in rooms every day where signs say "Radiation. Do Not Enter."

We are supposed to dispose of animal waste and rats they experiment on in plastic bags that burst like pieces of paper. Six custodians must take our 15-minute breaks in the janitors' room where there are supplies and dirty mops, and which is four feet wide and eight feet long.

When the employees went to an Oberlin trustees meeting, Pat Penn, dean of students, told us to leave. The students stomped their feet and shouted, "No, we want them here!" We were allowed to stay. The students have also held meetings on campus about performance management, and the UAW has met with them.

—Custodian



German metalworkers held a series of three-hour strikes in early February to demand higher wages. About 600,000 metalworking jobs have been eliminated in the last three years. *The New York Times* (Feb. 13, 1994) opined: "To create new jobs, Germany may find itself forced to move to lower-wage, lower-skilled jobs, as the United States did during the 1980's."

## Secret labor dispute

*Editor's note: The following article is excerpted from the front page of the Jackson Advocate, "The Voice of Black Mississippians," Feb. 17-23, 1994.*

Workers at Jackson's Frito-Lay plant are scheduled to vote for the fifth time on a union contract today (Thursday, Feb. 17). Four other votes, the last being Friday, Feb. 11, ended in rejection.

Although the labor dispute has been brewing for several months, it has received virtually no media attention... In addition to an equitable wage increase, employees' contract demands involve a wide range of issues, including remedying claims of racist practices against the predominantly African American workforce...

Longtime plant manager Ron Mills was transferred last fall amid charges of racism. Workers charged that supervisor Alex Stennis... frequently made racial slurs toward Black employees, especially women, and he too was transferred.

Workers are demanding a wage increase which will put them on the same level as other plants across the southeast. According to one worker who requested anonymity, the average wage at the Jackson plant is nearly \$2 per hour lower than the Charlotte, North Carolina plant, which is the next lowest.

Frito-Lay employees also took issue with a company proposal to go from three eight-hour shifts to two 12-hour shifts because it meant the loss of jobs. However, that plan has already been scrapped...

Yet another issue drawing controversy among workers is a plan to give an entire department a \$1 per hour across-the-board raise. The plan doesn't sit well with the majority of Frito-Lay employees because the department is made up of 21 whites and two Blacks; and no such proposal was offered other workers. Therefore, the predominantly Black workforce considers the proposal to be racist.

Workers in that department would also receive whatever wage increase given other employees when contract negotiations are completed. The best wage offer so far, the *Advocate* was told, has been 28 cents over a three-year period.

Demands also include providing benefits for part-time workers, who are said to make up about 20 percent of the plant's labor force.

## 'Ergonomics' at GM

**Oklahoma City, Okla.**—We have been working without a local contract since September. We were supposed to strike March 2, but the union and General Motors (GM) reached a tentative agreement at the last minute. We never know what we lost until a lot later, but the big issue here is ergonomics, which is just a GM-union safety expert trying to make the job easy enough so a person won't get hurt. GM says it lowers their liability insurance, but they are still hurting people by overloading them. Right now, 15% of the work force is on workers' comp. That's out of 4,500 people in the plant.

The current situation started out with too many unresolved 78s (grievances). As soon as GM overloads a job, the union files a 78. There were about 500 78s plantwide as of last fall. A good share of them were from the body shop. The union bargained them down to about 130 before calling for a strike.

Just a few days before the strike date, so many people were out that they couldn't give us emergency breaks. "If you got to go, you got to go" was the idea that went down the line, and people left on breaks as they saw fit. In the body shop, welds went by, but there weren't any team leaders to fill in.

On one welding operation, people came up with sore wrists, tendonitis and carpal tunnel syndrome. OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Administration) came in and said there were too many repetitive welds on that job. Where someone has to put a complete line of welds across the rocker panel, the company took off 14 welds. They left 32 welds. We do 77 bodies an hour.

When they set up VIP, the Voluntary Input Process—which is really team concept—they said we either have to join a team or stay on a job. If you join a team, you rotate onto all the jobs in your group. You never get to know an easier way to do the job. One guy rotated off his regular job one day, and he ended up on sick leave for the next four months. They had put him on a job he wasn't familiar with, and he tripped and hurt his ankle.

They are trying to take as much out of us as possible before shutting down or automating completely.

—GM worker

## Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

ordering the Monday walkout, the first day UPS was to impose the 150-pound limit. Now UPS has sued the Teamsters for \$50 million for the one-day walkout. UPS is big money, they have the courts on their side. I believe they want to send a message to Teamsters, saying if you stand up for your rights, if your leadership doesn't negotiate away your rights, we will hurt you.

As a freight Teamster, I feel proud we finally have a union that said to hell with the judge, we're not going to injure ourselves handling 150 pounds. Our national freight contract expires next month, and that UPS walkout, together with the dues increase we are voting on this month to strengthen the strike fund, is the right message to send the freight companies: we are serious and will go all the way if need be.

The biggest issue for us is double-breasting. Union companies open non-union subsidiaries and divert business to them. Then they cry they can't compete with non-union companies so we have to make concessions. But it is their own non-union companies they are "competing" against!

### NON-UNION AND PART-TIME WORKERS

On the day of the UPS walkout, a Federal Express driver said he hoped the UPS drivers won, because if UPS went up to 150 pounds, Federal Express would go up to 200 pounds! Federal Express is non-union, so the workers have no say. To that non-union worker, a victory by the unionized UPS workers was a victory for him.

I have heard the word "scab" misused at work to mean, not a worker, union or non-union, who crosses a picket line, but simply a non-union worker. That is a dangerous attitude. Management has every intention to take away our rights and pay and reduce us to the condition of non-union companies. They would love to divide us. The non-union worker is not our enemy.

Thousands of workers try to unionize and are fired every year. Millions more don't even try because there seems to be no way, with the laws and NLRB (Labor Board) stacked against workers, not to mention contradictions in the unions themselves. Since deregulation of trucking, railroads and airlines in the early '80s, most union trucking companies have shut down.

It doesn't mean the companies aren't lying when they cry about competition. Most of LTL (less than truckload) freight is still carried by unionized trucking. Their main bargaining organization, TMI (Trucking Management Incorporated), wants to begin a part-timer job classification like at UPS, which would also be lower paid. UPS got that a number of contracts ago, and now I believe almost half of UPS workers are lower paid part-timers. And no progress was made on that in the last contract.

TMI also wants to do like UPS in getting "production and performance" standards. We handle a lot more than 150 pounds. We need the time to do the job safely and do it right. We cannot let the companies set production standards on this kind of job.

When UPS workers walked, they helped us in our negotiations, and helped non-union Federal Express workers. When previous UPS union leaders gave up concessions on part-timers and productivity, that has come down to hurt us too. Union and non-union, we are all in this together.

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

by Raya Dunayevskaya  
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

*Editor's note: This spring News and Letters Committees will hold a special class series on "Why Hegel's Phenomenology? Why Now?" As part of the preparation for this series, we publish here for the first time anywhere excerpts of Raya Dunayevskaya's letter of Nov. 11, 1963 to Erich Fromm, which focuses on the section of Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind entitled "Spirit in Self-Estrangement." All quotes in the following text are from the translation by J.B. Baillie (London: Allen & Unwin, 1931). The first parenthetical pagination refers to the Baillie translation (designated by 'B'); the second is to the translation by A.B. Miller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), designated by 'M.' All footnotes have been supplied by the editors.*

To participate in the class series, see the announcement below and contact News & Letters for a syllabus and schedule of classes in your area.

The central reason for this correspondence is a sort of an appeal to you for a dialogue on Hegel between us. I believe I once told you that I had for a long time carried on such a written discussion with Herbert Marcuse, especially relating to the "Absolute Idea." With his publication of Soviet Marxism, this became impossible because, whereas we had never seen eye to eye, until his rationale for Communism the difference in viewpoints only helped the development of ideas, but the gulf widened too much afterward. There are so few—in fact, to be perfectly frank, I know none—Hegelians in this country that are also interested in Marxism that I'm presently very nearly compelled "to talk to myself." Would a Hegelian dialogue interest you?

I should confess at once that I do not have your sympathy for Existentialism, but until Sartre's declaration that he was now a Marxist, our worlds were very far apart. With his Critique de la Raison Dialectique (the Introduction of which has just been published here under the title, Search For A Method) I felt I had to take issue. I enclose my review of it, which is mimeographed for the time being, but I hope to publish it both in English and French.<sup>1</sup> In any case, it was in the process of my work on this that I reread the section of Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind which deals with "Spirit in Self-Estrangement—the Discipline of Culture." Not only did I find this a great deal more illuminating than the contemporary works on Sartre, but I suddenly also saw a parallel between this and Marx's [concept of the] "Fetishism of Commodities." With your indulgence, I would like to develop this here, and hope it elicits comments from you.

The amazing Hegelian critique of culture relates both to the unusual sight of an intellectual criticizing culture, the culture of the Enlightenment at that, and to the historic period criticized since this form of alienation follows the victory of Reason over self-consciousness. Politically speaking, such a period I would call "What Happens After?", that is to say, what happens after a revolution has succeeded and we still get, not so much a new society, as a new bureaucracy? Now let's follow the dialectic of Hegel's argument:

First of all he establishes (p.510B; 295M) that "Spirit in this case, therefore, constructs not merely one world, but a twofold world, divided and self-opposed."

Secondly, it is not only those who aligned with state power ("the haughty vassal") (p.528B; p.307M)—from Louis XIV's "L'eta c'est moi" to the Maos of today who, now that they identify state power and wealth with themselves, of necessity enter a new stage: "in place of revolt appears arrogance" (p.539B; p.315M)—who feel the potency of his dialectic. It is his own chosen field: knowledge, ranging all the way from a criticism of Ba-

con's "Knowledge is power," (p.515B; p.298M) to Kant's "Pure ego is the absolute unity of apperception" (p.552B; p.323M). Here is why he is so critical of thought:

*"This type of spiritual life is the absolute and universal inversion of reality and thought, their entire estrangement the one from the other; it is pure culture. What is found out in this sphere is that neither the concrete realities, state power and wealth, nor their determinate conceptions, good and bad, nor the consciousness of good and bad (the consciousness that is noble and the consciousness that is base) possess real truth; it is found that all these moments are inverted and transmuted the one into the other, and each is the opposite of itself." (p.541B; p.316M)*

Now this inversion of thought to reality is exactly what Marx deals with in "The Fetishism of Commodities," [in Vol. I of Capital] and it is the reason for his confidence in the proletariat as Reason as against the bourgeois "false consciousness," or the fall of philosophy to ideology. Marx insists that a commodity, far from being something as simple as it appears, is a "fetish" which makes the conditions of capitalist production appear as self-evident truths of social production. All look

where the individual will is still struggling with the universal will? Well, it is nothing but—terror.

The forms of alienation in "Absolute Freedom and Terror" are so bound up with "pure personality" that I could hardly keep myself, when reading, from "asking" Hegel: how did you meet Sartre? "It is conscious of its pure personality and with that of all spiritual reality; and all reality is solely spirituality; the world is for it absolutely its own will." (p.600B; p.356M) And further:

*What that freedom contained was the world absolutely in the form of consciousness, as a universal will... The form of culture, which it attains in interaction with that essential nature, is, therefore, the grandest and the last, is that of seeing its pure and simple reality immediately disappear and pass away into empty nothingness... All these determinate elements disappear with the disaster and ruin that overtake the self in the state of absolute freedom; its negation is meaningless death, sheer horror of the negative which has nothing positive in it, nothing that gives a filling." (p.608B; p.362M)*

This was the result of getting itself ("the pure personality") in "the rage and fury of destruction"—only to find "isolated singleness":

*"Now that it is done with destroying the organiza-*

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On the 150th anniversary of Marx's Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844

### Why Hegel's Phenomenology? Why Now?

*"It never fails that, at momentous world historic turning points, it is very difficult to tell the difference between two types of twilight—whether one is first plunging into utter darkness or whether one has reached the end of long night and is just at the moment before the dawn of a new day. In either case, the challenge to find the meaning—what Hegel called 'the undefined foreboding of something unknown'—becomes a compulsion to dig for new beginnings, for a philosophy that would try to answer the question, 'Where to Begin?'"*

—Raya Dunayevskaya, 1987

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The Preface and Introduction to Hegel's Phenomenology

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##### The Master/Slave Dialectic

Labor, the Black and Latino Dimensions, and Women's Liberation

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Stoicism, Skepticism, and the Unhappy Consciousness

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##### Spirit in Self-Estrangement (I)

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at the appearance, therefore, the duality of the commodity, of the labor incorporated in it, of the whole society based on commodity "culture." It is true that the greater part of his famous section is concerned with showing that the fantastic form of appearance of the relations between men as if it were an exchange of things is the truth of relations in the factory itself where the worker has been transformed into an appendage to a machine. But the very crucial footnotes all relate to the fact that even the discoverers of labor as the source of value, Smith and Ricardo, could not escape becoming prisoners of this fetishism because therein they met their historic barrier.

Whether you think of it as "fetishism of commodities" or "the discipline of culture," the "absolute inversion" of thought to reality has a dialectic all its own when it comes to the rootless intellectual. Take Enlightenment. Despite its great fight against superstition, despite its great achievement—"Enlightenment upsets the household arrangements, which spirit carries out in the house of faith, by bringing in the goods and furnishings belonging to the world of the Here and Now..." (p.512B; p.296M)—it remains "an alienated type of mind": "Enlightenment itself, however, which reminds belief of the opposite of its various separate moments, is just as little enlightened regarding its own nature. It takes up a purely negative attitude to belief..." (p.582B; p.344M).

In a word, because no new universal—Marx too speaks that only true negativity can produce the "quest for universal" and hence a new society—was born to counterpose to superstition or the unhappy consciousness, we remain within the narrow confines of "the discipline of culture"—and this even when Enlightenment has found its truth in Materialism, or Agnosticism, or Utilitarianism. For unless it has found it in freedom, there is no movement forward either of humanity or "the spirit." And what is freedom in this inverted world

tion of the actual world, and subsists in isolated singleness, this is its sole object, an object that has no other content left, no other possession, existence and external extension, but is merely this knowledge of itself as absolutely pure and free individual self." (p.605B; p.360M)

I wish also that all the believers in the "vanguard party to lead" studied hard—and not as an "idealist," but as the most farseeing realist—the manner in which Hegel arrives at his conclusions through a study that the state, far from representing the "universal will" represents not even a party, but only a "faction." (p.605B; p.360M, Hegel's emphasis) But then it really wouldn't be "the self-alienated type of mind" Hegel is tracing through development of the various stages of alienation in consciousness, and Marx does it in production and the intellectual spheres that correspond to these relations.

It happens that I take seriously Marx's statement that "all elements of criticism lie hidden in it (The Phenomenology) and are often already prepared and worked out in a manner extending far beyond the Hegelian standpoint. The sections on 'Unhappy Consciousness,' the 'Honorable Consciousness,' the fight of the noble and downtrodden consciousness, etc., etc. contain the critical elements—although still in an alienated form—of whole spheres like Religion, the State, Civic Life, etc."<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, I believe that the unfinished state of Marx's Humanist Essays makes imperative that we delve into Hegel, not for any scholastic reasons, but because it is of the essence for the understanding of today.

2. This quote is from Marx's "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic," the concluding essay in his Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844, also known as his "Humanist Essays." For Dunayevskaya's translation of this essay (which she was the first to publish in English), see Appendix A to the 1958 edition of her Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 until Today.

1. For Dunayevskaya's critique of Search for a Method, see "Sartre's Method to Undermine Marxism" in News & Letters, Oct. 1963. See also "Jean-Paul Sartre: Outsider Looking In," in Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), pp. 188-212.

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# The rebellion in Chiapas: Is it a new form of struggle?

(continued from page 1)

In Chiapas the consequences of these policies are explicit: The percentage of all the households that have both running water and access to sewers are 18.4% and 10.7% respectively; and of all the population only 34.9% have electricity in a state that generates 60.5% of all the electricity produced in Mexico. Malnutrition in Chiapas is the highest in Mexico: 66.7% (among children: 88.6%). Almost 60% of the children of school age do not receive an education. Poverty is the everyday condition for most of the people in this southern state.

The implementation of neo-liberal policies in Latin America has not only economic and social aspects, but also political ones. The so-called political liberalization that "promotes" an image of democratization has not changed the repressive characteristics of the current governments of the region, especially the Mexican one where abuses of power, electoral fraud and violations of human rights are constantly being denounced by worker and peasant organizations.

## THE PROBLEM OF THE LAND

At the root of the problem of the peasants is the ownership of land. The violence against the indigenous people of Mexico throughout their history is manifested in the plunder of their communal land (ejidos) and their resources, and in the violation of the most basic human rights. The historical struggles of the indigenous people to recover their communal lands, not only in Chiapas, but all over the Americas, were not for the sake of owning the land to get a profit from it, but for the simple reason that the common traditional use of the land means freedom for the ones who work on it, it means the space to develop all the capacities which make a person a total human being.

Already in 1928, the Peruvian Marxist Jose Carlos Mariategui wrote that the destruction of the Indian communal lands did not make the Indians either small landowners or free workers. It only meant the formation of latifundia (big landed estates) owned by few non-Indian landlords.<sup>1</sup>

Though under the *latifundia* regime Indian communal work has been extinguished through years of brutal repression, cooperation and solidarity still exist. The Zapatistas' call to the rest of the Mexican people to be part of their struggle is a clear demonstration of the traditional spirit of solidarity and cooperation among indigenous people.

In the last two decades, unjustified detentions, torture and murder of peasant organizers, and the clearing out of whole villages occurred in the state of Chiapas. On Jan. 6, 1992, with the reform of Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution, poor peasants' access to land was terminated in favor of big landlords, thus promoting the formation of *latifundia*.

This land reform, along with the dismantling of support for agriculture, and free trade of basic grains, which will be expanded under NAFTA, is provoking the displacement, migration and uprooting of rural workers from their homeland to areas where industry is concentrated—Mexico City, the maquiladoras belt in northern Mexico, and the U.S.

There is no doubt that the struggle of the Zapatistas to recover their lands, the ejidos, and put an end to the *latifundia* system is primary for the peasants in order to change their current oppressive relations of production. As Raya Dunayevskaya, the founder of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., put it: "For Marx the abolition of private property was not an end in itself but a means toward the abolition of the alienated mode of labor. He did not separate one from the other."<sup>2</sup>

## A NEW FORM OF STRUGGLE

Under these conditions a whole people rose up in arms in a way that took by surprise not only the government, but also a wide spectrum of the so-called Left.

The racist Salinas government became obsessed when it could not identify a "white" vanguard elite leading the Zapatista uprising. Advised by the U.S. ambassador to Mexico, James Jones, the government suggested at first

that Cuban and Central American guerrillas were linked to the uprising. This racist obsession of ignoring the leading role of the Mayan Indians (Tzotzil, Tzeltal, Chol, Tojolabal and other nations) of Chiapas in the revolt is making the government the target of mockery by the population.

On this matter, a communique from the Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committee of the EZLN dated Jan. 6, 1994 was eloquent: "The EZLN does not have foreigners in its ranks or among its leadership, nor has it ever received any support or training from revolutionary forces of other countries or from foreign governments...The commanders and troop elements of the EZLN are mostly Indians from Chiapas. This is so because the indigenous represent the poorest and most



humiliated sector of Mexico, and also, as can be seen, the most dignified."

On the other hand, Maoists, Stalinists, Trotskyists and Castroists are obsessively looking for a "vanguard" run by a small cadre of unchallenged and enlightened leaders, thereby reproducing the elitist, classist and racist rationale of the government. As against such a concept of the backwardness of the masses, the EZLN was explicit in a press release dated Jan. 20, 1994: "Revolutionary social change in Mexico will not be under the sole leadership of a homogeneous group with a caudillo (leader) that guides it."

## UNIVERSAL CHARACTER OF THE STRUGGLE

The Mexican state did not wait a minute to terrorize Indian villages after the uprising through bombings against the civilian population, summary executions, detentions, kidnapping, robbery and torture. On Jan. 8, 21 Indians from Chanal, a village 30 miles east of San Cristobal, were arrested and tortured. On Jan. 12, in Ocosingo, a town that was the scene of the heaviest confrontation between the Zapatistas and the Mexican army, more than 150 people died from government bombings. The government used 21 helicopters, provided by the U.S. for drug control operations, against the mass uprising.

Despite this repression, Indians and non-Indians are fighting back not only in the state of Chiapas, but all over Mexico. On Jan. 12, 250,000 workers, peasants and students demonstrated in Mexico City in support of the indigenous people and peasants fighting the EZLN and demanding the end of hostilities on the part of the Mexican federal army.

Since the beginning of the uprising, the Zapatistas made sure to build a bridge between the Mayan Indian peasants in revolt and the rest of the worker and peasant masses of Mexico.

In Puebla on Feb. 8, "a new peasant group calling itself the 'Southern Puebla Zapatista Movement' was formed. It...draws support from 3,000 people in 60 Mixtec Indian communities...(and) it backs the 'social and political plans' of the EZLN" (The Christian Science Monitor, Feb. 11, 1994). In Michoacan, sugar cane workers who have been protesting the closure of the local processing plant are prepared to join the EZLN. In the same state, Purepechan Indians are organizing against the misuse of public funds by the ruling party.

In the city of Juchitan, Oaxaca, 100,000 people, most of them Indians, held a rally in support of the people in Chiapas, claiming the fight of the EZLN as their own. In the northern state of Coahuila, thousands of peasants demonstrated in support of the EZLN's demands and to start an offensive in defense of the *ejido*. In Chiapas, since Feb. 7, at least five town halls were occupied and the Pan-American Highway was blocked by peasant organizations that are demanding the removal of 21 municipal presidents (mayors) for corruption.

Despite the government's shortsighted view of the re-

volt, considering it a "local problem," the national mobilization of hundreds of thousands of peasants and workers shows the universality of the struggle of the Zapatistas which represents the Idea of a human, nonalienated world. This same universality is shown in the fact that more than one-third of the Zapatistas are young women (from 15 to 20 years of age), many of whom are leading the uprising. In their communiques the EZLN made it known that women are also primary protagonists in the revolutionary struggle.

## DIVIDE, CO-OPT AND CONQUER

On the same day as the massacre of Ocosingo, Mexican president Carlos Salinas de Gortari ordered a unilateral cease-fire due to pressure from social and political movements and organizations of the country as well as the national and international media.

The governments' negotiator, Camacho Solis, is trying to split the EZLN using an old but still fashionable tactic among the oppressors: "divide, co-opt and conquer." According to The Christian Science Monitor (Feb. 9, 1994): "Camacho will be trying to split the EZLN into soft-and hard-liners. He will try to win over those who may be ready to sell out...and 'Satanize' the rest...(declaring them) outlaws and bandits and the army will be sent in." Camacho, like the racist government he represents, is at the same time considering a recognition of the EZLN only under the condition they step down from a military to a political force, a situation the EZLN rejects.

## PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

In calling on the working masses of Mexico, Indians and non-Indians, to rise against the state which is oppressing them, the Zapatistas know that without the masses there is no alternative but a mere reformism, or eventually the replacement of the current capitalist state in its essence, like the state-capitalism of China or Cuba.

The struggle that the EZLN began and that seems to be expanding in the rest of the country is reaching for a vision of a new society, of new social relations, that can be developed toward the total transformation of the socially and economically unequal conditions that maintain and reproduce the misery of the indigenous people. The struggle of the Zapatistas is a beginning in this transformation, but a final analysis of this struggle is premature.

We do not know yet with certainty if there is a philosophy of revolution behind the Zapatistas. Again, citing Raya Dunayevskaya: "The transformation of reality has a dialectic all its own. It demands a unity of the struggles for freedom with a philosophy of liberation. Only then does the elemental revolt release new sensibilities, new passions, and new forces—a whole new human dimension." For "without a philosophy of revolution, activism spends itself in mere...anti-capitalism, without ever revealing what it is for."<sup>3</sup>

The inseparability of philosophy and revolution is a primary condition for the oppressed masses of Mexico to succeed in their revolutionary aspirations. The current "peace" negotiations between the Zapatistas and the Mexican state will give us another sign whether the struggle that started on New Year's Day is for a new beginning or for a mere reformism.

3. See Raya Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), p. 292 and her *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1991), p. 194.

## Mexicans and Ecuadorans Report on native revolts

**New York**—A tour of activists from indigenous communities in Mexico and Ecuador launched a tour of the U.S. Feb. 18, sponsored by a coalition of U.S. Native American, environmental, and academic groups.

Juan Hernandez Meza and Maria Meza Guzman, representing COLPUMALAI, 11 Maya organizations in Chiapas, Mexico, spoke of the military-led massacre that followed the Jan. 1 uprising there. The massacre and the uprising itself were the outcome of "race discrimination and the monopolization of everything by the Mexican state, from the means of communication to the means of physical survival."

The starkest proof of unrelenting discrimination, he said, was the way in which the Mayan is still thought of as good "only for carrying heavy loads like a donkey." The main purpose of his trip was to consolidate support from solidarity organizations because there were sure to be new uprisings in Chiapas and in other states.

Hector Villamil and Leonardo Viteri from the Amazon region of Puyo in Ecuador told of the historic, 400-kilometer march to the capital, in 1992 part of a successful struggle of indigenous people to legalize holdings of 800,000 hectares (2 million acres) of their own land. Their struggle continues, especially against the Arco and Texaco oil companies which have mapped out 2 million hectares (4.9 million acres) where they plan to prepare for exploitation by detonating 92,000 kilos (2,200 tons) of explosives.

The activists described how two entire peoples have already disappeared from the face of the earth, "buried with their environmental knowledge," including medicine, and unique cultural traditions.

For more information about the tour call (707) 839-1178.

—Victor Hart

1. Jose Carlos Mariategui, *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971).
2. Raya Dunayevskaya, *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism* (Chicago: News and Letters, 1992), p. 21.

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## THE REAL STATE OF THE UNION

After reading the labor page of the Jan.-Feb. issue of N&L, I felt damn proud of an organization that could produce such a newspaper. B. Ann Lastelle's critique of the white male "well-paid" AFL-CIO type unionism in favor of Cesar Chavez's "political education" unionism speaks powerfully to what I have experienced working with sweated, immigrant labor here in New York. The conditions described on the same page by Black workers in the South sound very close to the conditions experienced by Chinese garment workers here. And the workers I have met from the Chinese Workers' and Staff Association have shown great interest in a broad-based concept of unionism rooted in educating the workers as to the true nature of this system—again, exactly what you have reported in terms of new developments in the South. Something new may be stirring from below, and it's crucial to record it.

J.M.  
New York

\* \* \*

NAFTA isn't the only thing binding Clinton and the Republicans in an unholy alliance. Both want to add 252,000 federal workers to the jobless rolls, making the earlier GM layoffs seem like a preview of horror shows not yet released. The Republicans didn't hesitate to cough up \$25,000 a head to encourage early retirements in the notoriously male CIA and the Defense Department. But they're crying the deficit blues now that Clinton wants the same for the women who will be axed from the social programs he is so willing to cut. After more than 20 years on Maggie's Farm, I've seen only one difference between them: Democrats are supreme bureaucrats while Republicans are utter thieves. However, Clinton has the markings of a different animal—a wolf in a woolly coat.

Jan Kollwitz  
Chicago

\* \* \*

Clinton's speeches are really getting me mad. He claims his administration is willing to spend \$23,000 a year on housing a homeless person, but who can believe such a claim when he won't spend a nickel of government money trying to create jobs for the homeless?

Teamster  
New York

\* \* \*

The proposals to push people off welfare is one way the capitalists think they can force people to take any job at all while pumping more labor out of those still employed. It has nothing to do with "ending conditions of social dependency" as Clinton claims. What situation of greater "social dependency" is there than being forced to endure endless deprivation as a result of laboring in dead-end minimum wage jobs?

Sociologist  
Chicago

\* \* \*

I've just recently become unemployed and some of the things we've studied in Chapter One of Marx's Capital came alive to me. Marx says that capital is the death of life itself because it removes the human being from the activity of laboring. You see that even in something like applying for unemployment benefits: an automatic telephone answers, dictates questions, and even determines how and when you answer them.

Marina  
New York

\* \* \*

In Canada I see the beginnings of mass homelessness. The so-called "underclass" has grown so large that it has gotten out of hand. It definitely is larger than the capitalists would need if they just wanted to frighten other workers into accepting lower wages. Capitalism is such an irrational system that you can't assume the rulers have any set plan behind what they do. For instance, Reagan and Bush made huge cuts in welfare supposedly in order to cut down on government spending, but the savings were more than offset by massive increases in spending for prisons.

Activist  
Canada

\* \* \*

Reading the article from the General Motors plant in Oklahoma in the Jan.-

Feb. N&L really got my blood running hot. I retired from GM in 1982. I fought all my life against someone standing over me, trying to time me on the job—and now I see where GM is timing what they call "value time" and "non-value time," and if you're working less than 55 seconds each minute they want to add more work! That was the most awful thing I have ever read—it made me wish I could go back in the plant to join with other workers to fight it!

General Motors has really transformed live human beings into parts of the machine. I still suffer day and night from what GM did to me, in making me work to produce surplus value for the capitalists. My shoulders, my back, are killing me constantly. There is no labor movement today that is challenging all this. Workers for too long have let others do their thinking for them.

Felix Martin  
Los Angeles

\* \* \*

I am currently incarcerated and cut off from the battle to eliminate the repression practiced by the corporate-capitalist ruling class in this country. N&L is very important, as it is important to keep informed of the struggles that others are fighting. Until we learn to stand together as one, and everyone understands that all forms of oppression are linked, we will never achieve true justice for all. As corruption and repression grows, so must our resistance. It matters little how you choose to resist. The important thing is that you resist and teach others to resist the global capitalist system. Thank you for printing your paper. At least you are trying to wake up those who are given the illusion of choice. Until those in power no longer control our choices, they will also control the outcome of our decisions.

Prisoner  
Texas

## THE TWO WORLDS OF BLACK AMERICA



I went to a rally for Martin Luther King Day, where we heard Black leaders like Cecil Williams and Willy Brown. They said don't be against the system, but be against Blacks killing other Blacks. It's a totally false opposition. No one mentioned that Black-on-Black crime flows from the social crisis of the inner cities, which is deeply rooted in the loss of employment and educational opportunities. Does Willy Brown really think he's going to get the ear of Black America talking like that? Or is he really aiming to get the ear of white America?

Angry  
Oakland

\* \* \*

Farrakhan's politics have been known for a long time. So why does he remain such a factor in the community? Much of it has to do with the political compromises of the established Black leadership, which place them in a different social reality than experienced by the mass of African Americans. Because Farrakhan is viewed as a pariah by those who identify with the system, he is automatically viewed by many youth as a viable option to support—his reactionary and pro-capitalist positions notwithstanding.

Civil Rights veteran  
Chicago

\* \* \*

The Black community has apparently become progressively more radicalized here over the last few years. Things really escalated in November after police shot and killed a young Black man. Reports vary, but the gist of it is the guy was shot 16 times, 14 in the back. They held a kangaroo coroner's inquest last Tuesday, and, big surprise, ruled it a justified shooting. About 400 community people turned out for the inquest. It was reported in the news as "dozens." I was there. I counted. No way. The line was several abreast and stretched through almost a third corridor in the courthouse building. Very few people got in. The authorities decided to hold it in a courtroom that only held 65 people.

## Readers' Views

As best I can tell, people who came in support of the cops who did the shooting were allowed in without going through the line. I didn't get in, but people saw a lot of white people being let in. The inquest went two days. At the end, when the cops were ruled "justified," they let out a collective cheer. Somehow that didn't get quite the same media play the raised fist of the guy convicted in the Denny case got.

Subscriber  
Pittsburgh

\* \* \*

The previously unpublished essay by Richard Wright which appeared in your last issue was a real scoop. His statement that "a great drama is transpiring in the tenements" and that "few people know of its existence and comprehend its fateful meaning" could have been written today. Though Wright has recently come under attack by critics like Henry Louis Gates for trying to mirror social reality in a one-dimensional fashion in his novels, the power of his perception of Black reality is unmistakable in the piece you chose for publication.

Student of literature  
Illinois



## FIGHTING PARENTAL AND SEXUAL ABUSE

These days I tend to consider myself unshockable, but I found Lynn Hailey's article on being locked in a mental hospital for six months "for being gay and for being an activist" staggering: "In psychiatric evaluations, they constantly referred to my delusional thinking being evident in the fact that I believed a revolution would change society!" Unfortunately, such dubious views on the possibility for change are widespread. What could be more crazy and despairing than believing the world can never and will never change from exactly the way it is now? I'm glad Lynn has been released and is working with Students and Teens Opposing Psychiatric Abuse Network. When I was a teenager I had no explicit political consciousness, but I did have a great hunger for freedom, I did question authority and I did not conform. I can easily picture myself in the shoes of Lynn and the other young people she talks about.

Feminist activist  
Los Angeles

\* \* \*

Many women in the so-called developing countries live and die under a reign of terror directed by their families and condoned by the societies that they live in. These developing societies have a culture "gender millstone" hanging around their collective necks. But this "cultural millstone" also finds support in Western societies. You may have seen the report that more American women are beaten by their husbands and boyfriends during the Rose Bowl game than at any other time of the year.

A.W.  
Berkeley

## ON TODAY'S AFRICAN REALITIES



The article "Crises testing Africa's Left" by Ba Karang in the December 1993 issue of N&L not only shows the retrogression among the leftist male-dominated forces in Africa, but also serves as a mirror for the situation of the Left in Latin America. Karang even mentions Cuba when he compares different countries to Eritrea on the "reduction" of women's humanity (the reduction of their self-development and self-determination).

The author's dramatic view of Africa gives us an idea of the incredible work that the oppressed masses of this continent (and anybody in the world who is fighting for revolution, for a new beginning) have to realize. On the other hand,

and contrary to what Ba Karang writes in the article about election results in countries like Angola, Zambia and Ghana, I think elections in any capitalist (private or state-run) country only retards the masses' struggle for a new beginning. Elections in a capitalist context, to vote for capitalist rulers, legitimizes the power—in all its forms—of these rulers, so they can lead until the "masses are crowned 'mature' and 'prepared.'"

Revolutionist  
New York

\* \* \*

Have you been surprised by the generals in Nigeria? That is never the case for us; we knew they would not hand over their power and privileges as gentlemen. We must never think that we will have to wait until all the generals are dead before we could expect something different to happen. What motivated the Nigerians to face the bullet of the brutal generals and their men in the streets was not a mere wish to die; a desire for total freedom is what got them so mad. You see these generals might think they have been too smart for the people. The fact is that they are only smarter than those people who have been praising them for putting Nigeria on the road to multi-party democracy.

Ba Karang  
The Gambia, West Africa

## DIALOGUE WITH N&amp;L

After being out of touch with you for a while, I am struck with how philosophically consistent your group has remained. One of Dunayevskaya's phrases was "listen to the voices from below." It is from the masses, said Marx, that the true voices of freedom are heard, and I try to keep my eyes and ears open to such voices in my work as an historian. Your publication is one of very few from the days of the "New Left" which still exist. Did the others perish due to a void in philosophy?

E.L.S.  
Pennsylvania

\* \* \*

The reason I subscribed to N&L was to educate myself on your group's political philosophy. My interest in these matters is purely personal. I am an artist/poet enslaved by the notion that I must work dull survival jobs in this "land of the free." By studying anti-capitalist concepts I hope to gain insight into an independent struggle for personal freedom.

New subscriber  
Austin, Texas

\* \* \*

The East European revolts were also about gaining religious freedom from an official atheist past regime that abused people's freedom of conscience. The majority of people will not probably go along with anything similar to "Marxist" theory unless they can reconcile it with protecting fundamental freedom of religion. You should take such an approach. A more libertarian approach would do a lot for your organization.

Homeless college student  
Van Nuys, Cal.

\* \* \*

I am trying to wade through some of the theoretical presentations in N&L, but terms like "negation of the negation" are rarely, if ever, defined. What N&L desperately needs to do is have these writings come alive by replacing jargon with explanation—as some of your recent commentaries on Dunayevskaya's writings have tried to do.

Subscriber  
Oregon

\* \* \*

It is good to see N&L attempting to both regenerate Marxism and also break new ground. But if we are trying to be fully human, then we need to make time and space to handle controversies; only through analysis and debate will a human society come into existence. Many workers are reluctant to write—they do not yet see themselves as thinkers. Unless you find ways to encourage them to think for themselves and find their own truths, the common cause of workers of the world may be lost.

Pat Duffy  
England



**A GLOBAL RESURGENCE OF HITLER'S VISAGE?**

I want to support the idea on a parallel between Germany in the 1930s and Russia today which is discussed in "Where is Russia Going?" in the Jan.-Feb. issue. It is true that the river of history is never crossed the same way twice. However, just as the German nationalists grew in the 1930s by complaining about Germany being "on its knees" to the West, so the same thesis is spread today by its Russian counterparts.

At the same time, there is an objective obstacle facing the growth of the Right in Russia which makes it different from Germany in the 1930s—the ethnic and cultural mosaic of the country. However eloquent some future nationalist leader might be, he will never consolidate the mass support which Hitler received among the Germans. Regionalism and local nationalisms are an integral part of the present Russian life. I don't want to diminish the forthcoming fascist danger in Russia. I only wish the Russian Left could employ this and other objective conditions to fight against it.

Nikolai Zelinski  
Russia

In Russia, Zhirinovskiy a fascist, got elected to the Russian parliament because the people gave him the "green light," just as they did in Nazi Germany when Hitler came to power. There was no national media coverage on the fascist KKK demonstration in Springfield, Ill., the day before Martin Luther King day, as it wasn't important enough and such fascist demonstrations are taking place all over the country. The "green light" wasn't only given in Nazi Germany and in today's Russia, it's also being given in the United States.

Univ. of Ill. freshman  
Champaign, Ill.

When I look out at the carnage in Bosnia, I can only think of one thing—how could such outright genocide arise so soon after the East European revolutions of 1989 seemed to promise so much hope?

Feminist  
Michigan

To place any faith in Clinton's policy on Bosnia is sadly mistaken. For the past year, he and his Secretary of State have been misrepresenting the events in Bosnia as a three-sided civil war, in order to make the public feel powerless in the face of what is presented to them as ancient ethnic conflicts. In this campaign they have been helped by many reporters, who unthinkingly repeat loaded phrases like "civil war," "three-sided conflict" and "Muslim-dominated (or just Muslim) government." Would you even consider habitually attaching the term "white-dominated" to your every reference to the U.S. government and army?

The President's strategy must be seen for what it is, a cynical effort to manage public opinion. If the noises he has been making eventually do turn into some form of military intervention, it will clearly only be a token action, since his administration's goal still remains to force the Bosnians to accept an agreement, even though the agreement has in reality been imposed on them by the military aggression of Milosevic's Serbia. Such token military strikes will only be for the purpose of preventing others from taking action, both the Bosnians, who still suffer an arms embargo, and the citizens of the U.S. and of the European countries, who might otherwise put more pressure on our governments to lift the embargo.

Franklin Dmitryev  
Chicago

The revival of fascism today goes beyond skinhead violence in the streets of Germany. The Larouche paper, *New Federalist*, recently printed a petition to "free Lyndon Larouche" that carried several hundred signatures including former Chicago officials, local trade union officials, a Nation of Islam representative, and a long list from East Europe and Latin America. Then on C-SPAN I saw the head of the John Birch Society lecturing a group of college students and was surprised at the polite reception he got, despite his blatantly racist remarks. The audience David Duke

appealed to is still there.

Worried  
Chicago

In my opinion both fascism and Nazism have been social phenomena that now belong to the past. They grew up from specific circumstances. These phenomena cannot be repeated; the societies both of Germany and Italy have changed too much since then. The name "Mussolini" may appear at the head of a political party, but that does not mean it is the same party as it was under Mussolini himself. What is being called fascism or neo-fascism refers to movements or persons that may have some traits of "fascism" and use parts of fascist vocabulary. It is more comfortable to use "well known" terms instead of a laborious analysis of the changed "historic circumstances." In taking account of the similarities, we should rather try at an analysis that penetrates deeper into the understanding of the real situation.

Correspondent  
Czech Republic

**THE THEORY OF STATE-CAPITALISM**



I think "left-progressive" forces can be moved by the exposure of phony "Socialism" and "Communism" as really having been state-capitalism. There was always something smelly about "workers' states" where workers had no more control over industry than workers in the West. They had no control at all—only their ability to fight.

New subscriber  
Los Angeles

I have some questions as to the adequacy of the description of Russia as "state-capitalist." I tend to prefer the term bureaucratic collectivist, but I do so in the Simone Weil/Rosmer sense rather than in the Paul Cardan/Schactman one; i.e., I don't hold it as an alternative to "state-capitalism" but as a qualification of it. Marx said of state-capitalism that it was progressive, because "only one neck" would then

"stand between the workers and socialism"; Lenin talked of "workers' dominated (through the soviets) state capitalism," and again thought of it as progressive. Though both elsewhere used the term in a different sense, these are the most widely known exegeses on the question of state capitalism from Marx and Lenin.

Raya Dunayevskaya was, of course, insistent that she was not using state-capitalism in that sense, and I accept this, but language is a matter of custom, and when her terminology is such it is open to misinterpretation. Also, in *Capital* Marx insists that capitalism can only exist on the basis of free labor; this obviously didn't exist under Stalinism, and so again the term "state-capitalism" is in strictly Marxist terms inadequate.

Laurens Otter  
England

**UNCOVERING NEW VOICES**

One thing I found striking about the Jan.-Feb. issue was its exemplary coverage of the uprising in Chiapas. I had eagerly combed the L.A. and N.Y. newspapers for news of the revolt, and while much of the coverage was fairly sympathetic (aside from all that inane searching for "outside agitators"), nowhere but in N&L did I learn that approximately a third of the Zapatistas were women, and that there are women leaders. Only in N&L did I learn the history of revolts in Chiapas going back to 1712. I would like to hear more from Women for Dialogue, Network for Latin American Popular Education Among Women, who contributed the "Women in the revolt" article.

Finally, I loved the section on Claude McKay in the Black World column—last week on KPFK I heard an old recording of him reading a few poems, including "If We Must Die" (which today makes me think of Bosnia). I knew almost nothing about McKay and found the discussion of him in connection with Garveyism and Russia fascinating. It was wonderful to see how prescient he was about the future of Russia in the poem "We Who Revolt."

Gwynne Garfinkle  
Los Angeles

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## Black/Red View

by John Alan

African American History Month is now a national celebration. Schools and other public institutions have exhibitions and lectures on outstanding Black individuals. The Post Office issues stamps, and some states publish glossy tourist guides to places of Black heritage. Old radicals show old videos on Malcolm X and the Black Panthers. However, it is difficult to find a serious discussion on the meaning of African American history for today.

Recently, Cynthia Tucker, the editorial page editor for the *Atlanta Constitution*, challenged the very idea of celebrating Black history. In her syndicated column she wrote that to set aside a month to celebrate Black history "trivializes" it because: "To separate out the accomplishment of any group into a month-long observance undermines the concept that the history of all Americans is inextricably bound together."

Ms. Tucker's opinion is a good bourgeois democratic concept. The "melting pot" is the non-historical and unmediated view of how American civilization developed. In contrast to Tucker's view, Raya Dunayevskaya singles out in *American Civilization on Trial* the African American struggle for freedom as crucial within the history of American civilization. It does not melt down into the anonymity of American history, but instead places American civilization on trial. At the same time her pursuit of the dialectic of African American liberation movements uncovers the major contradiction within the Black movement, i.e., the need to create a theory of Black liberation to match the Black masses' desire to create a new society in America without racism. The question is, under what conditions would African American intellectuals and leaders create a real theory of liberation.

The nature of the attitude that African American leadership has toward Black masses is at the root of every ideological crisis in the leadership. It was at the root of the W.E.B. DuBois/Booker T. Washington conflict. DuBois pushed for the implementation of equal rights for African Americans when they had none. Washington worked to tie Blacks body and soul to the economy of the New South as the pathway to freedom.

In the 1920s DuBois's concept of the "talented tenth" separated him from the Black masses at the very moment thousands were joining Marcus Garvey's organization. In the 1930s Black workers broke with the anti-union policy of the middle-class leadership to play a crucial role in organizing the CIO. In the 1960s Black masses spontaneously organized themselves outside of the established organizations and found a new leadership.

Today, we find that a majority of the Black leadership has embraced President Clinton's attitude toward the Black masses. When Clinton delivered his sermon in Memphis about the amorality of Black youth ruining national economic recovery, Jesse Jackson was the first to say that the President's "sermon" was "abstract preaching." Now we find that he too embraces "abstract preaching," telling African Americans to "stop using ghetto crutches to convince yourself why you can't learn.

## Black World

(continued from page 1)

the haunting presence of Malcolm X, which is quite alive to today's Black youth, that drives Farrakhan and Muhammad to distraction.

But what of the disordered consciousness of academics like Leonard Jeffries at New York's City College, or the more perplexing case of an erstwhile scholar like Tony Martin at Wellesley College outside Boston, who have provoked controversy with their recapitulation of the NOI's phantasmagoric history of the supposed Jewish financing of the slave trade? Is the academic variant of this disorder explained simply enough by Marx's observation regarding the racist eugenics of the French ideologue Gobineau, namely that "to such people it is always a source of satisfaction to have somebody they think themselves entitled to despise"? In what does this disordered form of Black consciousness seek "satisfaction" if not in the self-conceit of its own particularity?

This mode of Black particularity has become a form of religious fundamentalism. Not only is the "violent ordinance of the world," for the fundamentalist, a law which oppresses Black folk and contradicts the "law" of its own heart. But because the Black community also does not follow its moral law, the Black fundamentalist takes it upon himself to impose the same laws of the world upon his own people that were historically responsible for oppressing them.

This is not only the logic of Farrakhan's demagogy, it describes the ideological subtext of the "established" Black leadership that have made a "covenant" with him. In each case, the agenda is the same—how to bring the people's revolutionary desire to transform their conditions under the political discipline of a fundamentalist moral code or law. And this fundamentalist "law of the heart" is as much a Christian as an Islamic creation—an alienated religiosity that claims to be the "heart of a heartless world."

Of course, the politics of Farrakhan's right-wing enemy in this shadow boxing with histories of oppression, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), is fashioned along the same fundamentalist lines. The ADL has been widely exposed for its co-conspiracy with the government to spy on progressive organizations. Moreover, its own soft-pedaling of the fascist Kach party of Meir Kahane cannot be

## Black History Month '94

Stop feeling pity...everybody's got a great ghetto story."

The shameless embrace of Clinton's attitude by the Black leadership means that they have internalized the political economy of American racism as expounded by the President. Since we can't expect to see a theory of Black liberation come from them, where will it come from? Without saying where or when, it should be noted that the ceaseless struggles of the Black masses are a catalyst for a theory of liberation, and have been the source of new ideas of freedom.

It is now more than a generation since the Civil Rights Movement. It's a generation of Black Americans that know that civil rights per se is a limited form of freedom in a society which is incapable of cleansing itself of the practice of racism. The Los Angeles revolt two years ago also revealed how deep the shards of racism are in American society. In many voices it said: the challenge is not new technology or the world market but the creation of a new human society.

## 'Race to Freedom'

Inspired by the novel *Underground to Canada* by Barbara Smucker, the made-for-TV film "Race to Freedom: The Underground Railroad" emphasizes the humanism of the Abolitionist Movement, especially the role of women.

The story begins in North Carolina where Alexander, a white Abolitionist from the North, is on his first mission for the Underground Railroad. He helps two women and two men to escape, despite being temporarily detained in jail. The escaped slaves are helped along the way by supporters both Black and white. Hardships in the wilderness and from slave-catchers result in the deaths of two, and the separation of the other two runaways, but the couple is reunited in free Canada. The woman, Sarah, has to cross two states alone, and is even shipped in a coffin to the Canadian border.

Harriet Tubman appears and argues with the white Abolitionist who tries to convince her to stop working as a "conductor" because of the new Fugitive Slave Act. She says, "To a slave, this Fugitive Law ain't nothing different from the master's whip. Now, if we ain't afraid of the whip, why do you think we're afraid of the law?"

When a runaway, Thomas, is reluctant to get on the Railroad, Harriet has to convince him to go. "Thomas, if you get caught you're just gonna fatten some slave-catcher's purse, but every slave that makes it to freedom is a hammer blow to the economy of the South."

Because Alexander must pose as a slavemaster to travel with Black runaways, Thomas gives him a lesson on how to act. He tells Alexander that what makes a master convincing is that he believes the slave to be inferior. He advises, "Don't never let your slave look you in the eye. You might see something human and you wouldn't be able to continue what you're doing." When Thomas asks Alexander why he risks his life for the movement, he speaks of how at first he was dedicating himself to a cause. Then he realized, "it's not just a cause that I've become a part of, it's people." —Julia Jones

dismissed for supposedly being a dynamic of Middle East politics. On the contrary, the Feb. 25 murderous rampage in Hebron by Kahane henchman Baruch Goldstein had its roots in the racist politics of New York City's ethnic wars. The rightward turn of Jewish politics in the U.S. has surely provided grist for the Black anti-Semitic mill.

### STREAM BENEATH THE STRAW

However, the stream running beneath the ideological debris of this straw is fed by the material interests of the Black petty bourgeoisie seeking a niche for itself in what it perceives to be U.S. capitalism's expanding market economy. In actuality, the current anti-Semitic disorder reflects the peculiar nature of the economic crisis wracking the Black community. For lodged in the interstices of the powerful contradictions between capital and labor (employed and unemployed) that have historically structured the class relations of the Black community are the mercantilist aspirations of the Black petty bourgeoisie.

Unable to master the enormity of the U.S. capital accumulation, except in the desperate form of fighting for the crumbs of primitive accumulation, this opportunist stratum is equally unprepared to follow out the dialectic of Black freedom aspirations and actions of such compelling events as the 1992 Los Angeles rebellion to their revolutionary conclusions. Instead, the Black petty bourgeoisie assumes the doubly parasitic form of both eating off the same capitalist table that oppresses the mass of its own people and then coming home to the Black community to rant and rail about the system starving poor "us." (Somewhere between the "house" and the "field" Negro is this "yard" Negro whose madness confuses "us" with the alien system that has made a career of oppressing us.)

Thus in a perverse way, the phenomenology of today's Black fundamentalism expresses the perverted law of capitalist development which has concentrated Black poverty in the U.S. to an extent rarely seen in modern Western society. So alienated is the "law of the heart" of Black fundamentalists that their thought, at one and the same time, connects the contradictory ideologies of capitalist politics and economics while remaining wholly naive about the true nature of those forces in life. They instead resort to a mythological response to the social crisis, inventing "gods" and "demons" to represent those social forces they are unable to master. Once lost in this bizarre ideological forest, madness begins to set in.

## Support Phillip Chance!

In 1972, Phillip Chance was a 15-year-old student at Cass Technical High School in Detroit. He and his brother, John, and his cousin, Leroy Smith, left Detroit and went to Leroy's home in Choctaw County, Ala. On Nov. 11 Leroy Smith suggested that he drive the Chance brothers to visit some friends.

While Phillip and John Chance were pumping the gas at a gas station/convenience store, Smith went into a shed with the store owner to get oil. While there he stabbed the man, Walter Drinkard, with a screwdriver and took a box containing the store proceeds. Neither Phillip nor John knew what had happened. Within hours the three Black men were stopped and arrested.

Phillip cooperated with police. Prior to this, he had never had any contact with police or the criminal legal system, and thus believed the police. Kept in isolation, scared, confused and exhausted, Phillip signed a false statement that the three had planned to rob three stores in Choctaw County and kill the people in the stores. Phillip and John were charged with murder.

Phillip's alleged statement contained numerous inconsistencies. The statement indicated that numerous people were to be murdered. One victim was killed. That a robbery scheme would be developed using a screwdriver is absurd. The "plan" to travel more than 2,000 miles to engage in this "crime spree" made no sense.

Phillip could have been tried as a juvenile but the local attorney his parents hired never made such a motion. A motion to suppress his alleged statement, the only evidence against him, should also have been made.

Choctaw County was in an uproar over the killing of Mr. Drinkard. The fact that the victim was white played a part. Choctaw County is rural with a population 50% Black and 50% white. By 1973, no Black had held an elected position in that county. On the day of his trial Phillip's attorney told him he would be facing an all-white jury, and that if he pleaded guilty he would be out in a year. Phillip followed this and was sentenced to life for murder first degree.

While in prison he was a model prisoner, obtained his high school equivalency diploma, and was a drug counselor. In spite of supportive letters from prison officials, the Alabama Board of Pardons and Paroles, in April 1981, denied his bid for parole.

In June 1981, Phillip walked away from a work release program and came to Detroit. He was working until his arrest over a year later. Governor Milliken's decision in November, 1982, again made him a free man.

In October 1993, eleven years after Milliken's decision Alabama claims that Phillip should be extradited by Governor John Engler.

On January 25, Engler stated he would not send Phillip back to Alabama if the Michigan Attorney General's office advised him that he has the discretion not to extradite him. Phillip is now awaiting the opinion. Write: Governor John Engler and Attorney General Frank Kelley to express your support for Phillip. Contact Neal Bush at (313) 962-1177 or John Royal at (313) 962-7210 for more information.

## Protest 'crime summit'

Los Angeles, Cal.—Two small but important protests breached the calculated aura of unanimity surrounding a much-ballyhooed "crime summit" sponsored by Governor Pete Wilson, held Feb. 7 and 8. The "summit" designed to propel Wilson's re-election campaign, brought together law-and-order politicians and invited families of crime victims, and served as a platform for the drive to pass a "three strikes and you're out" crime bill, five versions of which are currently in the California legislature.

The bills mandate life imprisonment for someone convicted of three violent or "serious" crimes; one of them (co-sponsored by a Democrat and a Republican) lists over 25 crimes that count as violent or serious — hence "strikes" — and then over 500 felonies for which a third-time offender could be sentenced for life, including auto theft and drunk driving!

The atmosphere inside the church hall resembled that of a lynch mob, according to one protester who managed to attend the summit's opening, a "victims memorial" service followed by a fear-inducing film on how criminals are stalking our communities.

Outside in the rain, protesters from prisoners' rights groups including the Pelican Bay Information Project, Mothers ROC (Reclaiming Our Children), and the Catholic Worker, named the real criminals as a government that allows the lives of inner-city youths to be drained away, without hope of a future, and a police force that regards young Black and Latino men as fair target for harassment, beating, and arrest without cause.

"We are not saying that the grief of the family of Polly Klaas [a 12-year-old girl kidnapped from her home and murdered] is not real," one protester told a reporter. "But many of our children are victims too — arrested for crimes they did not commit, sent away to prisons where some have died for lack of proper medical care. Our youth need good schools, recreational facilities, drug treatment centers, and jobs; that's where the government money needs to go, not to prisons."

On the summit's second day, the Pro-Immigrant Mobilization Coalition demonstrated, focusing its protest against the nationwide campaign to scapegoat immigrants for growing unemployment, social service cutbacks, drugs and gangs. "We are not criminals!" was the cry; and many of the discussions on the picket line concerned the rebellion in Chiapas, Mexico, and what it meant as a new stage of revolt for both Latin and North America.

—Michelle Landau



## Editorial

## United States and Russia enter the Bosnia cockpit

(continued from page 1)

"national interests" has awakened the Western rulers to the need to refurbish the unity and strength of the "Western alliance." The rising power of "great Russian chauvinism," graphically demonstrated in the Dec. 12 Russian parliamentary elections, has forced the West to recognize that the decaying structures of the post-World War II world must not necessarily be laid to rest.

It is thus important to keep in mind the contrast between today's situation and that of 1991, when the U.S. launched its invasion of Iraq. Though Gorbachev tried at first to interpose himself between Saddam Hussein and Bush, the Russian rulers were willing to turn their backs on Iraq for the sake of strengthening their emerging partnership with the West. The crisis of Russian state-capitalism was so deep, and the illusion of "free market" reform as the key to unlocking needed economic growth was so powerful, that the Russian rulers were willing to forego some of their international alliances for the sake of Western economic aid. Three years later, in the face of an even deeper economic and social crisis and Western aid that largely never arrived, Russia is no longer willing to forsake its international alliances with countries such as Serbia.

This was dramatically illustrated on the eve of the expiration of NATO's ultimatum to the Serbs to withdraw their heavy weapons surrounding Sarajevo, when Russia suddenly announced that the Serbs would withdraw their weaponry under the aegis of a Russian "peace plan." As part of this plan 800 Russian troops will be stationed between Serb and Bosnian positions—a move roundly criticized by the Bosnians since the Russians are allies of the Serbs. Russia has since announced that it is willing to send additional troops to "enforce peace" in the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

## THE PATH TO PARTITION?

The direct entrance of Russia into the Balkan imbroglio has presented the Clinton administration with a new and unexpected factor in its deliberations concerning Bosnia-Herzegovina. One sign of this was the Russian attendance at a conference in Bonn, Germany, in late February on Bosnia—the first time Russia was invited to such an international gathering on the subject. In an effort to build on this, Yeltsin has proposed holding a special conference in Russia on the Bosnian crisis, but the Clinton administration is resisting the idea. Each side is jockeying to see who can best make use of Bosnia for advancing its own narrow geo-political interests.

What remains clear is that the Bosnians will have little say in the determination of their fate by the time the maneuvers of the state powers are over. Russia is insisting that since it pressured the Serbs to withdraw their artillery surrounding Sarajevo, the U.S. is obliged to pressure the Bosnians into accepting the partition of their country at the bargaining table. While such an outcome cannot be discounted, the fact that the U.S. is in no rush to capitulate to Russian demands indicates that a number of other schemes may first be presented.

One of these is a proposed confederation of Croatian-

## Letter to 'The Nation'

Dear Editor:

In your front page editorial, "Jailhouse Crock" (Jan. 31, 1994), there is a very curious passage: "Half of all murders in 1992 were committed by acquaintances, many of those within households. For such domestic crimes there's little protection to be found from cops, prisons, or razor wire. The great exception of course is the inner cities. There, the deadly combination of capital flight and regressive racist drug enforcement policies has bred neighborhoods dependent on the violent underground economy of drugs..."

Do you intend to imply that in such neighborhoods, "cops, prisons or razor wire" are indeed necessitated by the "tragic generation of young men unified by the experience of prison"? Not only did you, unconsciously at best, conjoin these two, but you ignored or completely missed the point. The "crime bill" you so vehemently and correctly attacked, is the product of the same such thought process.

The congressional proposal does not address the origin or the "necessity" of crime. Neither did your editorial. Both are symptomatic responses. The former prescribes amputation; your letter, chicken soup. Both ignore the fundamental reality that in this day and age, crime has become a "necessity."

The de-industrialization of this country has exacerbated and accelerated the growth of the bitter fruits of American racism. Blacks and Latinos (Let's define concretely your denizens of the "inner cities") have always and continue to be "the last hired and the first fired." In this period of downsizing even the "middle-class" are losing jobs.

The "outsiders," America's "untouchables," are condemned, dictated by necessity to "work" in the underground economy, crime. The only alternatives are to suffer the indignity of rifling through trash for recyclables or to go on the "dole" and be condemned. There aren't enough jobs.

It is not only necessary to respond to and criticize "knee-jerk" approaches such as the "crime bill"; it is far more important to bring to the fore for discussion, the real cause. Of course, I am speaking of the "property question."

—J.D.

held and Bosnian territories in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Clinton administration calls this an alternative to the direct partition of Bosnia into three pieces. Revealingly, the Serbs say they have no objection to the proposed confederation between Croatia and Bosnia, since it will keep their own seizure of Bosnian territory—obtained through "ethnic cleansing," mass rapes, and genocidal destruction—largely intact.

The intervention of the U.S. and Russia has thus helped to bring the threatened destruction of the multiethnic character of Bosnia-Herzegovina closer to reality. What many Bosnians refer to as an effort to impose an "apartheid solution" upon their country has come closer to realization in the aftermath of the direct intervention of the major powers.

## LESSONS FOR THE LEFT

The tremors of direct military intervention by the U.S. in Bosnia have shifted the ground, disorienting many

from establishing an independent basis of solidarity with the Bosnian people's struggle for freedom and self-determination.

Many on the left justify their silence and inaction on Bosnia by saying that to do otherwise is to fall prey to the militaristic machinations of U.S. imperialism. Yet in posing such absurd slogans as "Hands Off Yugoslavia," they in fact unwittingly take the same ground as U.S. policy by refusing to extend a hand of solidarity with the struggle to preserve a multiethnic society from destruction. Such a stance is not as far removed from U.S. complicity with genocide as some may think.

No less disorienting is the response of those trying to solidarize with Bosnia who base their actions on calls for U.S. military intervention there. The tragedy is that just when the Bosnian army is recording important advances against the Serbs and Croats, the demands to lift the arms embargo have largely receded from view in favor of backing NATO air strikes as the solution to Bosnia's plight. Such a position unwittingly ends up supporting the very path which will lead to the partition of Bosnia and the destruction of its multiethnic heritage.

From whichever side one views the situation, the logic of taking the ground of existing exploitative state powers is to compromise oneself with the very forces out to destroy the multiethnic character of Bosnia. Never has it been more important to develop independent grassroots initiatives calling for the end of the arms embargo and providing aid to the besieged defenders of Bosnia in Sarajevo, Tuzla, Mostar, and elsewhere.

In light of the profound disarray that further U.S. military intervention in Bosnia will inevitably produce, our acts of solidarity with the Bosnian people must begin by clearing away the ideological blinders which stand in the way of posing a truly revolutionary ground of opposition to all existing society.

For background to the Bosnia crisis order—

Bosnia-Herzegovina: Achilles Heel of Western 'civilization'

See literature ad, p. 7.



Carnage from Bosnian Serb shelling of Sarajevo market (left); U.S. war planes under UN command (top left) escalated war Feb. 25 when they shot down four Serb bombers; while UN forces take up front line positions (top right). What next for war-torn Bosnia as the U.S. and Russia maneuver?

## Native Hawaiians fight for independence

Editor's note: Five activists fighting for Native Hawaiian sovereignty were recently sentenced to 45 days in jail for occupying land that, by law, belongs to the Hawaiian people. In 1991 they were imprisoned and their buildings destroyed. They face further punishment for refusing to destroy their new buildings and farm. More occupations and protests have since occurred on various islands. Below is an interview with one of the activists.

Anahola, Hawaii—I am not a *kanaka maoli*, an indigenous Hawaiian. I have been adopted by the *ohana* (family)—they call it *hana*.

The sovereignty movement wants our message to go to the U.S.—we don't call it the mainland. We know it's a long haul, but our message is: Please learn the real history of what happened in Hawaii.

The missionaries really did their job and became the oligarchy. The coercive acculturation started under the kingdom, before the U.S. conquest, with the missionaries' effect, and then bringing in Western laws. The Hawaiian race was dying—its population was declining very seriously up to the 1920s due to illness and loss of spirit. A second part of the acculturation began with the annexation in 1898, when the language was outlawed. They were still calling Hawaiians "savages" until the 1930s.

OUR GROUP on Kaua'i is in the part of the sovereignty movement that is actively going after full independence. Another element wants a nation within a nation, and there's a healthy debate going on. For us, sovereignty means the reassertion of the nation of Hawaii—the full, inherent sovereign rights to the land have never been extinguished. Queen Lili'uokalani only yielded her

suzerain (sovereign) authority, she never yielded any of the rights of the people.

It's been hard in Anahola, because this is a small community, and the Hawaiians who have leases—there aren't many—resent us. The 1920 Hawaiian Homes Commission Act split people. Until a few years ago, they'd only given out 3,000 leases, and they say 60,000 qualify. Island-wide we have a lot more support from many segments of society, including non-Hawaiians who have joined us and been arrested with us. When the Hawaiian kids come down here, their parents come over.

Since we began there are so many more land occupations—there's some on every island. The state tries to divide us. There's an organization for the lessees, the State Council of Hawaiian Homestead Associations, and the state got their lackeys in there. They just passed a resolution to evict all land occupiers.

The apology Clinton signed [for the U.S. conquest of Hawaii] shows the federal government is moving to contain the sovereignty movement. The positive aspect is it recognizes the full inherent sovereign rights have not been extinguished and refers to the national land base. It's up to the sovereignty movement to take it where it should go.

We want to restore the communal form. It should allow fertile ground to bring back balance, whether in relationship to the environment, or between men and women, or between leaders and the people. Our vision is to go to the *ahupua'a*, the ancient land divisions reaching to the sea, each one self-sufficient. All decisions would be made within the *ahupua'a*.

FOR FIVE YEARS we tried to make the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act work. We came to see how many of the Hawaiians who have 49% and down "blood quantum" have been hurt by this. [The Act only recognizes Native Hawaiians with 50% or more Native blood.] It's caused horrible divisions. At the International Peoples' Tribunal here last August, we testified that for a colonizing power to decide a blood quantum is genocide. Our position is one drop of Native blood is enough.

We could call a moratorium on any further development and immediately start reforestation and the absolute change from cash crops like sugar cane to diversified agriculture, with an emphasis on the Native Hawaiian diet, which is extremely healthy, yet the Hawaiians have the worst health of any ethnic group. We are dependent on oil; there's no oil in Hawaii, so all that has to be considered as far as what type of production.

There would be no more absentee landlords, period. There would be immediate stopping of immigration. We have a third of the indigenous population overseas, like Puerto Rico, that would come home if they thought there was a chance of valuable work and a piece of land. This is the only homeland that exists for Hawaiians anywhere in the world.

This is being discussed all over. We're in a very exciting period. There have to be a lot of different discussions with a lot of facets.

—Sondra Field-Grace

## Wave of strikes

(continued from page 3)

the past, a very acute situation developed especially in the coal mining regions of Vorkuta, Kuzbas and Rostov.

What is quite significant, however, is an idea of the Vorkuta miners. After having lost any confidence in the government—as recently as Feb. 12 the Russian prime minister Chernomyrdin himself promised to pay wage arrears to the miners "immediately"—they are deliberating now on whether to ask for the help of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. For as long as their families are starving, the miners said they did not care who is prime minister or president. They intend to strike for as long as they are not paid, including the arrears which date with some of them as far back as last November.

To this may be added an item from SLOVAKIA. It was miners there, too, who came to the capital of Bratislava. The miners and their union representatives had asked since December last year for the minister of the economy to meet them to discuss their situation and the prospects for their families. In two small mining regions the rate of unemployment is between 25% and 30%. The minister met them only after the angry union representatives occupied his building.

## Essay Article

(continued from page 2)

## Feminism and Marx's humanism reconsidered

structuralist Louis Althusser's theory of "social reproduction" of relations of domination in capitalism, and ultimately into poststructuralism.

Barrett locates the specificity of women's oppression in a dual division of labor in capitalism. The first divides men and women in the labor force, where seemingly natural gender distinctions are coupled with supposed differentiation of skill levels. The second division is between home and workplace, which characterizes capitalist relations of production but further entrenches gender divisions which existed in precapitalist societies.

Barrett insists that the first division—between men and women in the labor force—cannot be understood without analyzing the division between home and work. "The structure and ideology of the family in contemporary capitalism is surely the most salient issue for any Marxist feminist approach to address," she argues (p. 186). This becomes her point of departure away from Marx and into Althusser's theory of ideology.

She bases her departure from Marx on three interrelated arguments. First, she claims that Marx portrayed distinctions between men and women as biological and the structure of the family as natural. Second, she argues that the "sex-blind" categories of class in *Capital* shed little light on the historical forms gender relations have taken. Third, she insists that the decisive element in these gender relations is familial ideology.

Several recent writings on Marx's concept of nature have disputed claims that he invoked a 19th-century concept of essential human nature rather than a historical notion.<sup>4</sup> However, a more profound issue at stake in Barrett's three arguments is her failure to catch Marx's theoretical grasp of the thoroughgoing historicity of capitalism—its specific historical dynamism—including both its constant re-creation of relations of domination and the possibilities for liberation which emerge in the process. As we shall see later, this conception included crucial insights into the family itself.

In turning to Althusser's concepts of social reproduction and ideology, Barrett abandons the concept of dialectical humanism which could have helped her in the 1990s. To Althusser, social reproduction is that sphere outside production which re-creates relations of domination that further capitalist exploitation within production. Ideology is central to this process because it shapes all "lived experience" of humanity.

Yet he misses entirely Marx's profound insight that ideology in capitalist societies is not some transhistorical or constant element of humanity, but arises from specific production relations that perversely turn subjects into objects and objects into subjects. Because he excoriates all hints of humanism, dialectics, and "Hegelianisms," he exhorts readers to skip Chapter 1 of *Capital* on the "The Commodity," especially its section on "The Fetishism of Commodities." Althusser (and Barrett) can then do little more than argue that ideology is "relatively autonomous" from the economy.<sup>5</sup>

In following this interpretation Barrett must look outside *Capital* to analyze gender and "familial ideology" and their relation to class. However, neither Althusser's concept of ideology nor the theories of discourse to which she later turns offer a notion of the historical dynamism of human life, including emancipatory possibilities.

In *The Politics of Truth: From Marx to Foucault* (Polity, 1991), Barrett abandons Althusser, arguing first that his concept of ideology maintained an untenable economic determinism; ideology was always explained by class interests. Moreover, she insists that his anti-humanism failed to provide a satisfying concept of human agency.

Barrett shuts the door on Althusser's anti-humanist "Marxism," and turns instead to Foucault. She embraces his argument that determinations of power relations are "polymorphous" rather than unilinear, because power is dispersed throughout society via discourse instead of located in fixed institutions. In Foucault's anti-humanism, all "knowledges," including "humanism," convey not so much the truth of human relations but truth as constructed through discourse.

Barrett also follows Foucault's claim that all subjects are historically constructed—that is, there are no natural "women" outside history and language. Yet these arguments also produce her anxiety that this anti-humanism involves too high a price for any feminist to pay—the loss of feminist politics or agency because we are all caught in the webs of power.

Caught between the "scientific" anti-humanist Marxism of Althusser and the postmodernism of Foucault, and seemingly exhausted by their limitations, Barrett stretches to a realm outside theory to solve her dilemma. What she substitutes is an abstract "humanism" of feminist values and ethics reminiscent of Kant. Instead of looking to his "men of good will" to surmount this impasse, it is as if we must become women of good will.

Barrett's reach to humanism, and her fall into this kind of dualism, fails to reveal new liberatory pathways for feminism. This makes it urgent for us to turn with new eyes to barely explored dimensions of Marx's "new humanism" which speak with striking clarity to feminism today.<sup>6</sup>

Marxist feminists often quote Marx's statements in *The German Ideology* about the family, with disagreements centering on whether Marx "naturalizes" the relations of domination between men and women, and whether *Capital* ignores or further develops his views on the family. I would argue that what illuminates the relation between Marx's comments on the family in these two works is Marx's dialectical approach, which focuses his concentration not on any ahistorical pronouncements about a sexual division of labor, but on the process of transformation of one social form into its opposite.

## MARX ILLUMINATES HISTORICAL DYNAMISM OF FAMILY FORM

In *The German Ideology* Marx traces the process through which a division of labor in the family is turned into social relations which he derides as latent slavery and which appear as natural. In his first mention of this "slavery latent in the family" Marx refers to the extension of the family into a social structure of tribal ownership dominated by "patriarchal family chieftains, below them the members of the tribe, finally slaves." This latent slavery, he argues several pages later, corresponds "even at this early stage to the definition of modern economists, who call it the power of disposing of the labour-power of others."<sup>7</sup>

Marx returns directly to this theme of slavery latent in the family form in *Capital*. His arguments shift from

women and men. Rather, Marx seems to be arguing, such dynamism needs to be explained historically, and such an explanation is possible only if we look at the dual nature of the commodity form itself and the dialectical inversions which flow from it. Ignoring such a view, he insists, would lead us to falsely view capitalism's technological inventions as emancipatory because they reduce labor time. Immediately following this passage he expresses scorn for Antipater, a Greek poet from Cicero's time, who thought the invention of the water-wheel for grinding corn would be the liberator of women slaves.

Marx argues that capitalism's historic tendency is to continually revolutionize the labor process but at the same time reconstitute the old division of labor "with its ossified particularities" (*Capital*, p. 617). He connects this to the constant revolutionizing of all the old "natural" moral and social forms in modern society, which paradoxically re-creates the old relations of domination.

Marx goes into greater detail in the pages that follow on the revolutionizing of family relations, revealing not only the degradation and fracturing of family relations but the immanent possibilities for egalitarian relations between women and men, and also between parents and children, which would not signal a return to the "latent slavery in the family" but its transcendence.

He singles out positive features, or possibilities for new relations, that emerge in capitalism's revolutionizing the old family relations: "However terrible and disgusting the dissolution of the old family ties within the capitalist system may appear, large-scale industry, by assigning an important part in socially organized processes of production, outside the sphere of the domestic economy, to women, young persons and children of both sexes, does nevertheless create a new economic foundation for a higher form of the family and of relations between the sexes" (*Capital*, pp. 620-21).

Marx insists that it is absurd to regard the "Christian-Germanic" form as absolute or final. However, he argues vigorously against assuming that this implies any inexorable progression. Indeed, in a capitalist society this equal participation becomes not a source of "humane development," but its opposite, "a pestiferous source of corruption and slavery, since here the worker exists for the process of production, and not the process of production for the worker" (*Capital*, p. 621). Transformation is possible only with revolution; otherwise there is a return to the "latent slavery" in a new form.

## EMANCIPATORY POSSIBILITIES IN THEORY AND PRACTICE TODAY

Marx's dialectical methodology in these passages has been missed by Marxist feminists such as Barrett who impatiently categorize *Capital* as a work on class exploitation whose categories have little to offer feminists. However, Marx's "new humanism" created a movement of theory which penetrates the specific historical dynamism of capitalism. In this paradoxical dynamism, all moral and social forms are revolutionized, yet this revolutionizing reconstitutes the old ossified relations of domination. Marx's theory also reveals new possibilities for human development that emerge from this process and could form the basis of new revolutionary movements.

Indeed, this drive to reveal new emancipatory possibilities characterized Marx's entire body of work, including his last writings in the 1870s-80s on such features in non-capitalist lands as which could reveal pathways to revolution—including their Man/Woman relations. This period was not unlike our own, in which retrogression in thought and reality followed an era of revolutionary movements. If we are to create feminist theory capable of meeting challenges we face in the 1990s, we have a great deal to learn from Marx's "new humanism."

To consider the family outside this context, or to focus on family ideology alone, leads back to frozen dualities of home and work which characterize feminist theory, unable to reveal possible historic pathways of liberation. The real challenge, of course, is not just a question of creating a new feminist theory, but a movement from theory which can unite with a movement from practice capable of transforming actuality itself.

## INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

More than 80 years after International Women's Day began in solidarity with American women garment workers fighting deadly sweatshop conditions, hundreds of young Asian women factory workers in 1993 Thailand and China were sent to their deaths by inhuman working conditions as their locked plants burned to the ground.



The struggle continues!

"Six days after the first International Women's Day was celebrated in March, 1911, the infamous sweatshop Triangle Fire took the lives of 146 workers, most of whom were young women, and Rose Schneiderman organized no less than 120,000 workers in the funeral march—not just to mourn but to declare solidarity with all unorganized women workers." (Raya Dunayevskaya, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, p. 83). See literature ad, p. 7.

broad generalities about precapitalism, to the specific revolutionizing of division of labor in society between men and women within proletarian families. On the one hand the capitalist use of machinery to increase relative surplus value serves as a great equalizer between men and women, Marx argues, because it makes it possible to make use of the labor-power of both women and children:

"That mighty substitute for labour and for workers, the machine, was immediately transformed into a means for increasing the number of wage-labourers by enrolling, under the direct sway of capital, every member of the worker's family, without distinction of age or sex" (*Capital*, p. 517, Penguin ed.).

On the other hand, the latent slavery in the family has not disappeared; rather, it has been reappropriated and exacerbated. "Previously the worker sold his own labour-power, which he disposed of as a free agent, formally speaking," Marx writes. "Now he sells wife and child. He has become a slave dealer" (*Capital*, p. 519).

Furthermore, the worker who now sells the labor-power of his wife and child may briefly experience an increase in family wages, but soon he finds that his own labor-power is devalued. Previously the value of his labor-power was supposed to equal the labor-time required to support both the individual worker and his family. Once the entire family is employed that value is spread out over all the workers in the family (*Capital*, p. 518).

What is crucial in these passages is that for Marx the relations within the family do not rest on any kind of biological determinism or natural relations between

a totality, whether on Man/Woman relations or dialectics of revolution. See "Marx's 'New Humanism' and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies" in *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*, pp. 189-204.

7. Karl Marx, "The German Ideology," in Robert C. Tucker, ed., *The Marx-Engels Reader* (W.W. Norton, 1972), pp. 115, 123-24.

4. For two recent discussions see Jennifer Ring, *Modern Political Theory and Contemporary Feminism*, pp. 153-60, and Lawrence E. Hazelrigg, "Marx and the Meter of Nature," *Rethinking Marxism* 6, No. 2 (Summer 1993), pp. 104-21.

5. See Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, (Monthly Review Press, 1971).

6. Raya Dunayevskaya, founder of Marxist-Humanism, argues throughout her work that it is urgent to grasp Marx's works as

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## Youth

## 'Reading' the L.A. Rebellion

by Jim Guthrie

The battle that began on the streets of Los Angeles on April 29, 1992, immediately following the acquittal of the four cops who brutally beat Rodney King did not end when the National Guard and the U.S. Marines were sent in "to restore order." That open physical revolt was driven underground, while the resulting battle for the minds of humanity continues.

Youth on college campuses and in inner cities are in the thick of that battle of ideas. (See "One Year After the L.A. Rebellion," by Gene Ford, a Black worker from South Los Angeles, reprinted from N&L in Nommo, a Black student newspaper at UCLA, May 1993.) That being the case I would like to look at *Reading Rodney King, Reading Urban Uprising* (New York: Routledge, 1993), an anthology of essays from well-known scholars in race and gender studies. Editor Robert Gooding-Williams says the book's purpose is to strip the beating of Rodney King, the trial and the uprising "of the aura of the extraordinary" by exploring their multiple connections to the daily "exercise of political, economic and cultural power" in the U.S.

Michael Omi and Howard Winant in their contribution, "The L.A. Race Riot and U.S. Politics," demonstrate how the rebellion served as an "immanent critique of the mainstream political process," which challenged both George Bush's call for an end to the legacy of the 1960s, and Bill Clinton's attempt to de-emphasize race to gain the support of suburban voters.

Mike Davis, author of *City of Quartz*, puts the rebellion in the context of an ongoing "full scale counterinsurgency" by the state against the inner-city Black and Latino populations. He counterposes this to a gang unity meeting where Black youth were calling their uprising a "slave revolt." "For most of them," he says, "being a gang member is no longer the thing to be. Now the thing to be is, in some sense, a liberation fighter."

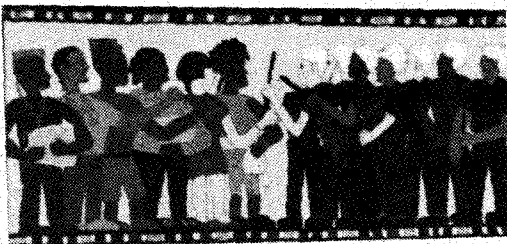
## 'GOOD' YOUTH, 'BAD' YOUTH

Unfortunately, neither Omi and Winant's view of the rebellion as an "immanent critique" of American society, nor Davis's description of how this direct confrontation with the state produced a leap in consciousness among its young Black and Latino participants, is developed in the book as a whole.

In the opening essay Judith Butler asks, "How could this video [of King's beating] be used as evidence that the body being beaten was the source of the danger?" She proceeds to analyze the construction of American

racism using Rodney King's body as a jumping-off point.

Like Butler, Gooding-Williams in his own essay brings in Frantz Fanon's discussion of the "black body" in *Black Skin, White Masks*. He argues that Fanon demonstrates how racial prejudice is linked historically to what Gooding-Williams calls "interpreted images." Since the racist image of the black body as a wild animal directly threatening civilization has existed in legends and stories dating back to the 17th century, the lawyers defending the cops could break down the video tape into individual frames in order to affix this interpreted image of the black body to Rodney King.



To combat this he maintains that interpreted images must be "demythified." He credits the Black Student Union at Amherst College for successfully demythifying the verdict by erecting an effigy protest linking the beating of King to the history of lynching in America.

As creative as the Amherst students were, however, when one contrasts the way Gooding-Williams discusses their action to his treatment of the actual rebellion in South Central, the limitations in his thinking become clear. Implicitly he divides "good" Black youth who are admitted to schools like Amherst and use critical thought, from "bad" Black youth who are stuck in the ghetto and who supposedly play into white society's myths about them by using violence.

His fear of "romanticizing" the rebellion—that is, posing it as a revolutionary challenge to this racist class society—puts him in a different world from Fanon who sought to work out the revolutionary ramifications of the life and death struggle of the Black experience in a racist white society.

## THE FIRE THIS TIME?

Gooding-Williams's logic leads him to conclude the book with a section he titles "The Fire This Time" in which he gives Henry Louis Gates and Cornel West the philosophical last word on "reading" the L.A. rebellion.

Far from being reminiscent of James Baldwin's *The Fire Next Time*, Gates's essay (originally written for the white business magazine *Forbes*) celebrates the "astonishing" progress that the "Afro-American affluent elite" have made since 1965 and laments the backwardness of Black youth today because they do not share his same notion of success. He calls on the Black bourgeoisie "to stop feeling guilty" about their wealth while the ranks of the Black inner-city poor are swelling.

Gates's disdain for poor Black youth is only outdone by West's phobic attack on them as "rootless dangling people." In his slanderous view, the L.A. rebellion was not a political revolt but merely a deep-seated rage driven by "a culture of hedonistic self-indulgence" surfacing in the form of "downright barbaric behavior."

The direct revolt of Blacks and Latinos in the streets of L.A. tore the mystical veil of democracy and civil rights off a state power which gives its police force "the authority to kill a minority." In its aftermath, we see it also stripped off another veil—the veil hiding the theoretical void of the Left who are as unable to "read" the handwriting on the wall as they are unable to "read" the new social consciousness born with the L.A. rebellion.

## Racist cover ups protested at Westmont

**Santa Barbara, Cal.**—On Jan. 12 Matt Larson of the Westmont College Students Association, then our student body president, released a voice mail to all students. It started off with jungle music along with monkey noises in the background, followed by jibberish. It then said, "Translated: this is Kunta Kinte straight off the boat from the motherland." It was an ad for students to go with the South African Mission trip.

The next day the college president, David Winter, met with seven minority students plus Matt Larson. Each minority student said things weren't cool on campus and that this was the last thing we wanted to hear on our voice mail. Our biggest concern was how this could happen on campus. Larson said he wasn't involved in the voice mail, but had given out his access code to people who made it. He knew it was really bad and was sorry he had given out his code. We said fine.

Then President Winter got a call from Heidi Kast at the South African Mission. She said Larson did the voice mail himself. Later, Larson's woman friend contradicted everything that Larson said, showing he had done the voice mail and lied. But the next day Winter sent out a memo saying no one was considering disciplinary action.

Two weeks later he called in Sam Barkat, one of only two Trustees of color, to resolve it. At a meeting Jan. 25 with 17-20 students President Winter said Matt had admitted to him that he had lied and was genuinely repentant. This was his reason for not requiring disciplinary action. But at this same meeting Matt lied three times, which made Winter look bad. About 8-10 students spoke out asking for Larson's resignation. Barkat left the decision up to Larson, who decided not to resign on Jan. 27.

The Dean of Students, Jane Higa, who is very ill, was

## Turning the Tide

Turning the Tide (TTT); A Journal of Anti-Racist Activism, Research and Education, published by People Against Racist Terror in Burbank, Cal., a local affiliate of the Center for Democratic Renewal, exposes the organizing activities of racist skinheads and other white supremacists in California. It also, moreover, is a serious journal of activism and theory dedicated to the complex questions of national liberation and racism.

The lead article, "Neo-NaziChic," is about the trend of white youth identifying with Charles Manson as a rebellious role model. Manson is known for leading a group of counter-cultural white youths who brutally murdered several people in 1969. The article exposes Manson's Nazi beliefs and practices. "His avowed purpose in planning the killings was to blame them on Blacks and try to foment an apocalyptic race war."

According to TTT, a Nazi leader, Perry Warthan, was using support for Manson to recruit youths to his neo-Nazi group. Shortly after visiting Manson in prison in 1982, Warthan killed one of his own teenage followers after he confessed to stuffing Warthan's racist literature into lockers at Oroville High School in California.

Another key article in this issue titled, "Culture of Resistance," critiques multi-culturalism for only focusing on the surface appearance of oppressed cultures such as their music, dress, and food. The author advocates supporting not only cultural diversity, but self-determination for oppressed and colonized people.

What I really like about this journal is that in all the articles they project that the very root of our society is against people's freedom and that the whole thing needs to be transformed. In the articles titled, "Exchange on Zionism and Reaction" they write, "Overcoming this key aspect [white supremacy] of a racist, oppressive society will require the mass participation of millions of people self-consciously seeking to build a better and different world."

You can reach TTT at P.A.R.T., P.O. Box 1990, Burbank, CA 91507.

—Tom Parsons

## Youth in Revolt

by Marna Leber

In France, high school students joined university students in nationwide mass protests against the overcrowding and insufficient staffing of the universities which coincided with the presentation of the government's budget for higher education to the French National Assembly. The violent clashes between demonstrators and police forced Minister of Higher Education Francois Fillon to make new budget proposals for the spring and set up special committees to determine the needs for emergency funding.

Nationwide protests in Spain involving students and professors virtually shut down that country's universities for one day this past January. New labor laws creating "apprenticeships" for 95,000 16-to-25 year olds who would be paid only 75% of minimum wage without the right of full benefits caused strikers to oppose "young people being converted into cheap labor" according to the Free Independent Union of Students. President Felipe Gonzalez said his government would pursue the new labor laws despite the protests.

Twenty students at Antioch University in Ohio began an occupation of a campus building Feb. 1, successfully slowing administration's plans to create more office space. Demonstrators demand the space be used for student's activities and a dance floor.

## Church's role in Chiapas

**Berkeley, Cal.**—Over 1,000 supporters of the Zapatista rebellion packed Zellerbach Auditorium at the University of California Feb. 16 to hear representatives of Bishop Samuel Ruiz, the liberation theologian whom the Mexican government blamed for the uprising. The two came at a time when Ruiz is preparing to act as mediator in negotiations between the Zapatistas and various social organizations, and the government.

A priest from the bishop's diocese spoke of how his church has been held responsible for master-minding the uprising, "as if the poor could not organize themselves." He emphasized that, though as religious figures they condemn use of violence by either side, they stand by the Zapatistas. He explained, "Maybe it is not our place to tell the people what is best for them. There are times when the people are ahead of the church. Poor people can be the subjects of their own history."

The second representative explained that the bishop wants to facilitate deeper changes through his role as mediator. He emphasized that the same conditions which inspired the rebellion exist in other countries, and therefore the struggle is an international one. "We are at a historic crossroad in Mexico where there is a possibility of real change," he said, "The identity of Latin American people has surged. There is a need to intensify the relationship of people on the continent."

Both representatives made it clear that the Zapatista movement is truly decentralized and representative of the Mexican people in Chiapas. They call on everyone to become involved in the solidarity movement so all of the responsibility for change is not laid on the shoulders of the Mexican people.

—Julia Jones

## Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought



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## Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

The Feb. 25 massacre of over 40 unarmed Arabs by a right-wing Zionist fanatic was a calculated, cold, act of murder. Far from the action of a lone "madman," as Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin tried to argue, the methodical machine-gun killing of Muslim worshippers at a mosque in Hebron on the Israeli-occupied West Bank took place on the first day of Ramadan, when it was certain that a large cross-section of the Muslim community would be in attendance.

The killer, Baruch Goldstein, was a Brooklyn-born leader of the racist, fascist Kach movement. Founded by the late Meir Kahane, who was killed by a Muslim fundamentalist in New York, Kach openly termed Arabs "dogs." Goldstein first hooked up with Kahane in

## Strikes in Vietnam

On Feb. 3, the Clinton administration lifted the U.S. trade embargo against Vietnam, which had stood in place since the fall of Saigon (Ho Chi Minh City). The day after, Pepsi representatives were handing out free samples on street corners. Other U.S. corporations, from General Electric and Caterpillar, to IBM, Coca-Cola, Motorola and others, are rushing in—some to cash in by catering to the newly-rich as the class gulf between wealthy and poor grows, others to get what they see as cheap labor.

When Vietnam's rulers turned to "free market" capitalist investment in 1986, foreign businesses went to Vietnam to exploit a work force that seemed more quiescent than in the rest of Asia. They are getting a different message with what has emerged as a strike wave in the last two years, especially in Asian-owned foreign and joint enterprises.

Workers' grievances include violations of minimum wage and overtime regulations, unsafe working conditions, and factory bosses who have beaten workers on the shop floor. Strikes have most often erupted in textile and apparel plants. The existing trade unions are part of the state-capitalist apparatus which considered strikes unnecessary when the Communist Party declared North Vietnam a "workers' state" in 1954, and the initiative has come spontaneously and independently from workers themselves.

## Germans remember martyrs

In one of the largest leftist gatherings since the fall of Communism, 80,000 people came out on Jan. 9 in Berlin, Germany, to mark the 75th anniversary of the murders by rightist officers of revolutionary Marxists Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, leaders of the unsuccessful 1919 Revolution. The rally, organized by the Party of Democratic Socialism (ex-Communists), the youth wing of the Social Democrats and peace groups, had as its official theme the slogan "Rosa Luxemburg, Liebknecht, Lenin. No one is forgotten. Stand up and resist." Even its organizers were stunned by the size of the turnout, which was hardly limited to ex-Communists.

This news was subject to "whiteout" by the American media, and even leading European papers such as the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Le Monde* relegated the story to a single paragraph buried inside.

## Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-87), founder of the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism, became Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees from its founding in 1987. Charles Denby (1907-83), a Black production worker, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper from 1955 to 1983. Dunayevskaya's works *Marxism and Freedom...from 1776 until Today* (1958); *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (1973), and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982) spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally, as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa. These works challenge post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism.

The new visions of the future that Dunayevskaya left us in her work from the 1940s to the 1980s are

Brooklyn in the 1970s, as part of the notoriously anti-Black, anti-Latino vigilantes who called themselves the Jewish Defense League. Eventually, Goldstein followed Kahane to Israel where he became a top Kach leader, serving, for example, as manager of Kahane's election campaigns. In 1981, while he was still in his twenties, the *New York Times* published a letter by Goldstein which openly advocated "ethnic cleansing" of the occupied territories, arguing that Israel "must act decisively to remove the Arab minority from within its borders...just as the Jewish population of many Arab countries has been persuaded to leave, one way or another." That policy of expulsion of the Arabs was the central plank in Kach's electoral campaigns. That the *New York Times* would have printed such a letter also shows just how far its own position had moved to the right in that



Palestinian protesters flee Israeli troops.

## G-7 face world unemployment

Leaders of the G-7 countries will gather in Detroit, Mich., on March 14 to pick up where they left off after last year's summit: the growing problem of world unemployment. The UN International Labor Organization (ILO) recently reported that unemployment rates are now at the highest level in the industrially developed world since the 1930s Depression. The ILO forecasts that by the end of 1994, the unemployment rate will average 8.6% in the U.S., Western Europe, Canada, Australia and Japan.

These figures are "official" unemployment rates which regularly undercount women, minorities and long-term jobless workers. In East Europe and Russia, the state-capitalist switch from "command economies" to "free market" has resulted in massive job losses. Latin Americans are suffering unemployment rates higher than the 1970s. The number of jobless in Africa is burgeoning while wages are falling. The ILO reports that wages in Tanzania dropped by 70% in the 1980s.

In searching for "root causes" of the decline in economic growth, the ILO refers to the "oil shock" of 1973 and at least hints at the worldwide capitalist restructuring of the mid-1970s, when Marxist-Humanism analyzed that there would be "no next boom." The G-7 delegates could get a good enlightenment by leaving their river front enclave, walking a few blocks north into downtown Detroit and talking with the veterans of the unemployed army, especially Black youth.

period, when the notoriously anti-Arab neo-conservative A.M. Rosenthal was its managing editor.

But Kach and Kahane were not the only "inspiration" for Goldstein's murderous rampage. There was a second strand of support as well. He was a resident of Qiryat Arba, an especially violent Israeli settler community on the outskirts of Hebron. There, one settler openly rejoiced to the world press over the massacre, calling it a gift to Jews timed to coincide with Purim. By the twisted logic found among such fanatics, from Hebron to Serbia to Iran, the ancient Jewish holiday of Purim which celebrates how a planned massacre of Jews by a Persian king was narrowly avoided in favor of a peaceful coexistence of various religions, is transformed into a celebration of just such a massacre, this time directed against Muslims!

Many of the settlers of Qiryat Arba, who number 5,000, apparently considered Goldstein, who was also a medical doctor, to have been an exemplary citizen. Now, even those not openly celebrating the massacre nonetheless tend to say it may have good results if it destroys the peace process, to which they are openly opposed. Previous local support for Goldstein is shown in his having served on the town council. Settlers such as Goldstein are allowed to carry guns, including machine-guns issued to them by the Israeli Army. It was such a gun that was used on Feb. 25.

A third strand of support for people such as Goldstein came from the government itself. Settlements such as Qiryat Arba thrived especially well under the long years of rightist government in Israel, from 1977 to 1992, when leaders such as Menachem Begin held that the entire West Bank and Gaza belonged to Israel by holy writ for all time. But the settlements on the occupied territories were hardly discouraged, even under Labor governments. Today, they are a source of opposition to all efforts at a territorial compromise with the Palestinians. Armed to the teeth, many of the settlers have vowed never to submit to Arab authority in the projected zones of autonomy in Gaza and Jericho.

The left-of-center Rabin government has so far refused to crack down on the settlers, even after the massacre. It decided finally to round up some Kach members, but someone let them know in advance, so only one was actually caught and arrested. It declared a curfew not only in the riot-torn Arab communities, but also for the first time in Qiryat Arba. However, it did not actually enforce the latter curfew, allowing settlers to move about freely, including even traveling to Jerusalem. It freed a few Arab political prisoners, but left the rest languishing in jail. It has refused even to consider what is the only obvious solution if one is to avoid the prospect of decades of religious-ethnic war between Arabs and Jews: disarming the settlers and moving most of them back into Israel proper.

Rabin's foot dragging ever since the September peace agreement on the plan to cede Jericho and Gaza to Palestinian rule had already turned Palestinian anger white-hot. Now, after the massacre, the Palestinian masses are with some justice calling the entire peace process a sham. The coming weeks will tell whether some new and decisive concessions by Rabin can re-start the peace process. Today, world opinion stands firmly with the Arab community, which has made concession after concession, so far without any tangible result.

## Death of Oginga Odinga

We mourn the death of Oginga Odinga, one of the most important figures in the African liberation movement of the 1950s and 1960s, who died in January at the age of 82. Along with Jomo Kenyatta, a leader of the hard-fought Kenyan independence movement against British imperialism, Odinga later broke with Kenyatta's pro-capitalist politics, and published a scathing critique entitled *Not Yet Uhuru* (1969).

After attempting to found a leftist opposition party, Odinga was repeatedly jailed and persecuted first by Kenyatta and then by his successor, Kenya's present ruler, Daniel arap Moi. In one of his last political acts, he joined other opposition leaders in denouncing Kenya's fraudulent 1993 elections, in which the highly unpopular Moi was again returned to power.

In the U.S., Odinga is also remembered by Civil Rights Movement veterans for his visit to America in 1963. As an African leader whom the U.S. government was courting as part of its Cold War competition with Russia, Odinga was given a tour of several U.S. cities. When he arrived in Atlanta, a group of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) activists met with him in his hotel room at the posh Peachtree Plaza, a type of encounter which was hardly what either the State Department or the hotel management of that segregated city had in mind. The SNCC activists had a moving discussion with Odinga, during which they sang African liberation songs together.

Apparently fired up by this encounter, the SNCC youth then went to a branch of the segregated Toddle House restaurant chain and were arrested while trying to be served. Hearing of the arrests, Odinga broke with diplomatic niceties to blast American racism. As participant James Forman writes in his *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*: "Here was a high-ranking African dignitary on an official visit, commenting that the racial situation in the United States was 'very pitiful' and that the United States 'practices segregation—which is what we're fighting in Africa.'"

Oginga Odinga's spirit lives on everywhere that people fight for liberation from racism and oppression.