

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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APRIL, 1991

25¢

Labor-power sold as commodity



by B. Ann Lastelle

The U.S. Department of Labor will admit to an unemployment rate of only 6.5%—8.2 million people—for February, 1991, but when you are out there looking for a factory job, you wonder just who is still working. Time after time I am turned away by personnel managers who say that they have people on lay-off and won't be doing any hiring until they have called those workers back.

There are so many people standing in some unemployment compensation and Job Service offices that it is nearly impossible to find the ends of the lines. Illinois Bureau of Employment Security employees have been working ten-hour days, Saturdays and even some holidays to keep pace with the paper work.

More than one million manufacturing jobs have been lost in the U.S. economy since January, 1989, but there are jobs out there. There are jobs at Lakewood Engineering and Manufacturing Company in Chicago, described by the company in its "Plant Employee Orientation Checklist":

—Employees may be terminated with or without cause. Employment at Lakewood is considered "at-will" employment.

—Starting pay for new employees is \$4.00 per hour.

—Employees must be employed for 12 consecutive months in order to be eligible for insurance benefits....

—Seasonal employees are hired for the season only and will be laid off at the completion of the season, usually within six months.

And it goes on. The entire application was printed in English and Spanish. All of the people that I saw there—the security guard, the workers and the other applicants—were Latino. The Third World in Chicago!

(continued on page 3)

Black World

Two warfronts, one reality



by Lou Turner

The war, which George Bush assured the nation on Feb. 27 was now "behind us," did not end when Army Spec. Anthony Riggs returned home to Detroit. Like so many young Black men trying to survive America's war-ravaged inner cities, 22-year-old Anthony Riggs became a casualty of the home front. He was senselessly shot dead on a Detroit street late one night, only 10 days after returning "home" from the Persian Gulf.

Originally, it was viewed by the media as one of those "ironies" of the war, an instance of "Black-on-Black crime". However, it was brought closer to home when his wife and brother-in-law were charged.

Regardless of the circumstances Anthony Riggs, in death, reminds us of the very opposite of what we had been indoctrinated by our militarized media to believe this young brother's life was to have meant. "Be all that you can be" in the Army, because, if you're young, Black and from the inner city, you can't be a damn thing in America.

There is no "irony" here, only Black reality, the reality that the way it was before the war, so it is after. Black reality tears clean through the media image of a utopian Army of interracial "team spirit," where the squad goes out and wins another one "for the Gipper."

That reality resonates in the words of another Anthony, former sergeant Anthony Hoskins, a Black 28-year-old veteran out of work in Milwaukee. When asked to recall the last time he had a full-time job, he admitted

(continued on page 8)

On the Inside

From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya—Unshackling mind-forged manacles . . . p.4

Philosophic Dialogue—Rosa Luxemburg's Marxism . . . p. 5

Editorial—Fascist face of American 'law and order' . . . p. 9

Bush's 'militarization of the mind' threatens our struggles at home

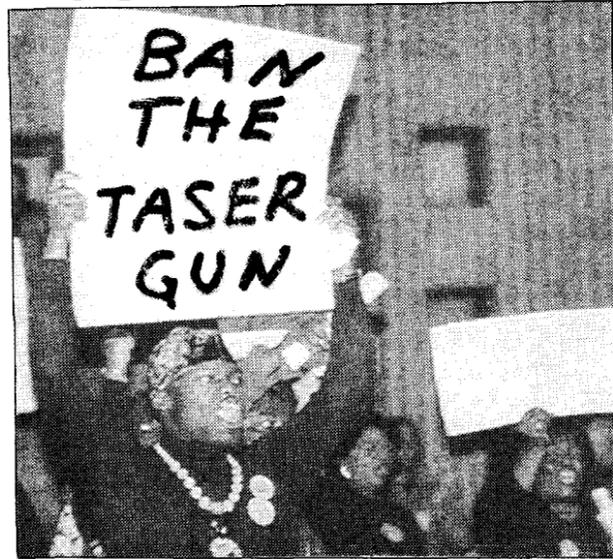


Above—Bush and Defense Secretary Cheney during Persian Gulf war. Right—Civil Rights demonstrators protesting police brutality in Los Angeles.

by Eugene Walker

On the way home from his Bermuda meetings with British Prime Minister John Major to discuss the terms of a "cease-fire" with Iraq, George Bush stopped off to celebrate his victory in the Persian Gulf at the Shaw Air Force Base in Sumter, South Carolina. "You all," he said, drawing it out for that nearly lily-white audience, but speaking to the whole country, "not only helped liberate Kuwait, you helped this country liberate itself from old ghosts and doubts...No one in the whole world doubts us anymore."

The stark reality of what none could any longer doubt—the ruthless resolve of U.S. imperialism to establish its global dominance—stared out at the world that same week in the horrifying pictures of the Iraqi dead that finally began to appear in the daily press. Slipped quietly into the media's captions was the "statistic" the administration and military had refrained from releasing during the six weeks the slaughter had raged: "Above, bodies of two of the 150,000 Iraqi sol-



diers who died in the war." That was now "safe" to report spoke volumes about the depth of the "militarization of the mind" that the media had helped George Bush accomplish.

BUSH'S RETROGRESSIVE AGENDA

The climate that has been established and that is seen in all the flag-waving sweeping the U.S. is precisely the climate George Bush needs for the agenda he will now pursue at home. It is clear that Bush will use the full weight of his power gained from the Gulf victory to hit out against all progressive movements, be it civil rights or labor, women's liberation or youth. What Bush is building on is the ground that was laid by a full decade of Reagan's retrogressionism and the "changed world" that has confronted us ever since. In short, the 1980s was preparation for what Bush brought to culmi-

(continued on page 8)

Iraq: vast devastation and deep revolt.

'Apocalyptic' destruction

Continued mass uprisings

by Kevin A. Barry

As the U.S. and its Allies shout to the skies that their victory against Iraq was won with little bloodshed, referring—in true racist-colonialist style—to only non-Arab dead, the gruesome truth is now coming out. A March 22 United Nations report has revealed that the U.S.-Allied bombing barrage of supposedly only military targets has inflicted "near-apocalyptic" destruction to Iraqi society, relegating it back to a "pre-industrial age" and threatening its people with "imminent catastrophe." And despite the "war is over" hoopla, the U.S. is still in combat with Iraqi forces, continues to occupy 20% of Iraq, and is in no hurry to leave.

The Iraqi casualties have been horrendous. The London-based biweekly Middle East International reports in its March 8 issue: "The allies proved to be somewhat coy over estimates of Iraqi military deaths, but military sources in Riyadh confidentially told correspondents that the losses had been 'spectacular.' Figures of up to 150,000 dead Iraqi troops were hinted at, although most estimates were up to 30%." There were also tens of thousands of civilian deaths. The Allied death toll was 141, with 57 missing in action.

THOUSANDS MASSACRED

Many of the Iraqi troops were killed in their trenches, where they were defenseless against the Allies' high-tech weapons. Tens of thousands more were massacred from the skies after Saddam Hussein had accepted virtually all of Bush's demands, and as they were retreating from Kuwait. On the road from Kuwait to Basra, a huge caravan of retreating Iraqi cars, tanks and trucks was totally obliterated. Thousands died there, and their bodies were left to rot in the desert sun for days.

Baghdad and other large cities are devastated: the "infrastructure," including bridges, roads, communications, and water supply system has been destroyed. Cholera and starvation stalk the land.

Kuwait has been equally devastated, and the death and destruction continue today. Where, earlier, Iraqi security rounded up, tortured and killed native Kuwaitis, today the Kuwaiti military, police and armed civilians are doing the same to Palestinians. As the Los Angeles Times reported on March 19, hundreds of Palestinians have been murdered since the Allied victory, in revenge

(continued on page 12)

by Cyrus Noveen

With the defeat of the Iraqi military, new mass struggles for freedom and new horrifying realities of the ruling powers have been pouring out relentlessly, daily.

Rebellions breaking out across the entire Iraq nation have at once been confronted with massive contradictory facts. Iraqi masses have been faced with the shocking fact that their hated oppressors, the Ba'th army-party, are preferred by big powers and smaller regional powers to any "instability." They have had to confront at once the tragic reality that overthrowing the regime inside Iraq will not free them from facing a whole host of other nations waiting to take power out of their hands.

'YOU HAVE DESTROYED OUR LIVES'

Is the United States going to do what Stalin did with Poland at the end of World War II—wait for Hussein to kill off the genuine mass opposition in Iraq and then march in over their dead bodies as their "saviour"? Isn't this what George Bush needs to "complete the job"? Can anyone forget the face of a defiant Iraqi woman, tears in her eyes, yet unbowed, speaking to a TV camera: "You have destroyed our lives. What else do you want from us?"

The outpouring of anger by Iraqi masses in the immediate aftermath of the war was boundless. Over 100,000 bombing sorties had been pouring upon them for over a month. Over 150,000 of their sons and daughters, friends and neighbors had been killed. One word of opposition and they would be executed on the spot.

Then came the explosion inside Iraq against their own rulers, who had brought destruction to their lives. Suddenly all the media cameras were turned off, lights went out. The Shiite majority living in southern Iraq, who have forever been treated as subhuman by the ruling Sunni-based Ba'th, rose up to free themselves from the whole state apparatus. Returning soldiers, those who survived the carnage on the Basra Highway, were reportedly driving back to "join the rebellion."

In Basra and Nasiriya, the people broke the prison gates and freed thousands of political prisoners, Iraqis as well as Kuwaitis. Fierce battles ensued in the streets. Within days seven provincial capitals were under the control of the masses. The war to overthrow the ruling regime by mass power had exploded. Bush and his "al-

(continued on page 12)

Bush blames women when babies die

by Terry Moon

Editor's note: As we go to press three publicly financed family-planning clinics in New York City have just been closed because of lack of funding. Over 10,000 more poor women are now without any gynecological care—including prenatal care.

The same inhuman mentality that massacred tens of thousands of civilians in Iraq and slaughtered hundreds of a defeated fleeing Iraqi army has now turned part of its ominous attention back home. That George Bush wants to bring his racist, sexist, genocidal war home can be seen in his monstrous plan to pretend to reduce infant mortality in the U.S. This plan is so putrid that even the pusillanimous Congress can smell the stench.

Bush has become embarrassed by infant mortality rates that show 40,000 infants in the U.S. die before their first birthday. In some cities the infant mortality is worse than in Bangladesh: Washington, D.C., 23.10 deaths for every 1,000 live births; Detroit, 20.38; Newark, 18.61; Baltimore, 17.43—and so it goes. Furthermore, the racist nature of this society is revealed by the fact that Black infant mortality is more than twice as high as white!

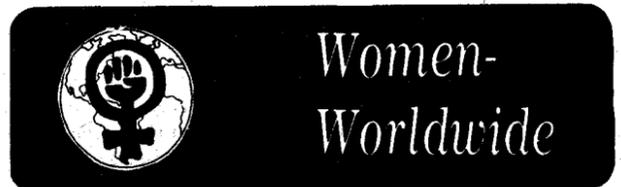
Bush's plan? Certainly not to make more money available. Rather, simply steal \$58 million from community health centers and from block grants for maternal and child health services and siphon that same money into 10 cities which have to compete for it. (To keep this in perspective... the House of Representatives approved paying \$15.8 billion to cover the cost of Bush's Gulf war—including \$650 million for Israel.)

BUSH'S ANTI-WOMAN PLAN

How are cities to compete—to pull money away from smaller communities where the infant mortality is every bit as high? Cities must submit a plan to cut infant mortality by 50%. How? Could it be by improved comprehensive health insurance for all? Not on your life. The money is to be used for programs to discourage smoking, drinking and drug abuse by pregnant women—hardly the main cause of infant mortality—and some health, education and nutrition services.

While in theory there may be nothing wrong with "discouraging" women who are pregnant from smoking, drinking and taking drugs, in practice this "discouraging" has taken the brutal form of throwing women into jails, tearing their children away from them and tossing them into foster homes and harassing women who smoke and drink. This is not only an attack on women's bodies, but on our minds as well. Bush wants women to believe that if their babies die it is their fault.

Bush is trying to make us believe that what causes the death of children is not this racist, sexist, capitalist society, riddled with poverty, hunger and homelessness—but women. The fact that his strategy is working is seen in the scorn heaped on pregnant women who are jailed when on drugs, even though almost all drug rehabilitation programs refuse to take pregnant women. It can be seen in the words of a poor Black farmworker's daughter—unemployed and raising four children alone with a monthly welfare check of but \$168—who said when talking to a *New York Times* reporter of her son who died at five months of age: "It entered my mind that God might want to punish me for something I didn't do right."



Women-Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

Outrage has exploded in the newly united Germany over women being harassed by border police when they return to Germany from other countries. The police suspect them of having had abortions. One young mother driving back from the Netherlands with her husband, forced to submit to a vaginal exam by a doctor, was charged with having an abortion. She now faces a year in prison. A representative of Berlin's Medical Society called these forcible exams "completely unethical" and "worse than a rape."

Kuwaiti women are militantly opposing post-war martial law—demanding the right to vote, democracy and the return of Parliament. "The U.S. and other democracies of the world shouldn't have fought for a dictator," said one Kuwaiti woman of the Emir. A new sense of feminism is arising among Kuwaiti women who remained during the Iraqi occupation and fought in the resistance. Women are demanding rights denied them by men (including the rulers) who fled the country. One woman said, speaking for thousands, "No one can say that I do not deserve the same rights as these men."

Japanese women are speaking out angrily against government efforts to bribe them to have more children to combat the lowest birth rate in Japan's history. Government "rewards" of 5,000 yen (\$38) a month are offered for each pre-school child and twice as much for a third child. Feminists see the low birth rate as women's resistance to a male-dominated system that does not provide adequate day care, affordable education or housing and leaves the burden of raising children to women. Said one young mother, "The government's thinking is so simplistic. They figure if they pay a little money, the mother will have another baby, just like a machine. I won't be influenced by it. My freedom is more important than 5,000 yen."

Clearly, Bush's ideological attack against women is an attack on the very Idea of Women's Liberation—that women are thinking, acting human beings who have a right to control our own bodies and minds. To have that, society has to be totally reorganized, based on new human relations.

NEED FOR A NEW HUMAN SOCIETY

That Bush cares only for the appearance of a reduced infant mortality rate is seen in his suppression of the report of his own White House Task Force on Infant Mortality. Finished in November of 1990, it remains unpublished to this day. Finally leaked to the *New York Times*, the report reveals that 10,000 babies who die each year could be saved immediately simply through the application of existing knowledge.

Some facts are: Women who get adequate prenatal care have a five times greater chance of having a healthy baby than those who don't. Yet in 1987 more than 74,000 pregnant women received no prenatal care—a 50% increase over 1980. At least 15% of the over 3.7 million women who give birth each year have no health insurance to pay for maternity care and, of those who do have insurance, over 330,000 have policies that don't cover maternity services.

Bush's own suppressed Task Force report recommended steps that would cost only \$480 million a year. By simply expanding Medicaid, Community and Migrant Health Centers and the National Health Service Corps, the U.S. could reduce infant deaths 25% and cut the number of disabled infants from 400,000 annually to 300,000.

Our blood-soaked president, whose 2,000-pound bombs incinerated Iraqi women and children, cares nothing for the poor in this country whose children die in unconscionable numbers. No doubt he thinks he has won his battle for the minds of humanity and can get away with blaming mothers for the death of their babies. But it is Bush's capitalist USA that is murdering children. We cannot let him—or anyone—forget that freedom is still our vision of the future and for that women must, and will, have control of our bodies and minds and have our children alive and strong.

Canadian women protest

Toronto, Ontario—Close to 100 women celebrated International Women's Day, March 8, by demonstrating and getting arrested in front of Litton Systems of Canada in Rexdale, Ont. The demonstration, called by the Alliance for Non-Violent Action Women's Collective, targeted Litton because they produce 30% of the guidance systems used for the U.S. military's cruise missiles—missiles used in bombing Iraq.

Most powerful was a blockade of the road to Litton which was done by women with their babies in arms. When the police did not make arrests of the mothers, 33 other women climbed over the fence to do the citizens' arrests, charging Litton management with crimes against humanity and war crimes. We were eventually arrested. We specifically targeted management, knowing that the workers, who are non-unionized, face poor working conditions and hard economic times. Plant closures in Canada offer them few alternatives.

The Police Department's reluctance to arrest and charge us indicates that perhaps they know who the real criminals are! No one was hurt and our next major battle will be protesting Canada's hosting of ARMX—the largest weapons bazaar in the history of Canada.

—Nurse participant

Sisters of color speak out against Gulf war

Editor's note: Below we print excerpts from a statement sent to us by the Revolutionary Sisters of Color.

We are the Revolutionary Sisters of Color, a socialist feminist autonomous women of color organization. We call for an immediate cease-fire in the Persian Gulf and a halt to the U.S.-led coalition bombing of Iraq. Women of color are over 50% of the U.S. female troops in the Gulf. We are the mothers of troops and the grandmothers, aunts, sisters, and caretakers of the children already left behind and of the ones who will be orphaned...

While the U.S. spends billions of dollars on weapons of destruction, our vital needs such as AIDS research, housing, health care, jobs, and other necessities of life go unmet... We recognize that people in our communities are forced into the military due to the lack of jobs and economic resources... We also support equal rights for women, lesbians and gay men in the military.

We stand in solidarity with the women in the Middle East who, like us, do not have control, choices or access to the male-constructed power structures in their countries.

We stand in solidarity with the Palestinian people and their right to self-determination and with all Arab people in the Middle East who are the main victims of this imperialist slaughter for domination of the world's resources. We call for an end to Israeli occupation of the West Bank, Gaza and Lebanon. We are opposed to any imperialist intervention in and post-war occupation of the Gulf.

We stand in solidarity with all those who resist the war. We are fully aware of the connection between the U.S. government's racist war on Third World people, whether it be in Iraq, Panama, Grenada, Nicaragua or within U.S. borders against all people of color...

We need to bring home to all oppressed peoples that this genocidal war, caused by capitalism/imperialism

Women Against War



News & Letters photo

Chicago, Ill.—Hundreds of women voiced a resounding "No to War!"—at home and abroad—during a march and conference here the weekend of March 9-10, in commemoration of International Women's Day. The events were sponsored by the newly formed Women Against War, a diverse group of more than 150 women.

At the demonstration, more than 300 mainly women and children—of all races and ages—marched and chanted through the streets of downtown Chicago, March 9, stopping at the federal building, the Chicago Tribune Tower and the Water Tower to speak out against a war in which women and children are always the first casualties.

At a time when we were being bombarded on all sides by yellow ribbons and flags in the name of "patriotism," the demonstrators expressed a real feeling of exhilaration about getting together as women to express our horror at what this war really meant.

Rally speakers—like the march participants—represented a broad spectrum of women's international freedom struggles. What was most impressive was the desire of many of the participants I talked with not to stop at this one demonstration, but to continue to work together to stifle the government's attempt to militarize our minds—to take control of our lives again and shape our own future.

Many of the demonstrators, along with numerous new faces, met again the next day with more than 300 women at a conference called "Women United for Peace and Justice at Home and Abroad."

The morning session included passionate accounts by Iraqi, Jewish, Palestinian and Arab women of the devastation and oppression caused by U.S. imperialism. Yet some fell into the same trap as those in the anti-war movement who are uncritical of Middle East leaders, including Saddam Hussein, whose treatment of minorities and women in his country is barbarous. One Black woman was so enraged when Hussein was credited with starting the women's movement in Iraq that she walked out of the room.

In the afternoon panel, Black feminist anti-war activist Jamilla Muhammad decried Bush's hypocritical speech about Black's "valor and bravery in war," while, at the same time, he vetoed the Civil Rights bill. The war against Blacks and women is at home, she maintained, "we are already behind enemy lines. Our war in this 'new world order' is just beginning." —M.J.



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Drugs and the alienation of labor

by Martin Almora

Chicago, Ill.—One of the most devastating problems of working people and their families as we enter the 1990s is the rampant drug abuse that is destroying their lives. If we went to dig into history, and particularly into the history of the industrial revolution and the rise of modern capitalism, we would definitely see that drug abuse problems are not something that have only recently been a factor in our lives.

In Marx's **Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844** he noted that the workings of capitalism and the alienation of the worker result in the human being having his creative activities suppressed. The worker's only purpose is to work until he drops—or to be without work and the means to support himself. Marx was saying that human beings are reduced to acting freely only in their "animal" functions, such as eating, drinking, having sexual relations and seeking a place of shelter.

HORRORS OF CAPITALISM

It is no wonder that the alienation of labor that working men and women experienced in 19th century England led them to indulge in the use of opium to escape the horrors of their situation. Working women poisoned themselves with Godfrey's Cordial (an opiate) even as they breast fed their children. What is most shocking is that even the children were under the influence of opiates.

Karl Marx observed this in the 1800s. Are the 1990s any more advanced? The problems that working people face today are similar to the ones experienced in the previous century: working long hours, having two jobs or being laid off. Both heads of the household (if, indeed, there are two heads of the household) have to work in order to make ends meet. Many children have to work in fast food restaurants and sweatshops because their parents are unable to provide them with the things they need, such as clothing and education.

It is again no wonder that we have drug problems today. After reading Marx's writings, listening to people whose lives are affected by this sad situation and thinking about my own experience, it is clear that drugs are a tool used by the capitalist ruling class to keep the working masses down.

RULERS' ANTI-DRUG CAMPAIGNS

The way I see it, drugs keep the drug user only thinking about one thing: getting high. They keep the family of a drug abuser thinking about how long will this drug abuse go on and will the drug abuser end up dead. The mediocre attempt of the ruling class to stop senseless murders over drugs (by just saying "No" to drugs) leaves innocent people living in a state of fear.

Women win equal right to work unsafe jobs

Johnson Controls, Inc., a manufacturer of automobile batteries, included a "fetal protection" policy in 1982 that excluded all "fetal women," whether or not they planned to have children, from production jobs which exposed them to levels of lead potentially harmful to fetuses. On March 20, 1991, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that policy illegal.

The justices wrote that: "Concern for a woman's existing or potential offspring historically has been the excuse for denying women equal employment opportunities...It is no more appropriate for the courts than it is for individual employers to decide whether a woman's reproductive role is more important to herself and her family than her economic role..."

The task of making workplaces safe for all workers—women and men—remains.

Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

There are jobs at Aircraft Gear Corporation, too, where members of Local 1714 of the International Association of Machinists have been on strike since Aug. 1, 1990. That company has its "Help Wanted" sign up because it is hiring permanent replacements for its striking workers, all highly skilled machinists. The replacement workers are paid \$4.00 less per hour.

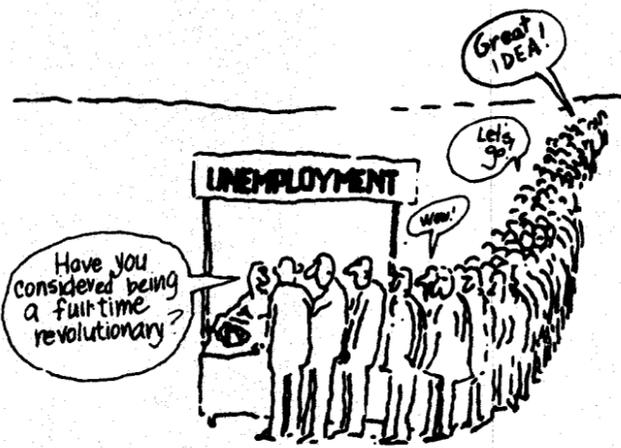
Where could these things happen except in a society where production and productivity take precedence over the worker as human being? Where could they happen except in a society where labor, instead of being free and creative self-activity, is confined and shaped to the needs of the economic system? Where except in a society where labor-power, a human being's ability to work, is bought and sold as a commodity?

This sale of our days and nights to the owners of factories and machines seems so "normal" (and even desirable, if you are unemployed) that we sometimes speak in terms of "marketing" ourselves. Yet that exchange between those who own and control the means of production and we who have only our labor-power to sell is specific to capitalism and no other form of society.

Karl Marx wrote that only freely associated labor—women, men and children in control of production, politics and their lives—can change these inhuman conditions. It is difficult to think beyond the immediate when you are bogged down in trying to find a job in the middle of a recession. But we have to think, and think hard, about what Marx wrote and meant, because this situation has to change.

I can't forget that the ruling class didn't have an anti-drug campaign until its own members began abusing cocaine in the early 1980s. When yuppies, the "me" generation, began over-indulging in drugs because they were "stressed out" from working on the commodities floor or in the stock market is when the TV ads for drug abuse clinics and other such programs began to appear. Clinics for them, "just say no" for us.

Say NO to drugs, say NO to oppression, say NO to long hours of work, say NO to capitalism in all forms! And say YES to the end of the suppressed mind of the working people and the start of a new society where drug abuse is unheard of because all people—be they men, women, Black, white, workers, students—are allowed to think and create with their own minds free and to live without fear.



Fewer ways to survive

New York, N.Y.—When you drive freight, you make pick-ups and deliveries at every kind of small and medium size factory. I have found lots have lay-offs. More and more of them are working only four days a week. These are jobs you couldn't live on before with five days.

Other plants have strictly stopped all overtime, even for the shipping department. If you don't get there right on time, are even two minutes late for your pick-up, they are closed. This is overtime workers came to depend on as paychecks over the years haven't kept up with rent and all.

Garment shops, textiles, chemicals, paint, corrugated boxes, polybags—everyone is slow. Now the New York hospitals are going to lay off. Working people are running out of ways to survive. A friend told me, "It's like a totalitarian country in that you can't really find anyone who knows where the jobs have gone. It's just that Monday mornings you see less people on the subways and in the coffee shops."

At my job the casual drivers are getting two or three days of work a week. The straight job drivers had one hour cut off in the morning; they come in an hour later.

—John Marcotte

'Deep ecology' rejects struggle against capitalism

The End of Nature by Bill McKibben (New York: Random House, 1989)

The first fifth of this book is mainly about global warming caused by human activity, as well as acid rain and the depletion of the ozone layer. There is a bit of discussion of the potential effects: disruption of climate and thus of agriculture, rising sea levels, extinction of species, human health problems. But to the author, the overriding consequence is the end of the idea of nature, by which he means that global alterations of the environment spell the end of "our sense of nature as eternal and separate".

The underlying cause of the "end of nature," he argues, is a "binge, a half century of unbelievable prosperity and ease," which he blames on "an ideology...that man is at the center of creation and it is therefore right for him to do whatever pleases him" (p. 151). McKibben never explores the social relations that allow technology to be used in a manner that destroys both "man" and "creation," nor realizes that the decisions are not made by "man" but by a few people.

"NATURE" AS ABSTRACTION

Following the ideology that calls itself "deep ecology," he proposes "humility" and "limits," meaning a vast reduction in living standards. Evidently—in a time characterized by concessions, two-tier wages, union-busting, falling standards of living, increasing poverty and infant mortality, decreasing life expectancy for Blacks—affluence is all the author sees. He expresses contempt for working people in the U.S., whom he views only as selfish consumers and never as human beings who struggle for survival and freedom.

McKibben's greatest fear is that "we" will be "willing to live in a world ever more estranged from nature" (emphasis mine). But his refusal to challenge or even acknowledge the capitalist class nature of the society we live in makes it clear that he is willing to live in a world where we're all estranged from other people, from our own activity, from ourselves. And how could you be any more estranged from nature than when you make it an abstract Other, totally separate from—and opposite to—humanity?

As opposed to Marx's historically concrete analysis of force and domination in capitalist society being rooted in the domination of dead over living labor—machines

German workers protest

On March 18, the anniversary of the outbreak of the 1848 Revolution in Germany, crowds totalling 100,000 people took to the streets of Leipzig and other cities in eastern Germany to protest unemployment and oppression. These were the largest protests in the East since the upheavals in the fall of 1989 which toppled the Communist regime. The organizers promised to continue them every Monday evening indefinitely, just as they had done in 1989.

Today unemployment in the east stands at 8.9% and is rising, with hundreds of thousands more people having only part-time work. In addition, the government is refusing to prosecute or even release the files on the thousands of Stasi (secret police) informers, many of whom are now once again key officials in the government or the ruling Christian Democratic Party.

The 1991 demonstrations were called by unions, and there was strong labor participation. One demonstrator in Leipzig stated: "Our lives are misery. We stood here in the fall of 1989 to put down a dictator, and now we are in another kind of dictatorship."

—Kevin A. Barry

Daily News strike over but 800 jobs lost

New York, N.Y.—The strike at the New York Daily News has been settled, and some people are saying, "Oh, isn't it great, we have the Daily News back." The strike was important. Many laborers, union and non-union, rallied around the cause.

But Robert Maxwell, who bought the Daily News from the Tribune Co., is not exactly a "saviour" coming in to rescue the paper. The sale and settlement mean a lot of cuts; about 800 people are not getting back. Maxwell is continuing to back the unions up against a wall.

A friend who is a junior pressman for The New York Times was very excited about the Daily News strike and went down to the picket line. He said that everybody was talking about the new plant The New York Times is opening up in Edison, N.J., because it will have new automation in it.

The new automation will mean that the mailing jobs will be automated out of existence. There will be large cuts in the number of pressmen. The number of warehousemen and truck drivers will be reduced, because of new, automated loading and unloading equipment.

The Daily News is running really old presses which haven't been changed for decades. So at some point the work force that is there now, in order to keep up with the automation at The New York Times and elsewhere, is going to have to work harder.

This isn't just a question of the Daily News strike, as important as that is. Jobs in this whole industry are being automated out of existence. The Daily News strikers are going back, but they're going back to an industry in which speed-up is sure to set the conditions for the next round of labor unrest.

—Ted Rosmer

controlling human activity—domination in the minds of "deep ecologists" becomes a suprahistorical abstraction of human domination over nature: "...we feel it our privilege (and we feel it our necessity) to dominate nature to our advantage, as whites once dominated blacks."

This abstraction gives the "deep" the delusion of being the most "radical" of all. ("It could be that this idea of a humbler world, or some idea like it, is both radical and necessary, in the way that cutting off a leg can be both radical and necessary." What it amounts to, however, is a retrogression.

SKIPPING OVER ALIENATED LABOR

Daunted by the monumental task of overthrowing the social relations that underlie technology's destructiveness, "deep ecologists" turn their backs on the actual, historical, ongoing struggles against capitalist civilization and declare that civilization itself is the enemy. Humans, no longer creative subjects striving for freedom, must bow to "nature" as an abstract object.

The fundamental error lies in seeking the transcendence of humanity's alienation from nature via a shortcut that skips over alienated labor, the alienation from one's own activity. With that contradiction as ground, the dream of overcoming alienation from nature impels the "deep" toward a nightmare of humanity's permanent alienation from all things human. The prospect to this self-limiting vision of freedom is Marx's vision:

"Just as the savage must wrestle with nature, in order to satisfy his wants, in order to maintain his life and reproduce it, so civilized man has to do it, and he must do it in all forms of society and under all possible modes of production...The freedom in this field cannot consist of anything else but of the fact that socialized man, the associated producers, regulate their interchange with nature rationally, bring it under their common control, instead of being ruled by it as by some blind power...But it always remains a realm of necessity. Beyond it begins that development of human power which is its own end, the true realm of freedom, which, however, can flourish only upon that realm of necessity as its basis." (Capital, Vol. 3, Kerr edition, pp. 954-55.)

The End of Nature comes to a fitting conclusion: "The comfort we need is inhuman." The last word of the book is "inhuman." It might as well have been "unfreedom."

—Franklin Dmitryev

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

Editor's note: The following is excerpted from section three of the Perspectives Report that Raya Dunayevskaya gave to the "Special Constitutional Convention of News and Letters Committees" on September 3, 1983. The entire report was entitled, "The Marx Centenary Discloses the Need for the Philosophy of 'Revolution in Permanence' for Uprooting Reaganism Out to Shackle the People with 'Mind-Forged Manacles' of Unfreedom." Dunayevskaya entitled the section excerpted here, "Marxist-Humanism's Challenge to Post-Marx Marxists and Other Alternatives to Marx's Marxism, its Dialectics of Liberation." The report came on the heels of Dunayevskaya's Marx Centenary speaking tour in 1983. The document in its entirety can be found in The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, #7925.

Marxist-Humanists celebrated the Marx Centenary by publishing our latest work, **Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**, along with re-publishing two other fundamental theoretical works, **Marxism and Freedom** and **Philosophy and Revolution**. Naturally, it is with eyes of today that this trilogy of revolution traced both the revolutions in Marx's day and those in Lenin and Luxemburg's day. The expression, "with eyes of today," refers of course not just to 1983, but to the new world epoch opened in 1950 when new forms of revolt and new forces of revolution emerged—workers against Automation in West Virginia and against new work-norms in East Germany; Black revolt both in the U.S. and in Africa; the birth of a whole new generation that aligned with the Black dimension and against the Vietnam War; indeed, the emergence of a whole new Third World—in Asia, in the Middle East, in Africa, in Latin America.

Marx had been working out, as new paths to revolution and to thought, a new relationship between the industrialized West and the non-industrialized East where the "archaic" peasant communes persisted which nevertheless could become ground for revolution arising first in the East rather than in the West. These new paths to revolution were a challenge the World War II generation failed to meet. Whether or not the availability of Marx's **Ethnological Notebooks** could have cast as total a new illumination as they do in our age, which has witnessed the emergence of a Third World, there is, naturally, no way of knowing. History, in any case, cannot be rewritten. The responsibility is to this generation. The challenge is to this age, and **Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution** includes in that challenge all post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Frederick Engels.

WHAT THE MARX CENTENARY is challenging this age to do is both to work out Marx's "new moments" in his last decade and to re-examine the very beginnings of his discovery of a new continent of thought and of revolution, because both periods are urgent for the post-World War II world. In that same critical year of the General Miners' Strike against Automation, 1949-50, when something so new came from the movement from practice, what came supposedly from theory, with the new type of national revolution that emerged from Mao's China, saw a new, though false, challenge make its appearance.

That which had given the appearance of "a new world"—a Sino-Soviet orbit—soon turned, however, into a Sino-Soviet conflict, and it was then that Mao rose to offer himself as the "storm center" of nothing short of "world revolution." Mao's "Cultural Revolution" did succeed in becoming a polarizing force for the world's youth, totally alienated from existing society and desirous of shortcuts to a "continuous revolution" which included "new" life-styles. It becomes necessary, while holding on tight to the "new moments" of Marx's last decade, to return to his early moments, including aesthetics and art, to see what a new Universal meant to the young Marx.

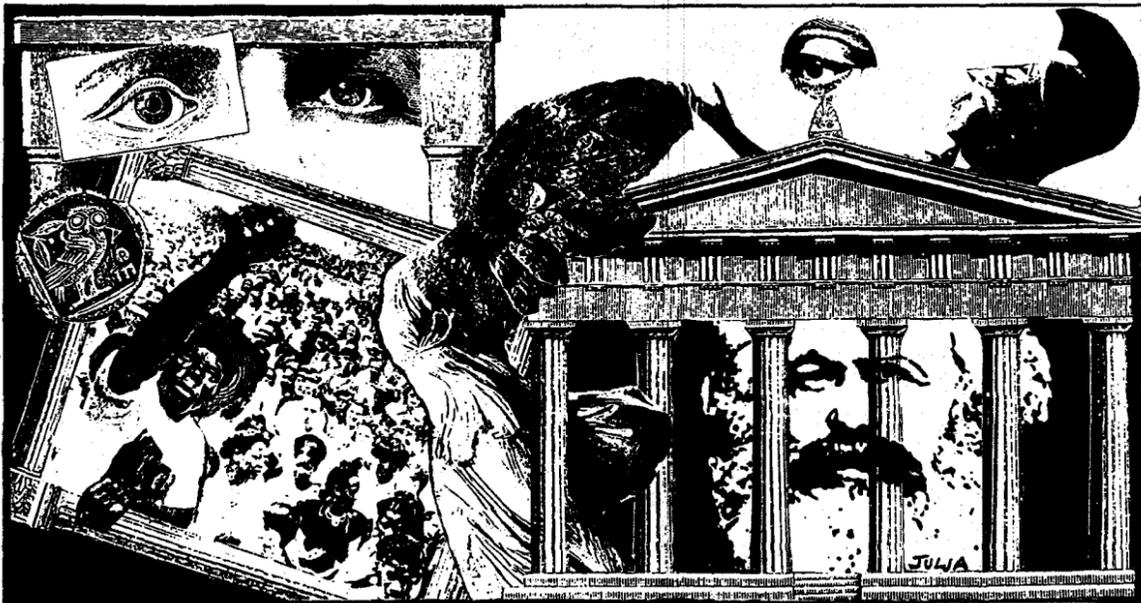
In his simultaneous struggle to separate himself from Hegel and to battle against Prussian censorship, what the young Marx chose to make a Universal of was freedom of the press. (His statement appears as the frontispiece of **Marxism and Freedom**.) On the threshold of Marx's discovering, in reality, the proletariat as Subject—Reason as well as Force—who would resolve the class contradiction that was gnawing at the vitals of society, fragmenting humanity while the reigning philosopher was dehumanizing the Idea of Freedom, the young Marx made the deepest dive ever into Culture. Whether he was examining religion or Art; aesthetics or the peasant theft of wood; individual artist or masses in motion, the young Marx felt he was witnessing paralysis setting in, disintegration abounding, unless a way was found to release vast, untapped, creative energies for universal self-development.

The process of Marx's jamming up reality against philosophy led to Marx's discovery of a whole new continent of thought and of revolution he called "a new Humanism" and "Revolution in permanence," concretized as materialist foundation, with history disclosing the direction of human development, and with dialectics—"negation of the negation," the Absolute Method for continuous revolution—as the determinant.

Of all the post-Marx Marxists who tried to grasp Marx's multidimensionality by singling out Art, only one succeeded, and he did it by refusing to separate the subject of Art from Marx's total philosophy. Where 'oth-

ers culled the statements on Art and ended by offering alternatives to Marx's Marxism, Mihail Lifshitz showed Art's integrality to Marx's Marxism. Because new alternatives will be multitudinous now that we have issued a challenge to post-Marx Marxism's failure to grapple with Marx's "new moments" of his last decade even as they reduced the very first moment of discovery to a "residue of Hegelianism" in the young Marx, allow me to quote from Lifshitz's **The Philosophy of Art of Marx**, as he demonstrates how, for the young Marx, even when still a Left Hegelian, but fighting journalistically for the freedom of the press, the concept of "Revolution in Permanence" was dominant: "...reflections upon the ancient world show that the historical analogies permeating the works of 1841-42 remained with the mature Marx...he never renounced this inheritance."

At the same time, please reread what may seem far removed from this—my pamphlet on the Afro-Asian Revolutions (including the new Introduction to a Farsi edition of the pamphlet, which appeared in N&L, August-September 1983). It is there that I warned (and



that was before the Cultural Revolution) against an alternative arising from within the so-called Communist world. It was Mao, "The Leader," the administrative mentality in power, presenting a claim to leadership of the Third World!

American youth of the 1960s, attracted to Mao's so-called "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," failed to see that the manner in which Mao articulated Culture (with a capital C) was not only an evasion of the class nature of China—state-capitalism—but was also philosophically wrong. It is true that a great writer—a Shakespeare or a Tolstoy or a Melville—can envision the "human element," an "original character," and give us a glimpse of the future. In all those articulations one age is disappearing and a new age is arising. It is what the philosopher Hegel called "a birth-time of history and a period of transition." It can be seen in the dimension Shakespeare created in **Hamlet** at the emergence of a new world of individualism, the historic emergence of capitalism. It can be seen in **Lear** at the death of feudalism. Or in what Tolstoy created as an original character in **Anna Karenina**, and in what he presented as historic period in **War and Peace**.

And it can be seen in what Melville did in **Moby Dick** on the eve of the Civil War, and in his **Confidence Man** with his concept of the "original character" with original "instincts." Melville felt that the way to define this "original character" was to compare it to "a revolutionizing philosopher."

The point, however, is that the great artist is not that revolutionizing philosopher, or, more plainly put, that "philosopher of revolution"—Karl Marx. Not being that philosopher of revolution, aiming to transform reality, he, more often than not, does not understand the masses in motion that have inspired his vision. He remains the "outsider looking in."

FOR US, AS REVOLUTIONARIES, as Marxist-Humanists trying to catch the link of historic continuity with Marx's new continent of thought and of revolution of the 1840s, and the trail to the 1980s he left us in the 1880s, we must finally meet the challenge Marx put to us to work out the new paths to revolution. This demands that we see revolutionary forces not only as muscle but as Reason; it demands, at the same time, that we do not relegate those forces to "characters" (original or otherwise) on a play stage, but see them on the historic stage with the masses in motion transforming reality.

Doing this for the last three decades, we have both paralleled what came from the movement from practice, and met its challenge to rise to philosophy, grounded in practice in a way that not only changed the whole relationship of theory to practice, but also made historic-philosophic contributions—as the trilogy of revolution shows. This year these are extended in the three new pamphlets we are issuing—a new edition of **American Civilization on Trial**, a new pamphlet on **Marx and the Third World**, and our projected work on the 1949-50 **General Miners' Strike**. [See ad p. 7]

Marx's 'Revolution in permanence'

Unshackling the "mind-forged manacles" of unfreedom

The forces from below show anew, at one and the same time, that the movement from practice was itself a form of theory and how it challenged the movement from theory to rise to a philosophy. Our unique contributions during those 30 years reached a culminating point that allowed us, in working out the **Ethnological Notebooks**, to find that trail Marx left and to look anew at the 1980s, thereby permitting **Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution [RLWLMR]** to issue a challenge to post-Marx Marxists and all other alternatives to Marx's Marxism.

What is new in this Marx Centenary year is that, with the tour around the whole trilogy of revolution, so many new doors were opened to Marxist-Humanism—be that in Afro-American studies or in Third World Women's Conferences or with Youth, including Latinos—that what became clear was that all these revolutionary forces struggling against the myriad capitalistic economic-political-social-military crises manifest an im-

pulse to see that their revolutionary energies and Reason will not again be thwarted. Revolutions are soured not alone because of the might of these tyrannical, exploitative, sexist, racist powers, but for lack of a philosophy of revolution....

I wish to cite the situation in Africa here because it is directly related to philosophy as the most imperative kind of ACTION.... Africa, where it is a question of both philosophy and organization.... [Let me] return to when, long ago, Nasser chose to entitle his report of no more than a Free Officer's coup as **Egypt's Liberation, the Philosophy of Revolution**. The year is 1955, and the very first words on the very first page of the text say, concerning the use of the word, "philosophy": "I stand before a boundless world, a bottomless sea." The next category Nasser singles out is "Idea" as "seed of revolution."

Long before this rereading, I used to recommend the work, but the stress then was on his not being interested in facing the enemy as enemy at the negotiating table, but instead in quoting the Israeli chief's account (Yeruham Cohen was his name) of what preoccupied Nasser. It was the "struggle of Israel against the English and how we organized the underground resistance movement against them in Palestine and how we were able to muster world public opinion behind us in our struggle against them."

NASSER THEN INTRODUCED his third category: History. Clearly, to Nasser, the point was that unless one has a Promethean vision, is not an eclectic and is steeped in history, a leader will not succeed with his revolution. The flaw was and remains that their philosophy continues to be in a vanguardist framework of organization. In Nasser's case it was the "Free Officer" corps—and we saw it in African regression long before its further degradation in the Quadaffis. Our focus remains the unique African passion for philosophy. There the African dimension—as has been clear through the years, whether in an intellectual like Senghor or a trade union organizer like Sekou Toure—is seen at its most positive in the actual movement in South Africa today called Black Consciousness.

It is no accident that, like us, they have singled out Frantz Fanon as the great Third World theorist. It was he who combined to the fullest the unique African passion for philosophy with the Marxian-Hegelian dialectic and Marx's philosophy of "revolution in permanence." But we alone have shown that to be inseparable also from organization. Without "revolution in permanence" not only "in general" but as ground for organization, we face today's myriad crises—with the Reagans deluded that even a nuclear war could be "winnable"—poverty-stricken in thought.

This, then, defines our focus on organizational growth rooted in that philosophy of "revolution in permanence".... The central point for today is the need for projection of Marxist-Humanism, not just "in general" but as organization, along with elicitation from below.

(continued on page 10)

Philosophic Dialogue

by Sheila Fuller

Editor's note: We print below excerpts from a presentation at an ongoing series of classes, "Marxist-Humanism: The Re-creation of Marx's Marxism for our Age," being given in the locals of News and Letters Committees.

Rosa Luxemburg was a great woman revolutionary and Marxist theoretician who had a tremendous appreciation of spontaneous mass struggles. She made a category of the element of spontaneity, especially in the 1905 Russian Revolution. In her pamphlet, *The Mass Strike*, she wrote: "In short, in the mass strikes in Russia, the element of spontaneity plays such a predominant part, not because the Russian proletariat are 'uneducated' but because revolutions do not allow anyone to play the schoolmaster with them."

Luxemburg was a theoretician who followed the extension of capitalism into what we now call the "Third World." As early as 1895 she recognized the emergence of imperialism and analyzed it as a "shift in global politics." She fought imperialism and German militarism throughout her life. Indeed she broke with the leadership of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) over their reformism, opportunism and refusal to challenge German militarism. Luxemburg devoted her whole life to working out the relationship of theory to revolution. She considered theory to be the lifeblood of the movement.

In *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (RLWLMR), Raya Dunayevskaya appreciated Luxemburg's achievements. At the same time, she argued that Luxemburg did not make a new beginning in re-creating Marx's philosophy of revolution for her age. Exploring her critique of Luxemburg as a post-Marx Marxist can help us find pathways to begin anew in re-creating Marx's Marxism for our age.

LUXEMBURG: THE DIALECTIC AS A TOOL

I want to single out two interrelated critiques which Dunayevskaya raised about Luxemburg in RLWLMR: 1) Why did Luxemburg, who so deeply appreciated the element of spontaneity in revolution and made a universal out of spontaneity, not break from the conception of a vanguard party to lead the masses? 2) Why did Luxemburg, who was a serious theoretician, not develop a new concept of organization on the foundation of Marx's philosophy of revolution?

As Dunayevskaya expressed it: "Luxemburg's disgust with the orthodox SPD leadership did not extend to a perception of how total was the lack of comprehension of Marx's philosophy of revolution that would extend far beyond any single question, be it national or the Morocco incident. Her profound sensing of the opportunism within the German Social Democracy, which led to the 1910-11 break with Kautsky, was not made into the kind of universal that others could recognize and accept.

"Indeed, she herself did not realize that the SPD had deviated from Marx, and not just on tactical grounds; that the course needed to be reversed to reconnect with Marx's philosophy—that is, the actuality of revolution—and to make that philosophy the solid ground for the new, the totally new" (p. 119).

Dunayevskaya pointed to an answer to these questions in chapter 9 of RLWLMR, where she wrote that even though Luxemburg considered her responsibility to be the restatement of Marxism for her age, "far from seeing in the dialectic a dialectic of liberation, she saw it merely as a tool," as an "instrument of class culture," a "method of research" (p. 118).

Why did Luxemburg see Marx's dialectic as a tool? Or rather, what does it mean to reduce Marxism to a tool? How does this view lead to Luxemburg's not spelling out the responsibility of a Marxist theoretician and her not working out a new philosophic beginning after her break with the opportunist, reformist SPD leadership?

To begin to answer these questions, we need to make a journey to 1953, that is, to Dunayevskaya's 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes, which she considered to be "a new divide in Marxism," a truly new beginning. There Dunayevskaya tackled the question of organization by relating Hegel's Absolute Idea to the concept of a "small group 'like us' who know that nothing can be done without the masses and are with them, but they [small groups] are theoreticians and they always seem to be around too. So, what is the objectivity which explains their presence, as the objectivity explains the spontaneous outburst of the masses?" (See June 1, 1987 Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy published in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* (TPMMH), p. 10.) Dunayevskaya did not simply view the question of organization as the relation of spontaneity to organization.

It is in her May 12, 1953 Letter that Dunayevskaya quoted Hegel's view that every beginning has to be made from the Absolute. (She saw the Absolute as the highest stage of the thought and struggle for human liberation.) She quoted the rest of this passage where Hegel argued that "the progress consists in this, that the universal determines itself and is the universal for itself, that is, is equally also individual and subject. It is the Absolute only in its completion" (p. 31, TPMMH). Clearly, Dunayevskaya argued that for her, the new beginning, the progress of the universal of socialism, consists in the self-movement, the realization and the further development of the Idea of Marxism. Subject or individual here means the further development, the re-creation of the universal of socialism, the Idea of Marxism, in face of

new developments.

She then wrote: "So although we began with the universal of socialism and although we have seen socialism in the various phases of the Commune [the Paris Commune of 1871], the Soviets, the CIO [Congress of Industrial Organizations], it is not yet IT for it can be it 'only in its completion'" (p. 31, TPMMH). Earlier in the letter she had written about the Paris Commune, the Soviets, the CIO as various phases of the universal of socialism. But she argued that is not yet a new beginning until human beings re-create the Idea of Marxism. Clearly for Dunayevskaya, who greatly appreciated spontaneity, spontaneity is not a universal. The universal is the re-creation, the further development of the Idea of Marxism by live human beings.

DUNAYEVSKAYA: DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEA OF MARXISM

But it was not until her May 20, 1953 Letter that she fully made the breakthrough that she considered to be the new beginning in Marxism. In Dunayevskaya's May 20, 1953 Letter, she got to what she discerned to be Hegel's summation of his whole philosophy in the three final syllogisms of his book, the *Philosophy of Mind* (also known as the *Philosophy of Spirit*). There she saw Hegel presenting the structure of his *Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences* (which consists of the *Logic*, the *Philosophy of Nature* and the *Philosophy of Mind*), not as a hierarchy, but as a movement; a movement from universal to particular to individual, or a movement from abstract to concrete. In paragraph 575, the first of the three final syllogisms, Dunayevskaya discovered that the movement from nature to mind, which she saw as a "movement from practice," is implicitly the idea of freedom.

This movement from nature to mind is only implicitly the idea of freedom. It has the impulse for further development. In the next syllogism, paragraph 576, the idea of freedom is further developed in mind. Following this movement, Dunayevskaya discovered that even when Hegel got to the final syllogism, 577, the "absolutely universal," that is not a pinnacle or a stopping point, but has the impulse for further development.

Dunayevskaya discovered that the "absolutely universal" is the "self-thinking Idea," the self-determination of the Idea which is a ceaseless movement. She discerned that the movement from universal to particular to individual, or from abstract to concrete, is through the ceaseless further development of the idea of freedom. Twenty years later, in *Philosophy and Revolution*, she expressed this breakthrough in her unique and original category, "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning."

In *Philosophy and Revolution* she wrote that "The revolt that erupted in East Germany in 1953 and came to a climax in 1956 in the Hungarian Revolution was articulated also in new points of departure in theory...It was as if Hegel's Absolute Method as a simultaneously subjective-objective mediation had taken on flesh. Both in life and in cognition, subjectivity—live men and women—tried shaping history via a totally new relationship of practice to theory. It was as if the 'Absolute Universal,' instead of being a beyond, an abstraction, was concrete and everywhere" (p. 42). We can see that the "Absolute Method" comes to life because of the simultaneity of a new stage

Dunayevskaya's exploration of the Marxism of Rosa Luxemburg

of revolt with a new stage of cognition.

For Dunayevskaya, the universal, Marxism, far from being a tool, is a live body of ideas in need of further development and re-creation by each generation of revolutionaries. The movement from universal to particular to individual, or the movement from abstract to concrete, is not an application but constitutes a ceaseless re-creation of the Idea. That is what she developed as "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning."

So we see that Luxemburg, in 1905, raised spontaneity to the status of a universal. But she did not develop a concept of organization that was based on the further development of Marx's philosophy of revolution. Despite her great appreciation for spontaneity, she did not break from the vanguard party-to-lead. Dunayevskaya, however, in 1953 raised the relationship of the further development of Marx's philosophy of revolution to a concept of organization that is not a vanguard party-to-lead. She developed the concept of an organization of workers and intellectuals who know that nothing can be done without the spontaneity of the masses, and are with them, but think that they have a responsibility for the further development of Marx's philosophy of revolution.

MARXISM: APPLICATION VS. RE-CREATION

Whereas for Luxemburg, the particularization of the universal of Marxism was a method of application, for Dunayevskaya it was the self-determination of the Idea of Marxism, or what she discovered as Absolute Negativity as New Beginning.

This is what Dunayevskaya expressed in her 1986-87 Marxist-Humanist Perspectives presentation, where in a section entitled, "The Single Dialectic in Philosophy," she wrote: "For Marxist-Humanists, Perspectives makes Retrospective not just a remembrance of things past, but such an inwardizing and projecting of Marx's whole body of ideas that only then does one fully embark on the new of one's own age, so that the discontinuity with the old is historically justifiable because it now shows its roots in the continuity."

To me, this is what Peter Wermuth expressed in his presentation to the first of the class series on "Marxist-Humanism: The Re-creation of Marx's Marxism for our Age" (published in the March 1991 issue of *News & Letters*), the class entitled "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning vs. Post-Marx Marxism." There he wrote: "Avoiding the pull of 150 years of 'post-Marx Marxism as peJORative' depends on how deeply we embrace philosophy, not as an abstraction, but as that power of thought so imbued with the dialectic of absolute negativity that we 'mold' the Recollection of past high points of freedom struggles and thought into an altogether new beginning." This is the determinant for organization and for life.

It is on this foundation that we can begin to grasp Dunayevskaya's critique of Luxemburg for having made a universal out of spontaneity and for not creating a new organization on the basis of a new beginning in Marxism. A new beginning in Marxism could not be achieved so long as Marxism was seen as a tool instead of a philosophy of absolute negativity which Marx called "a new Humanism."

From the Marxist-Humanist Archives:

Raya Dunayevskaya's writings on Rosa Luxemburg

Explore the wealth of material on Rosa Luxemburg in the Marxist-Humanist Archives. Raya Dunayevskaya's appreciation for and critique of Luxemburg began in the 1940s when she critiqued Luxemburg's *Accumulation of Capital*. Her exploration continued through the writing of *Marxism and Freedom* and her letters on the process of writing *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, and continued into Dunayevskaya's writings after the publication of that work in 1982.



"Here RL was so much in advance of the times, in advance of the others, including Lenin, in the question of the German Social Democracy...she broke with the whole concept of imperialism...And yet when it came to a full and total theory, she was so concerned with fighting Marx on the accumulation of capital, saying that he didn't foresee this stage, that it ended up by her denying what she called the rococo style of the nature of the dialectic in the fetishism of commodities."—"Philosophy and Revolution: New Stage of Thought or New Form of Revolt?" March 1977, Archives #15058

"It never fails that, no matter how fully you know a subject, when a new force and Reason of revolution arises (as Women's Liberation has arisen in our age) you feel you have known nothing until that new moment of illumination. It is then that the individual and the universal have merged in what Hegel calls the 'birth-time of history' and that is why everything—the familiar as well as the unfamiliar—is so totally new. That is the way I felt about Rosa Luxemburg, about Women's Liberation, and about Marx's philosophy of revolution, though I have lived with those subjects my whole adult life."

—Dunayevskaya letter to Ana Maria Portugal (Lima, Peru), October 1981, Archives #15305

We invite you to join us in studying the Marxist-Humanist Archives. To obtain the Archives and the Guide and Supplement to the *Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development*, see the literature ad on page 7. Or send for a free brochure describing the full Collection, available from: *News & Letters*, 59 East Van Buren, #707, Chicago, IL 60605

IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE GULF WAR: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

The anti-war demonstrations in Chicago were great just before and just after the war started. The demonstration of 10,000 was really great—everyone was taking over the streets. So why did it all die down so fast, even though the war was still going on? I think some of it has to do with the media, the way they ignored everything anyone said against the war. It makes you feel powerless. A lot also has to do with seeing how powerful this country is with all these high-tech weapons. It made some people feel they can't control their future. To me, what the war showed is there's no sense believing in this system, and I want to change it.

High School student
Evanston, Ill.

You know why the U.S. had this war? Because they are no longer a great economic power, so they had to show the world they are a political and military power. The dollar is down all over the world except in Latin America. There the dollar is always going up.

Dominican worker
New York

A lot of people, who I know were against the war before it began, later started wearing those "Support the Troops" buttons and yet insisted they were still "against the war." That makes no sense. I could have worn a button that said "I Care" because I did care what happened to the troops. But that never could mean I supported them as killing machines. What has happened to people's heads?

Health worker
Pennsylvania

I hate to admit it, but it took the threat of war for me to realize the problems inherent in our capitalist, oligarchically controlled society. Maybe if other people can be educated to the real situation in the Middle East so that they will not be manipulated by the government and the press into believing that we are fighting for freedom and against aggression, then perhaps they will also realize that capitalism leads to war and poverty and not to freedom.

Student
De Kalb, Ill.

As a Palestinian, I'm feeling the need in the current crisis for more than the organizing and demonstrating that is going on. We need study and discussion—something to feed us. For us Palestinians, there's always one more crisis or one more massacre. We end up running from one event to another event, but we need a deeper sense of direction.

Palestinian activist
Los Angeles

The so-called military/ideological victory of Bush was in fact so non-victorious that it turned into a nightmare overnight. No wonder Bush and his military men were so humble in accepting the credit for it. Do not forget, it was at the height of the human rights hype in 1979 championed by Jimmy Carter, that Iranian and Nicaragua masses unleashed their revolutionary will.

The Persian Gulf hype was hardly even a challenge to capitalism's higher opposition—human freedom. The morning after Saddam Hussein was "finished up," the nightmare of deepening crises hit out. Military victory did not resolve, rather it deepened the contradictions in the capitalist system. The defeat of Saddam H. was not a victory over revolution. It represents and manifests the quintessential doom of the capitalist state.

Iranian revolutionary
Chicago

I was at two of the first peace demonstrations—the one on Jan. 12 in Frankfurt, Germany with 30,000 people and the blockade of the American Air Base in Frankfurt on Jan. 19 with 50,000 people. Many oversimplifications and distortions showed themselves even here, at the beginning of the protest movement. However, from the first, there were also self-criticisms from within the movement as well, over the banners, the speeches, and its general themes.

At first, one saw many banners such

as "Americans out of Arabia," but only a few which read "Iraq out of Kuwait." Many voices loudly demanded the right of the Palestinians to form their own state, but very few demanded that the PLO leadership distance itself from Saddam Hussein. A few days later this, on the whole, one-sided character of the movement changed. The big demonstration on Feb. 2 in Bonn overcame these previous omissions by the peace movement. This self-critique by the movement showed exactly the type of learning process that the German political establishment was unable to develop.

Peter-Erwin Jansen
Germany

The invasion of Iraq would have been unthinkable just a few years ago, and now seems to have wide popular support. Reaganism was nothing less than a deliberate effort to roll back thought to the era before the Civil Rights Movement and before the anti-war movement.

It encountered a great deal of opposition but went virtually unchallenged in the field of ideas. The result today is the kind of disarray on the Left that we see.

D.B.
Flint, Mich.

There are two attitudes on the part of anti-war activists I have been hearing since the war ended. One is to blame the masses for Bush's ability to get away with his genocide of Iraqis, as if the war proves the backwardness of the American people. The other is to close one's eyes to the depth of the retrogression this country is sinking into. The trouble with both attitudes is that they skip over the responsibility we in the movement have for reorganizing our own thinking. Until we break our minds free, not only from the ruling class ideas, but also from the Post-Marx Marxist ideas, the rulers will have it all over us.

Anti-war activist
Chicago



THE FORGOTTEN THIRD WORLD

Dreadful as the Gulf Crisis is, an even worse crisis is the "silent holocaust" in Africa, where (by Oxfam's estimate) 20 million human beings are in danger of starvation. In fact there are several geographically distinct famines, in Sudan and Ethiopia, and in Mozambique, Angola and Liberia. While the immediate causes are drought and civil war, the reasons for this catastrophe lie in the very nature of our capitalist-imperialist world—two elements of which are the debt crisis and the arms trade, which take away the means of life while supplying the means of death in abundance.

Richard Bunting
England

In the Haitian government offices many protests are being heard. The workers are demanding the dismissal of officials accused of corruption. Among the people, there is waiting for a lowering of the prices of basic commodities. In diplomatic circles, it is being said that the U.S. has frozen the \$82 million in aid promised to the Aristide government.

As to the leaders of the failed coup d'etat of Jan. 7, they have not yet been punished. Note that the main leader of this coup was Roger Lafontant, former Minister of the Interior (Police) in the Duvalier government and head of the Tontons macoutes.

Renan Hedouville
Haiti

We see acutely the need for a just and peaceful world. The second tragic event in six months has hit our center in Lesotho. The only son of one of our co-workers has been shot and killed in South Africa. Coming, as it does, shortly after the killing by police of the only son of another member of our team, we are shaken by the agony and anguish of the region. We know that we are not the only ones to be hit. Thousands have

Readers' Views

BLACK AMERICA

The police beating of Rodney King finally made me mad enough to come out to a demonstration—the first demonstration I have ever been to. First there was the Gulf war, and now this: here we are, at the end of the twentieth century, and we're so advanced on everything except what does it mean to be a human being, and treat others as human beings. I really do believe that people can still get together to make changes. Those times aren't past.

Young Black woman
Los Angeles

I never felt I had choices in life as a Black man. What do "freedom" and "patriotism" mean in this society? Freedom to live in low-income housing, to stay at the bottom of the economic ladder. "Freedom" to live in a society that does not respect me as a man but as a social misfit. We have been kicked down too long.

Black worker
Chicago



WOMEN'S LIBERATION WORLDWIDE

It is heartening to read that groups of people in the U.S. resist President Bush's imperialist policies. Imperialism is a real threat to us in the Third World. It is now evident in the U.S. aggression against Iraq, and its ability to subvert the UN Security Council for its own end. Women, who are struggling against various forms of oppression and exploitation, would appreciate if you could devote more space to their problems and struggles too.

Women's Centre
Bombay, India

Governor Norman Bangert of Utah has signed into law the most restrictive anti-abortion bill any state has seen since 1973, and the Utah legislators who proposed the bill made no effort to hide that they were cooperating with the federal government to design a test case to overturn the right to abortion completely. Why was there so little national opposition to the Utah bill? Was it only because the law seemed inevitable in such a conservative state? It was only 1989 when 800,000 poured into the Capitol to demand reproductive freedom.

Laurie Cashdan
New York

The Agency for Rural Transformation (ART) launched its Women's Resource Centre on March 14, 1991, as part of the programme commemorating International Women's Day, and is soliciting your assistance in making this project a success. We would appreciate copies of periodicals or information on publications which are of relevance to women.

ART
Albert Street
Grenville, Grenada

THE ANTI-WARRIOR

We are the members of the military who have declined to participate in the Persian Gulf massacre. We now need your assistance. The first issue of our newsletter, *The Anti-WARRIOR*, is nearly complete, but we urgently require funding for printing and distribution.

Many of us have worked, and will continue to work, with various peace/anti-militarism organizations. This newsletter, however, has been written, compiled, and edited independently by us, the resisters.

It is our initial goal to print 10,000 newsletters, to distribute on a national scale and to place ads in widely read periodicals. We intend to publish on a bi-monthly schedule on high quality newsprint. It does not take much imagination to see the potential of this publication. With your help we can meet our first edition expenses.

Jeffrey Paterson
the Anti-WARRIOR
48 Shattuck Sq., Box 129
Berkeley, CA 94704

been killed in this sub-region, tens of thousands if we add Mozambique and Angola.

The sad thing is that the United States is setting a very wrong example, particularly in its war in the Persian Gulf. Sanctions worked in South Africa, and we remain grateful to people in the western world, perhaps like yourself, who urged the maintenance of sanctions.

J.G.
Transformation Resource Centre
Lesotho

You can't use officials in the United Nations to judge what most people are thinking in Africa today. In Africa there is considerable intellectual contestation of neo-colonialism's adherence to the failed policies of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. The idea of "market forces" has been destroyed as a policy. People are asking "What is to be done?" as never before. The government is not the people but a faction and the U.N. representatives are a segment of that which usually represents the financial and central banking interests that are different even from the government itself. Neo-colonialism triumphed but it is not a path to viable development. It is short-lived.

African Intellectual
New York

I recently saw on Hispanic television in the U.S. an interview from Mexican television with Daniel Ortega, the former president of Nicaragua. He had just come back from the Middle East, and his whole interview showed his attitude of narrow anti-imperialism and political tailendism. He expressed his opposition to the Yanqui imperialism in the Gulf, but he didn't denounce the imperialist aims of Saddam Hussein in the region, nor mention the global imperialist aims of the Russian empire.

The people of Latin America have shown through history their opposition to all kinds of imperialist rulers as well as rulers at home. We have had our Husseins in Cuba, Panama, Chile, Argentina and the Dominican Republic. We have had too many unfinished revolutions in Latin America. Ortega's narrow perspective cannot help open the road to freedom.

Dominican revolutionary
California

ECOLOGICAL CRISIS

News & Letters provides information about domestic and worldwide labor-corporate conflicts that is rarely available in other publications. Its political perspective on organizational and international relations generally coincides with my own, and when it doesn't its reasoned approach always encourages me to re-evaluate my own thinking. There are two areas, however that are rarely covered from a Marxist-Humanist perspective. The first is analysis of human organizations that are democratically managed and collectively or socially owned. The other has to do with ecology. Certainly Engels can be faulted for many of his interpretations of Marx. However, in my opinion he tucked in a couple of brilliant pages on the destruction of the ecology of what was then Spanish colonial Cuba and also Greece by 19th century private enterprises in his *The Role of Labor in the Transformation from Ape to Man*. Shouldn't we be saying that one of the most critical problems of our time is the devastation of the planet by both state and corporate capitalism?

Subscriber
Eugene, Ore.

Naturalism isn't something external to humans. Humans are a part of nature, and a part of nature is thinking. Capitalist structure of society is not only poisoning the earth and killing off that aspect of nature, but hand in hand with that is killing off the paths of cognition. The only way to free the earth is to free ourselves to think new ways to free it.

Philosophy Student
Illinois

**MARXIST-HUMANISM:
ITS SUMMATION AS NEW BEGINNING**

I was quite surprised to hear Raya Dunayevskaya say in the writing from her Archives in the March issue (see "Marxist-Humanism: Its Summation as New Beginning") that the various pamphlets published by N&L during the 1960s—such as *Workers Battle Automation* and *Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves*—were not alone products of the movement from below. Her statement that their form and content took shape as a result of the philosophic breakthrough that created Marxist-Humanism brings out the importance of the revolutionary theoretician. What I want to think more about is her statement that when this is not recognized, the integrality of theory/practice gets pulled asunder.

Civil rights activist
Michigan

The idea of philosophy as what enables you to catch new revolutionary forces and passions is very indigenous to Marxist-Humanism's relation to the Black Dimension. In 1987 Dunayevskaya wrote that you need "the whole Marxist-Humanist Archives" to see the revolutionary Black dimension as ongoing. The pamphlet, *American Civilization on Trial*, identifies the Reason inherent in that ongoing Black movement for liberation. Marxist-Humanist philosophy made that singling out possible.

Black intellectual
Oakland, CA:

There is an interesting point made in Dunayevskaya's column that may help one better understand the relation of Hegel to Marx. It's when she says Marx fully inwardized Hegel's dialectic. A lot of people argue that Marx took one aspect of Hegel or another, but I've never seen this point made by anyone else. She does say that Marx did not "translate" everything he took from Hegel. But that doesn't mean he just took a part of the dialectic from him.

L.H.
Illinois

There's one point in Raya's column

last month that's easy to skip over—her statement that the Johnson-Forest Tendency of the 1940's had not worked out what it was for. The JFT surely knew about the Paris Commune, workers' self-emancipation, and a totally new society, and yet she says it never worked out what it was for. I take it she's saying being for something means what fully worked out philosophy you have. As important as were the contributions of the JFT in the 1940s, Dunayevskaya did not create the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism until the 1950s, which the other co-leaders of the JFT, Grace Lee and C.L.R. James, could not accept.

Kevin A. Barry
Chicago

In "Marxist-Humanism: Its Summation as New Beginning" (N&L March 1991, p. 4) Raya Dunayevskaya wrote that one contribution of the Johnson-Forest Tendency (JFT) was "looking with new eyes at labor's creativity in working out new forms of revolt." However, it was not until her philosophic breakthrough in 1953 that a new category was created: "the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory," also expressed as "masses as Reason."

It's not so easy to see what is the difference between the JFT's (or Rosa Luxemburg's) "appreciation of the genius of the masses in action" and RD's new category. How do we practice that new relationship between theory and practice without falling into the other trap of seeing in the mass movement merely a confirmation of what we think we already know?

B. Ann Lastelle
Chicago

THE NEED FOR SOLIDARITY

What interests me about News and Letters Committees is that you try not to separate one struggle from another, and see that in every country there is a needed revolution brewing. I worked for a while last year with a Central Ameri-

can solidarity group and found that we were always struggling to "liberate" or help liberate that region and yet we never discussed the oppressive conditions right here at home that I also want to do something about.

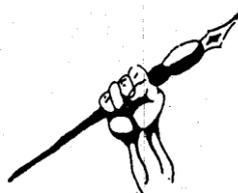
Music Student
Cal State L.A.

I find the paper very informative and interesting on the American and international situation from a working class perspective. I find your deliberate and specific regular coverage of women's, Black and industrial issues particularly laudable. The one thing which surprises me is that with such a large American population and given the political level and importance of the national liberation movements and struggle in Ireland, you do not give more coverage to the Irish struggle.

Brian Higgins
England

It is so exciting for me to see letters from persons all around the world in the Readers' Views pages. I am thankful to N&L for keeping attention focused on the connection between the struggles for freedom. The war may be over, but the crisis is not. With the recent violence in Los Angeles, South Africa and Yugoslavia and the ever-retrogressing women's rights, I see a need to dig deeper in my own studies, and find that N&L is the best way right now.

Cindy
Suburbia, Ill.



**SUPPORT
KURDISH
FREEDOM
FIGHTERS**

Our new journal, *Kurdistan in the Media*, will accumulate on a monthly basis all that it can collect about the Kurds in the media. We need your help, requesting everyone to send us all articles that you can collect which concern our people. We need your subscriptions as well as your donations.

Kurdish National Congress
P.O. Box 26702
Santa Ana, CA 92799

HELP US CONTINUE!

Thanks to all readers who have answered our Appeal to help keep N&L going—and a reminder to all others. Have you sent your contribution to our Sustaining Fund?

I don't agree with everything that Marxist-Humanism has to say. But I do appreciate reading the serious philosophic analysis in your literature. It is such a contrast to the cheerleading that goes on within the rest of the Left.

Environmental activist
Vermont

I think this is the most democratic paper on the Left because the workers can express their minds.

Subscriber
New York City

N&L is a good alternative news source. The philosophic input is interesting and provocative. We are in dire need of some reforms in this nation—i.e., socialized medicine, alternative-safe energy sources and multi-cultural education in schools to rid us of racism.

Subscriber
Seattle, Wash.

N&L is one of the best publications I have read in terms of good reporting, excellent analysis and standing for the great cause of freedom and socialism. I read Dunayevskaya's column with great interest. It is a very important contribution to human thought and work for a real revolution. However, I have a problem with the language. I think it is too difficult to follow sometimes. Could you edit it to simpler language?

B.A.
Winona, Minn.

Especially in recent days as this country slides into terrible regression. N&L speaks to the hearts and minds of the oppressed. Dunayevskaya's column is one of the real strong points of N&L. It is a tribute to the commitment of the N&L membership and readership that the paper retains this strong practical and theoretical feature.

T.V.
Chicago

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

—BOOKS—

- Marxism and Freedom ...from 1776 until today**
1989 Columbia University Press edition. New 1980s introduction by author 381 pp.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$17.50 per copy
- Philosophy and Revolution from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao**
1989 edition. New introduction by author 372 pp.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$14.95 per copy
- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution** 234 pp.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future** 294 pp.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$15.95
- The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism: Two Historic-Philosophic Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya.** Contains "Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987," and 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes." 52 pp.
\$3.00 paperback, \$10.00 hardcover
- Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal**
1989 Wayne State University Press edition includes Afterword by Raya Dunayevskaya, "Charles Denby 1907-83" 303 pp.
by Charles Denby \$14.95

—PAMPHLETS—

- Constitution of News & Letters Committees** 29¢ postage
- Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts**
Special bulletin on Marxist-Humanism as a body of ideas by Raya Dunayevskaya, Eugene Walker, Michael Connolly and Olga Domanski \$1 per copy
- The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.**
by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
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Bush's 'militarization of the mind' threatens our struggles

(continued from page 1)

nation in the Gulf war abroad and is now intent on bringing home in a virulent, war-nourished form.

This can be seen first and foremost in his attitude to civil rights and to labor. Using the magic word "quota," the Bush administration has served notice that it intends, once again, to gut any civil rights bill which would seek to reverse the recent Supreme Court decisions that took away any protection afforded women and minority workers against racism and sexism at the work place. So fully did the Reagan-packed Supreme Court denude the "laws of the land" of any such protections that they made it impossible to sue against discrimination in hiring or promotion. The infamous 1989 Wards Cove Packing case was a landmark decision for Bush. That is when the Court ruled that a minority worker must provide evidence that the racist practice he or she had been subjected to was an intentional conspiracy of management!

What Bush has now dared to present as an "equal opportunity"—for Black men and women to fight in his wars—was in reality a poverty draft, that saw young people driven into the military in hopes of getting a job and the education denied them anywhere else in a land where racism festers at the heart of American civilization. (See Editorial on racism and police brutality, p. 9.)

Within the Black community mothers were in the forefront in organizing against the sending of their children to fight in the Persian Gulf. "President Bush is ready to rebuild Kuwait, but who is going to rebuild my heart when I lose my son over there, who is going to rebuild my community?" said one mother on Chicago's West Side. (See women's opposition to war, p. 2.)

It is precisely because Bush saw the deep opposition of Black America to his wars both at home and abroad, that he not only embraced his clone, General Colin Powell, so demonstratively for TV consumption, but even had careful rumors floated by the media linking Powell to a Vice Presidential candidacy.

As for Bush's agenda for labor, his newly appointed Secretary of Labor, Lynn Martin, has already indicated that Bush will veto any attempt to change the strike-breaking law that allows companies to hire permanent replacement workers during strikes. This is precisely what Reagan established after breaking the PATCO strike in 1981, setting the ideological ground for capital's offensive against labor throughout the 1980s.

All one needs to do is look at the situation of the Greyhound workers a year after that strike to see

what confronts labor in today's "changed world" of ever-worsening retrogression. Many of those strikers are not only still out of work, but feel that they will never have a job again. Their bitterness is directed not only at management, but at the labor bureaucracy which abandoned them. Or one can look at the most recent strike that gained national headlines—the battles of the New York Daily News. What is being called a "victory," because the strike was not completely broken, has meant a settlement that includes the loss of hundreds of workers' jobs.

It is not that there wasn't a tremendous show of solidarity for the strikers from labor nationally and in New York City itself. It is that all this solidarity did not prevent one more defeat. Nor has it stemmed the horrendous tide of ever greater and greater deterioration in the living standards of the American workers. Millions are out of work while those that had jobs paying ten dollars an hour and more in unionized manufacturing, are now facing non-union jobs in service work and in manufacturing that are paying five dollars an hour.

A young worker from a recently closed meatpacking plant spoke of "workers finding out that job-hunting is becoming a painful experience not only because there



are so many other workers job-hunting, but also because any worker who was earning a fairly decent wage before is less likely to get a job paying that wage."

THE HUMAN DIMENSION OF RECESSION

Despite the professional economists, who for so long denied that we were in a recession and now are proclaiming that we will be out quickly, all the economic signs speak of a continuing recession. The most recent unemployment figures tell of 6.5% officially counted as unemployed, the highest since 1983. This translates to

Black World

(continued from page 1)

ted that it was two years ago, in the Army. The skills the media and the recruiters told him he could get in the "all-volunteer" Army were insufficient for him to get a service sector job at KMart, Wisconsin Bell or even McDonald's.

"I'm in an endless cycle," Anthony Hoskins says. "How am I going to get qualifications if I never get a chance? You get 16-, 17-year-old white kids working and here I am a grown man, an Army veteran, and I can't get a damn job."

MILITARIZATION OF BLACK REALITY

No one really wonders why the sentiment against Bush's media-enhanced high-tech war runs so deep in the de-industrialized Black community. However, what is cause for wonder is why new contradictory attitudes have cropped up, especially within the Black leadership. To comprehend this new phenomenon, of which the ambivalent attitude to Bush's Black militarist clone Gen. Colin Powell is but one of the more obvious signs, we must measure the spontaneous militancy of Black anti-war sentiment against those aspects of the economic crisis that have militarized Black reality.

According to a U.S. Department of Defense recruitment study for the Chicago area, during 1989-90, 80% of the recruits from the area were "minority": 65% Black, 12.4% Latino and 4.3% "other." For working-class Black, Latino and white youth forced to join the so-called "all-volunteer" military and for working-class college students forced to join the reserves in order to pay for their education, or just to make ends meet, the military has become the employer of last resort.

Some sociologists would prefer to play down the racial bias associated with the poverty draft of Black and Latino youth into the "all-volunteer" military. For instance, Prof. Charles Moskos of Northwestern University's Department of Sociology argues that, "By focusing on blacks, you sort of make them unwitting recruits, which is another form of victimization."

However, the racial bias that manifests itself in the disproportion of Blacks in the military has its origin in American society, only with its terms inverted. So, while Moskos argues that "poor white kids enter (the military) under the same constraints," in civilian life, Black youth with college educations still suffer from economic inequalities in employment and incomes at higher rates than white youth with eighth grade educations.

Those Black youth who suffer from the conditions of Third World poverty in America's inner cities are being sent to fight America's wars against the Third World. And little has progressed in the Reagan-Bush "all-volunteer" military since the early 1980s when statistics showed that Blacks received dishonorable discharges at four times the rate of whites; Blacks and Latinos were

Two war fronts

over half the people in Army stockades; and Black and Latino recruits were the majority of those classified E-1 and E-2, the lowest job classification in the Army.

The education crisis is part and parcel of the militarization of the Black mind. As against white, middle-class, suburban high schools which severely restrict the number of visits by military recruiters, there is no Board of Education policy limiting the amount of access that recruiters have to inner city schools. Instead of schooling Black and Latino youth to the military reality of poverty wages, racial discrimination, sexism, and hot, dirty and dangerous training conditions, recruiters make the military sound like the promised land.

The Gulf crisis has not stemmed the flow of inner city youth into the military, so bleak is the reality of the ghetto. So sanitized had the media made Bush's war appear, the prospect of new "adventures" abroad has pumped up recruitment. Therefore, where the government has not criminalized Black youth with its so-called "war on drugs"—already there are more young Black men between the ages of 18 and 24 in the criminal justice system than in this nation's colleges—it has militarized them with its "all-volunteer" military and imperialist wars abroad.

THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT

Finally, will the Gulf war aftermath look any different than what Black Vietnam vets face today? According to the National Association for Black Veterans in Milwaukee: for every white unemployed vet, there are three minority veterans without jobs; with veterans comprising 35% of the national prison population, over 50% are Black, although Blacks make up only 7% of the total veteran population of 27 million; while homeless vets make up one-third of the total homeless population in large cities like Chicago, nearly 50% of those are Black; and more than half a million Black soldiers who served in Vietnam received other than honorable discharges, issued without military hearings.

Some 16 years after the U.S. fall in Saigon, Vietnam, no one has had to wait to analyze the "vital statistics" of that most unpopular war in U.S. history. The popularity of Bush's ongoing war in the Middle East will only temporarily hide the "vital statistics" of the Anthonys returning home and Anthonys already here. The inescapable question is whether the self-determination of the Black mind will itself become a casualty of Bush's ideological war.

Unlike the Vietnam War era, there are today no Civil Rights, Black Power or sustained anti-war movements to radicalize the consciousness of Black youth. Thus, for those young Black men and women in America's ghettos and on its campuses, whose destiny this government wants to fasten to its search for new Vietnams, new Grenadas, new Panamas and new Persian Gulfs, the battle cry, "Hell no, we won't go!" is simply not enough.

over eight million workers without jobs.

For Black workers, the reality is even bleaker. Though supposedly to demonstrate they are "color-blind" the newspapers often do not publish separate unemployment statistics for Black workers. The reality is that Black unemployment is twice the rate of white unemployment, and for Black youth it reaches 35%.

Today almost no states have unemployment benefits which extend beyond six months. Thus more and more people are being forced on welfare. A record 4.2 million families are now receiving payments under Aid to Families With Dependent Children. Far from welfare being a long term "culture of poverty," close to half the new applicants have never received welfare. Meanwhile many states are eliminating money for the category of general assistance, forcing those who receive the absolute minimum benefit to do without any benefits, as the economy worsens and state budgets are in deficit.

The human dimension of this sick economy is seen most dramatically of all in terms of the disappearance of any health insurance once a job is lost, or when a worker has been forced into part-time work without any so-called "fringe-benefits." It is estimated that some 30 million Americans have no access to health insurance. In particular, the number of women and children in poverty is growing in this country. (See "Bush blames women when babies die," p. 2.)

The unfreedom that abounds everywhere in this degenerate society guarantees that there will be many struggles ahead. Indeed, it is precisely because Bush knows that they will intensify that he has been trying so hard to create the climate that will make those who oppose this racist, sexist, exploitative society appear as the "enemy." That is the climate he has been trying to create with his "militarization of the mind."

The media that helped Bush create that climate have proved themselves prominent among "the prizefighters for capitalism" that Marx described well over a century ago. We were bombarded with daily Pentagon briefings on "smart bombs" and laser-guided missiles and with robot like military consultants, while all reports of actual death and destruction were carefully sanitized. Any opposition—even when massive demonstrations reached out-pourings of over 100,000 in the first few days of the war—were shown only as a footnote to the war action, if they were reported at all.

In point of fact, the Gulf anti-war movement had grown much more rapidly than the anti-Vietnam war movement. Demonstrations and protest meetings had swept the country as the Jan. 15 deadline for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait and the beginning of the bombing campaign approached. They continued in the first few days of the war. However, as the massive bombings intensified and the daily reports of "smart bombs" and Tomahawk missiles flooded the airwaves, together with calls to "Support our Troops," the demonstrations nearly disappeared. Not even the horror of hundreds of human lives lost in the destruction of a civilian bomb shelter in Baghdad brought this new movement into the streets again.

TOTALITY OF THE NEEDED UPROOTING

Why? What happened to the new, vibrant movement that had erupted to oppose Bush's drive to war? One of the many thousands of new youth who had poured forth then may well have summed up the feeling of many when she answered that question: "We don't feel we can determine our future." That was exactly the aim of the ideological battle Bush has waged and won, inseparable from his military victory. That is exactly what we cannot let him get away with.

With his "militarization of the mind" it is clear Bush has succeeded in establishing the new stage to which he has taken Reagan retrogression. But to fight that, it is urgent to see that what allowed Bush to succeed—what has allowed him to smother the very idea of a different future for humanity—is what Raya Dunayevskaya pinpointed as the "ideological pollution which has penetrated the Left, itself." It is because post-Marx Marxism has so perverted Marx's Marxism, the philosophy of revolution and freedom, that it has allowed the rulers to proclaim "the end of Marxism," and masses of people to now feel that only the rulers can determine our fate.

That is why we have posed the challenge facing today's freedom movement as one that is deeper than that faced by any earlier generation—a veritable crisis of the mind—if we are to work out the total opposition needed to fight the barbarism confronting us.

It is not that new movements for freedom won't arise again and again. Our class-divided, racist, sexist society can do nothing but give birth to such freedom movements. And it is not that those movements will not be driven by a passion for a new human society, searching for a path to the freedom-filled future that so many of the youthful anti-war protesters hungered for.

Indeed, the whole past four decades have been filled with the kinds of struggles that Dunayevskaya, as the founder of the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism, called "the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory." What those four decades demonstrate, however, is that unless that is met by "a movement from theory which is itself a form of philosophy" in such a way that a new unity is created—the path to the future and a new beginning is blocked.

That is why, to confront the whole new stage to which Bush has now brought the ideological battle for our minds, our most concrete need is so clear a vision of the deep social uprooting needed in America, that the pathways both in thought and action to reach it can be hewed out.

Editorial

Fascist face of American 'law and order'

The war in the Gulf is not the only war being televised. Millions of Americans have now seen the videotape of the ruthless beating of Rodney King, a 25-year-old Black unemployed construction worker, who was hit with batons and kicked over 50 blows by Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) officers on March 3, after being shot with a Taser stun gun.

This war at home has been televised, thanks to the chance presence of someone with a home video camera. It has captured the mood of Bush's new anti-crime bill as a piece of racist American justice.

King was stopped in his car by the police for speeding. His injuries from the police assault included a fractured eye socket, a broken cheekbone, a broken leg, bruises, facial nerve damage, a severe concussion, burns from the Taser gun, and possible brain damage. Bones at the base of his skull were broken in 11 places, and his doctor said that King may never fully recover.

This merciless attack by four police officers, while 23 other officers looked on with conscious approval, can be seen as the oldest form of white America's lynch mob mentality that goes back to the days of slavery.

L.A. POLICE 'STREET JUSTICE'

This form of "street justice" is not an uncommon experience for the Black Community. There have been many demonstrations since the Rodney King beating to call for the criminal prosecution of all of the officers and for the resignation of police chief Daryl Gates, whose racist statements against Blacks and Latinos are common and can be seen reflected throughout the whole Police Department in practices which lead to incidents such as the attack upon King.

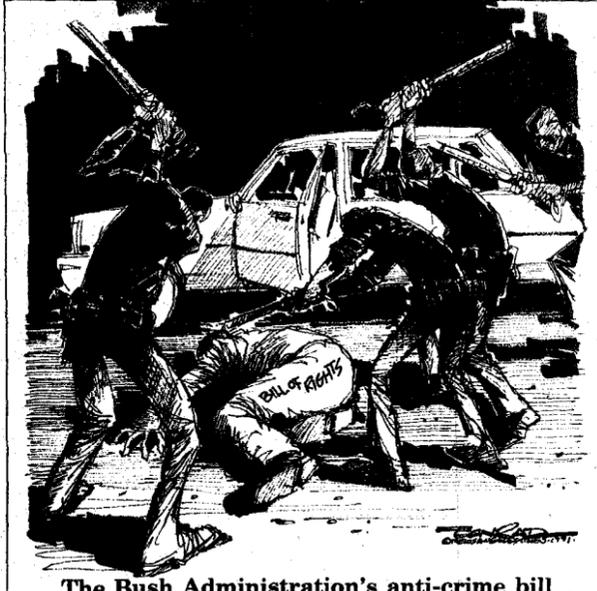
When the deathly and since banned chokehold was being used by the LAPD and left many Blacks dead from asphyxiation, Gates stated that was no fault of his officers, but that Blacks were genetically not built to sustain the chokehold as were "normal people." When asked why there were not more Latino police officers being promoted to leadership positions in the force in comparison to their percentages in the ranks, Gates stated that Latinos were lazy.

While this type of attitude from the head of a major metropolitan police department may or may not be shocking to many, what is shocking is that this type of primitive mentality is being accepted and promoted by the highest office in this land. President George Bush called Gates a "number one American patriot" right around the time of the Rodney King incident. It is obvious Bush and Gates speak the same language, so you can see that this type of attack is not isolated but is promoted nationwide.

Many of the hundreds who have come out in protest over the Rodney King case have experienced the same

brutality King sustained at the hands of the police. That is why many have turned out to vent their anger and to tell their own stories now that their voices can be heard. One Black woman stated, "The reason I am here is my 11-year-old son. He could be next. What happened to King is not just him, but us all."

Many of the Black youth are not depending on an unjust criminal courts system to prosecute and convict these racist cops. Four days after the King attack, Black youth rampaged through the streets of West Los



The Bush Administration's anti-crime bill

Angeles, looting stores and fighting with the police, after they were not allowed into a movie theater after waiting for hours outside with tickets they had previously bought. Several youth stated that it was the massed presence of the police that inflamed them to the point of fighting and destruction.

BLACK OUTRAGE

These same Black youth are not waiting for a Black established leadership that has tail-ended the Democratic Party, which in turn has tail-ended the Reagan/Bush retrogressive conservatism. Black elected officials have called for more and more police to "protect" the community over the last several years and have remained silent on abuse. This has left the door wide open for this form of ruthless attack upon Black life.

These established Black leaders got sucked in by the Reagan/Bush mentality due to their own fear of Black mass revolt, and when that revolt does occur they rush to lead and contain it for their own political ends, bottling it into a capitalist system that feeds off the suppression of the restless mass at the bottom.

Over 25 years ago the Watts Rebellion began over this type of beating that King sustained. Throughout the 1980s Miami's Black community revolted against

senseless police killings. Relationships between police and the Black community have not changed.

What needs to take place is a revolution in thought and practice for a complete overhaul of a system that promotes murder and inhuman treatment by those who are sworn to "protect and serve." Many of the Black youth are saying that, rather than be abused by the police, they will hold "court in the streets," where the masses should be the "judge, jury, and executioner" of those that have abused their power for centuries.

Prison lockdown pushed

The Pontiac Correctional Center has been subjected to intense public and judicial scrutiny over the last 12 years. The authoritative figureheads (e.g., warden, assistant warden and several superintendents) are of African ancestry. There is ample reason why so many people of African ancestry are in key capacities at this institution, which incidentally happens to be located in an area that is inhabited by people of Caucasian descent.

Prisoners of African ancestry as well as Latinos cannot "seriously scream publicly" about racism and oppression in reference to practices and policies that are implemented at this institution, simply because the people in managerial positions are themselves minorities in the eyes of Amerika. Who in Amerika is going to investigate or be genuinely concerned with allegations of minorities suppressing minorities?

At least 85% of the prison guards are union members of AFSCME and this is one of the powerful unions in Amerika. The local branch of AFSCME is constantly pushing the Illinois Department of Corrections to convert Pontiac Correctional Center into a institution on permanent lockdown, in other words, to make it exactly like the U.S. Penitentiary at Marion, Ill. A few prison guards have expressed to me that they want this institution in permanent lockdown.

Many of the young men in prison are quick tempered and will fight at the drop of a hat. Much of the prisoner-on-prisoner violence is absolutely senseless and results from petty disputes, internal/external gang conflicts, and in some cases the violence is tacitly sanctioned and/or overtly orchestrated by prison officials. It must be noted that prison officials have inordinate control of prison gangs.

Prisons are a sociological community in which a large number of men must be dominated by a small number. Unity among the large number (prisoners) could threaten the authority of the minority (prison personnel). For the purpose of security it is imperative that the prisoners be divided. Consequently, it is necessary that harmonious relations among the prisoners be discouraged, communication among the prisoners be made difficult, natural or potential leaders be isolated, submissiveness be encouraged and assertiveness—which is too close to aggressiveness—be restricted even if applied to positive ends.

—Black Pontiac prisoner

A Moment For the Hundred Thousand

Is there a moment when quantity turns into quality?

When the sheer mass of horror becomes a new nightmare?

When what seemed like the possible stone's throw away comes just a mark in a forward disastrous endless march of retrogression?

Something like this happened in early 1991 when the war over Kuwait finally emerged from the computer game

and sunk its hard steel teeth of reality mass murder and death onto the world's blank stare

First 500 dead in an air raid shelter hiding from the stealth raider brushed off as a military target before the terror set in

The edge of the precipice had already been crossed in the language

of bombing carpets napalming bunkers the "killing fields" on the road to Basra. Did we have some trouble thinking that soldiers were human too not "ours" but "theirs"?

For just a fleeting second I wondered about revolutionary defeatism but soon began to think of the desert massacre I looked at the glee in the eyes of the generals and fear in the eyes of the lower orders who did not give press conferences I wondered of the Iraqis shot in the back?

Bush succeeded in taking away a little of humanity's humanity brought the world further towards the unthinkable spoke of tactical "nuclear weapons" tested all manner of deathly things for death They say perhaps 100,000 Perhaps more Can we think for a moment The meaning of One hundred thousand people murdered by Bush

Shelby, March 1, 1991

Black/Red View

by John Alan

The concept of "reverse racism" has gained acceptability over the last dozen years. It differs from the brutishness of neo-Nazi racism and police violence against Blacks and other minorities by finding its "logic" for racism in law and the American concept of freedom.

The Bush administration turned its opposition to affirmative action into a political battle against "reverse racism" as the debate between liberals and conservatives shapes up in Congress over the 1991 Civil Rights Act. Bush's reason for opposing this new Civil Rights Act is the same reason he gave when he vetoed the Civil Rights Act of 1990 on the eve of his Persian Gulf war, namely, affirmative action creates "racial quotas."

REVERSE VICTIMIZATION

The words "racial quotas," which became a code word in conservative politics, carry the message that jobs of white men are threatened if any consideration in employment is given to those who were barred, historically, from many jobs because of race or sex.

In all truth, the Civil Rights Act of 1991, at best, offers only a mild remedy to past discriminatory practices and does not address at all the high rate of unemployment among Black Americans, which has become a permanent feature of the American economy. This, too, has its "racist roots" in the historic tendency of American capitalism to accumulate, historically finding its first expression in the African slave trade and now in the unresolvable phenomenon of the Black underclass.

Affirmative action was never considered by any serious Black leader a solution to the permanent economic crisis in the Black community, but rather a principle of political commitment to end discrimination in employment against the educated, trained members of the Black middle class.

However, to reduce affirmative action to "reverse racism" is to practice Machiavellian politics, which turns the victims of racism into "racists." It gives "respectability" to the real forces of racism in this country.

It has also placed liberals in a dilemma as to whether ideologies of race hatred should be repressed on campuses by academic codes. As one liberal, Ellen Goodman, put it, in reference to one such expulsion of a student from Brown University for expressing anti-Black, anti-Semitic opinions: "When thinking about codes, it's important to consider the campus as well as the consti-

Institutionalized racism

tution." Ms. Goodman believes "codes don't work."

LEGAL AND ACADEMIC RACISM

Whether Ms. Goodman had it in mind or not, she has brought us to the very meaning of the constitutional nature of individual liberty in this country, where the individual, separated from the community, can pursue his own private interest and caprice. Under the Constitution, the only real bond between the individual and society is natural necessity and private interest, property rights and the concept of an egotistic person.

It was that type of relationship that Martin Luther King, Jr. characterized as one which "substitutes an 'I-it' relationship for the 'I-thou' relationship [which] ends up relegating persons to the status of things."

Far more serious than the affair at Brown University is the issue of race and freedom at the University of California, Berkeley. The personality around which it centers is not an obnoxious student spouting racial epithets, but a university professor, Vincent Sarich.

Sarich—who taught anthropology last semester to 400 freshmen—gives an academic aura to Bush's efforts to limit scholarships for Black and Hispanic students. Prof. Sarich contends that Black and Hispanic students, because of their ethnic backgrounds, can't handle scholarly work, meaning they're not "...competitive with whites and Asians at Berkeley." And, as far as women are concerned, according to Sarich, they have limited IQs because their brains are smaller than those of men.

Sarich denies he is a racist. He maintains that it is the university that practices "reverse racism." He writes: "Over the last few years Berkeley admission policy has systematically and increasingly discriminated against white students and institutionalized racism on the Berkeley campus in the name of diversity."

The apparent anomaly we have here is that a late 20th century professor at a "world-class university" is spouting forth as "logic of fact" the 19th century discredited racism of DeGobineau and social Darwinism. Sarich is unconcerned that he has resuscitated the ideological foundation of Hitler's holocaust, precisely at a time of Reagan-Bush retrogressionism.

What Sarich has done in the name of academic freedom is to give an ideological justification for Bush's racism and, at the same time, narrow the distance between racist ideology and the police batons used to beat Rodney G. King in Los Angeles.

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya

(continued from page 4)

The two determining elements—projection and elicitation—hold... in all fields from Black and Labor to Youth and Women on the home front. What becomes of the essence in this year is the struggle all this demands for a new type of member, including ourselves, who is grounded in this Marx Centenary year on the trilogy of revolution with its challenge to post-Marx Marxism and all alternatives to Marx's Marxism, as new ground....

Therefore, let's first follow-through on the trail to the 1980s we discovered in Marx's last decade and focus once again on the year, 1875:

First, let's follow as Marx added new "paragraphs" (after *Capital* was published in 1867) to the very first chapter in the section on fetishism. *Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution* helped us to focus on the Paris Commune's form of stripping away the veil from the capitalistic commodity-form. What is new this year, with the new book, is that there we singled out both the reference to Marx's 1841 studies and his work in the final decade on pre-capitalist societies as well as new paths to revolution in the capitalist monopoly stage. The footnote in *Capital* right in the very first chapter (Kerr edition, p. 89)* showed what Marx was pointing to that needed further development; that turned out to be exactly what he did in his *Ethnological Notebooks* and in the letters he wrote in that last decade that flowed from his study. This had remained hidden until now when we worked out the trail from Marx's "new moments" in the new book.

Secondly, although we have been pointing to 1875 as the year of Marx's Gotha Programme Critique, it was only with Chapter XI [of RLWLMPR] that we made a category about it, as we entitled that chapter: "The Philosopher of Permanent Revolution Creates New Ground for Organization." We will let no one divert from that by calling attention to the fact that the phrase, "revolution in permanence," was used by the young Marx in his 1850 Address to the Communist League; Marx had it reprinted in that critical year, 1875, as an appendix to a new edition of his *Revelations of the Cologne Trial*.

Thirdly, the direct relatedness to the problematic of our age concerns the relationship of West to East—that is, the technologically developed, industrialized countries to the technologically under-developed lands. Even as great a revolutionary as Rosa Luxemburg didn't see

*Ed. note: The footnote Dunayevskaya refers to is the one where Marx states that "A more exhaustive study of Asiatic, and especially Indian forms of common property, would show how from the different forms of primitive common property, different forms of its dissolution have been developed."

Philippines in crisis

Manila, Philippines—The fifth anniversary of the People Power uprising which overthrew Marcos was marked by several massive demonstrations. The largest, over 100,000 on Feb. 27, was against the Aquino government and in recognition of the shadow of war in the Persian Gulf. The crisis was seen by the demonstrators as total: economic, political, environmental.

During the several weeks spent here with a colleague from the Philippines, we were able to meet many who saw that the crisis was also one of ideas and who hungered for new beginnings in thought. Thus at De La Salle University, when we gave a lecture on Raya Dunayevskaya's Marxist-Humanism vs. Habermas' view of the young Marx, we found that both students and professors were eager to discuss Marxist-Humanist concepts.

This spirit was not only on the campus. An urban poor organizer took us into remote urban areas. There we found women's organizations and activists from fishing communities joining us in discussing ideas. In one meeting with women activists, after seeing the *News & Letters* "Who We Are and What We Stand For" statement that we had translated into Tagalog, each of the women spontaneously stood up and expressed in her own language and words who she was and what she stood for. It was a moving history of their personal and communal freedom struggle, and told of their determination to continue the fight for their future and the future of their children, who so often die very young.

So many of those we came in contact with—students, activists, urban poor—wished to continue an exchange of ideas based on the Marxist-Humanist literature we presented. One woman activist, working in a community-based outreach to workers program, told how she used *News & Letters* to discuss the world situation with workers she speaks to. She works with people in 25 factories in Manila, the largest of which has 14,000 workers. The majority of the workers are women, and during the October *welgan bayan* (general strike) her group's office became the center of communications.

The pervasive global crisis can certainly be seen in the Philippines. The Gulf war gravely affected the economy because of the rise in the price of oil and the loss of money that migrant workers in the Gulf had sent back home. Even in the crisis, tens of thousands of unemployed continued to look for work in the war-torn area.

Within the Philippines the spirit for change was summed up by one woman activist: "Working with working people is a precious thing. That is my wealth and my best teacher. The picket lines are like schools, and you can see what is your role in the world. It can't be a job." —Victor Hart

what Marx was saying in the paragraphs he had added—or for that matter, what those little words, "so-called," meant in the very first edition, when Marx wrote of "The So-Called Primitive Accumulation"—that is, that colonialism didn't stop with the "primitive" Accumulation of Capital. Indeed, Marx subordinated that Part VIII, making it several chapters within Part VII (called "The Accumulation of Capital") when he expanded *Capital* in 1875 to include its extension to colonialism and the world market, even when he didn't use the category that struck Luxemburg as so "new" that it required a "new" interpretation—i.e., imperialism.

The truly "new moment" that none caught was that Marx insisted that the "Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation" was not a Universal. Instead of saddling the East (or what we know as the Third World) with what he analyzed as the Western road, Marx was working out new paths to revolution.

Our theoretic-philosophic contributions during the past three decades have earned us an historic right to existence, and therewith the right to challenge post-Marx Marxists and other alternatives to Marx's Marxism. What the challenge is now in need of is the recognition of what the practice of philosophy has revealed in this age of unfinished revolutions—and that is that even such fundamental contradictions as that between Party and spontaneity are not absolutes. That is to say, not only is each by itself one-sided but even in a new unity, where spontaneity does, indeed, tower above Party, that cannot provide a direction out of soured revolutions so long as they remain outside of "revolution in permanence."

The new paths to revolution that Marx was working out and that we need to concretize for our age demand that spontaneity and organization in unity be so inseparable from the philosophy of revolution in permanence, that the actual revolution can be released, not alone for the day of but the day after.

Children of the intifada

Children of Fire (1989) is a "personal view into the lives of the children of the Palestinian uprising" in Nablus, filmmaker Mai Masri's hometown. The intifada—all-out war between Israeli military rulers and the unarmed Palestinian citizenry—is dramatically imprinted upon the viewer in the very first scenes. As the film opens, we hear Masri: "It took me six days to get into Nablus, my hometown...I finally had to go by a back road."

Masri wearily confronts imperious Israeli soldiers in shots obviously filmed on the run. She arrives, only to find that her uncle's young neighbor has been shot by Israeli soldiers. Despite a curfew, friends and relatives pour in to support the family. The father had identified his mutilated son, but was not allowed to claim the body. A few days later, at midnight, the boy was brought home for immediate burial. While the family dug the grave, the entire town was filled with cries and candles in every window until dawn.

Masri explores the lives of several children, whom the curfew is keeping from going to school. Boys as young as five throw stones and run from the soldiers. Old women act as lookouts. Girls help at home—since food supply is uncertain, they make their own bread. Three young men are released from jail, where they had been confined for the "crime" of playing cards at a neighbor's after the curfew.

Children of Fire consistently presents the complexity and ramifications of the intifada. We see the military oppression and community resistance (neighbors pass food and supplies house-to-house over the roofs). We see children dehumanized by a war reality and mentality, but also their new insights into the meaning of freedom. Young girls talk about the new self-organization of the community and ask, "Why do the boys have more freedom? Our parents should not permit that." To make sure you see this film, contact your local PBS station to demand that it be shown. Or contact Mai Masri, 330 E. 39th Street, Apt. 36G, New York, NY 10016, (212) 867-1583.

—Susan Van Gelder

Beyond Lenin's Philosophic Ambivalence; or Toward the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy



"In 1982 in Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, we critiqued Lenin politically. To fully work out the dialectics of philosophy and organization for our age, it is now clear that critique must dig deep philosophically."

—Raya Dunayevskaya, June 1, 1987

Come to a discussion of some of Raya Dunayevskaya's 1980s writings on Lenin as part of a series of discussions on "Marxist-Humanism: The Re-creation of Marx's Marxism"

New York
Sunday, April 28, 6:30 p.m.
Washington Square Church
135 W. 4th St., Manhattan

Chicago
Sunday, April 7, 6 p.m.
59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707

San Francisco Bay Area
Sunday, May 5, 6 p.m.
3120 Shattuck Ave.
Berkeley

Detroit
Sunday, April 28, 1 p.m.
Wayne State University
Student Center Building, Rm. 297

Los Angeles
Sunday, May 5, 6 p.m.
Echo Park United Methodist Church
1226 N. Alvarado

Communalism and violence in India

Bihar, India—Flames of fire shot up in the whole country between Hindus and Muslims because of the Ram Janna Bhoomi, also known as the Babri Masjid issue, in which the poor, the innocent and the oppressed classes became the victim. Major problems like poverty, illiteracy, superstition and atrocities against women have been pushed aside. Communalism (religious/ethnic separatism) is a lie and people must be told the truth. Advani rose up to defend the Hindu religion, hundreds of "Karsewas" (service workers) followed him. But all this is only a political manipulation.

Pujaris (the Hindu priests who look after the temples) earn their living, but many people do not get their daily bread. Temples are shining, but many do not have their basic necessities of life fulfilled. Religion is made use of in order to get votes. The administration and the judiciary are involved in the riots of the day. The press is also used.

Communalism has nothing to do with religion but has everything to do with the present politics in our country. One million people died at the time of partition due to religious communalism. Do we want to repeat the same story? Many of the clashes which seem to have religious reasons in fact have their roots in class issues. This includes the tension between Hindu Marwaris and Muslim weavers in many areas of India. In Punjab, communalism has been understood as a fight between Hindus and Sikhs. In fact, it is a tension between the rural capitalists (10% of the population who are mostly

Hindus) and the rural farmers (80% of the population who are Sikhs). We have to decide the future of our country. Shall we leave it in the hands of the goondas?

This leads us to the problem of castes in India. The caste system has strong roots among the upper-caste Hindus. God is said to have created the castes and the upper castes oppress the lower castes in the name of this God.

The Constitution of India states that economic, social and political bias and favoritism are punishable. Yet the lower castes are so vulnerable in this system that they cannot stand up and struggle for their dignity, a sense of dignity which lingers behind the hard labor they perform daily and their tremendous exploitation.

—Correspondent

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Youth

Campus rape reveals need for new human relations

by Maya Morrison

We need only look at ourselves and the women around us to know that the horrendous statistic that one out of every four U.S. women will be raped in her lifetime is a reality for every woman. It is not alone the threat of being raped by a stranger but by a person you know or maybe even trust that shows that rape is woven into the very nature and ideology of this sexist, racist, class-ridden society. The fact that rape in the past decade has gone up four times as much as the national crime rate speaks volumes about the depths to which the Woman/Man relationship has sunk.

How can we separate the violence against women in this society from the overall violence of this war-driven nation? I cannot help but wonder, with dread, what the "new world order" means to me as a woman in a society that not only sanctions but glorifies rape, whether it be the rape of Third World women by the military, the rape of whole countries, or the rape of the environment.

On campuses the degradation of the Woman/Man relationship is disgustingly blatant. Take for example an incident at a "Rape Seminar" held at Lehigh University where a young man was asked whether he had ever raped a woman. His reply was "Hell no." But when further probed he admitted that a woman he had dated had not consented to sex, but as he says, "Well, you can never be completely sure, but they all want it...It's the way it works." Even more disturbing is a study done with some Rhode Island school children in which one fourth of the boys and a fifth of the girls said it was O.K. for a man to force sex from a woman if he had spent more than \$10 on her. School children are not exempt from the ideological pollution of a society that perverts human relationships into commodity relationships.

I recently went to a mock date rape trial at my university. Throughout the trial the rape was described in detail, and the accused even admitted that the victim had said, "Stop! Please don't!" What was significant, however, is that the randomly selected student jury found the defendant not guilty on the basis that force was not proven.

That the students on the jury found the rapist not guilty is not so surprising when you consider that so widespread is the hate and contempt for women in this society that in Texas a young woman's "promiscuity" can be used as a defense for rape. In a society that refuses to see women as human beings with minds as well as bodies, how can anyone expect the legal system to do so? In some countries in the Middle East it is written law that a woman cannot be a reliable witness, but is it different here? For a woman, the way she walks, dresses, looks, take on more importance than what she says. This society does not hear the voices of women, or listen to our thoughts.

This becomes even more blatant when the victim is a Black woman. For example we all remember the brutal rape of the white investment banker—the Central Park jogger—in New York, but how many of us knew that a Black student was gang-raped by white fraternity men and then thrown out of a window that very same day? There is no way to deny the glaring racism that informed this omission by the press and the university where it happened. In fact a study found that where the rape of a white woman resulted in an average sentence of 10 years, the rape of a Black woman resulted in a sentence of just 2 years, and the rape of a Latina woman 5 years.

It is not only that rape is so widespread on campuses that it has forced reluctant administrators to offer "solutions," it is the tremendous opposition of both women and men on and off campuses that has spurred the newly-found interest in this issue. Take for example the truly creative opposition of women at Brown University who, after being ignored by the administrators, took it upon themselves to let the word out on men who have raped or assaulted women (by writing the rapists'

names on the walls of the women's bathrooms), or the ongoing marches and vigils that continue the struggle to Take Back the Night.

Many blame the prevalence of rape on campus on alcohol use or the more relaxed rules about co-ed dormitories. University officials are jumping on these "causes" of rape seeing their elimination as the solution to it as well. But, women know that the problem of rape is much more fundamental than that.

It is so fundamental that even back in 1844, when date rape hadn't even been given a name, Marx pointed out that the infinite degradation of all relations can be seen in the Man/Woman relation. It is because the Man/Woman relationship is so fundamental and so alienated, and today we see that rape, especially date rape, is so indicative of this that it points to the necessity of not only changing but uprooting all exploitative, racist, sexist relations so that, on the road to what Marx called "revolution in permanence," the self-development of every woman, man and child becomes the measure of our new society.

Youth in Revolt

by Tom Parsons



Demanding the removal of a racist science poster, 75 seventh and eighth grade students carrying signs saying "Prejudice NO" and "All People are Created Equal" walked out of class at Huntley Middle School in DeKalb, Ill. March 22. Students presented a list of demands including a three week Black History program for the school.

* * *

The army killed 22 protesters on March 23 in the Mali capital of Bamako. Soldiers in the West African capital fired on a crowd of students demanding the resignation of the Education minister. The students had been joined by thousands of others calling for the ouster of President General Moussa Traore's ruling party. In retaliation for the slayings, students took to the streets. The next day soldiers fired on a large demonstration of women. On March 26, the army overthrew the president and took over the government.

* * *

Over 500 gay rights proponents drowned out an anti-gay "straight pride" rally held at the University of Massachusetts. Members of Queer Nation, a militant gay rights organization chanted "Hey, hey, ho, ho, homophobia has got to go!" and waved posters of pink triangles. Pink triangles were used by the Nazis to identify homosexuals for repression. They are now a symbol of gay liberation.

Devastating budget cuts

Detroit, Mich.—Governor John Engler's vicious budget cuts of 9.2% have devastated Detroit, the poor, workers and arts lovers statewide. And more cuts have been announced for July.

- A mother of six who lost \$156 every two weeks due to a 17% cut in Aid to Dependent Children (ADC), said: "They gave me \$60 more a month in food stamps, but I'll wind up losing my house. Can I pay the taxes with food stamps?"

- One of Detroit's few quality mental health clinics, Lafayette Clinic, will close, along with at least one major general health care clinic on the east side.

- As in several other states, General Assistance (GA) for single people is being eliminated.

- All grants awarded by the Michigan Council for the Arts, and the Council itself, have been terminated. The world-class Detroit Institute of Arts has lost \$11 million of its \$26 million budget and only half its galleries at a time.

- 800 state employees have been laid off, resulting in massive bumping that is disrupting morale.

All these cuts, coming at the same time as the nationwide shortfall in the unemployment insurance fund, reveal that they are deliberate attacks on the poor, Blacks, women, and artists. Engler wants to keep his campaign promise to cut property taxes by 20% and spend more on education. The arts cuts are of the same mentality as the virulent homophobia and retrogression seen in the attempts to gut the National Council for the Arts by reactionary Republicans in Congress.

Many organizations have protested these cuts with marches and rallies. An effort to recall Engler has just been announced. But the situation demands a real revolution in attitude that focuses on the humanity of those attacked and their vision of a decent society totally different from the capitalism we all suffer from.

'Future'—a Czech youth/labor journal

Editor's note: We received direct from Czechoslovakia a copy of the new journal "Future: A journal for Labor and Youth." They ask: "One year after the old bureaucratic and totalitarian regime was defeated, where do we stand now?" and present a critical appraisal of the situation in Czechoslovakia as of November, 1990—a confrontation of the government's early promises and the factual situation. Below we print their goals.

Campaign for Rights of Youth

1. Right to work—no closing of factories, no unemployment.
2. Right to a minimum wage of 1,800 crowns. The wage has to rise with inflation.
3. Right to education—no reduction of subsidies for schools, students' scholarships to cover cost of living. No closing of vocational schools.
4. Right to vote from the age of 16 on.
5. Right to a safe environment.
6. Right to equality. End of racism, sexual discrimination, gay discrimination.
7. Right to peace. Radical reduction of army subsidies.
8. Right to the democratic trade unions. All officials must be elected. They can be recalled at any time. Their salaries must not exceed workers' average.
9. Right to strike. Workers and students have the right to defend their living conditions, organize and associate both in schools and in factories.
10. Right to future. Workers and youth have to take over both wealth and power into their hands. No privatization—no capitalism! Workers' control and a democratic plan—no Stalinism!

Anti-war conference

Chicago, Ill.—On the weekend of March 1-3, over 400 young anti-war activists from around the nation as well as Canada and England, gathered for a conference of the National Network of Campuses Against War (NNCAW), at Loyola University. The topics at the plenary sessions ranged from "Imperialism and the 'New World Order,'" to "Racism at Home and Abroad," and from "Israel, Arab Nationalism and the War," to "Building the anti-war Movement at Home" and "The War and the Environment."

This conference took place two days after Bush had announced the "end" of the U.S. war in Iraq. However, the young activists who were present at the conference had no feeling of euphoria. We had many questions: How can we prevent the U.S. government from starting another war? How can we fight the suffocating militaristic atmosphere in the U.S.? How can we end racism, sexism and poverty here at home? And we also had to ask ourselves, why the turnout at this conference was much lower than expected. Earlier, up to 1500 people were expected to attend.

At a plenary session on "Imperialism and the New World Order," the speaker, Bob Bossie from the "Eighth Day Center for Justice," Joe Stork, the editor of the Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP) and Ahmed Shawki, the editor of *Socialist Worker*, did speak about the barbaric nature of Bush's war on the Iraqi people and the aim of the U.S. government to dictate the future of the world. However, none of the speakers addressed the question of Bush's ideological effort to militarize our minds; his attempt to make human beings not characterized by alienated labor, sexism and racism.

But the yearning for a discussion of this question was seen in the words of Jamilla Muhammad, a Black woman activist and member of Clergy and Laity Concerned in Chicago, who spoke at a plenary session on "The War and Racism at Home and Abroad." She spoke of the racism in the U.S. and Black people's opposition to war: "We don't just want jobs. Employment was not a problem during slavery. We want a decent life."

The desire for a total opposition to war could be seen also in the questions of many young activists who stopped by the literature table of the Marxist-Humanist Forum. Many were interested in the ideas of Karl Marx and his philosophy of what it means to be human. They were interested in how the re-creation and further development of this philosophy of "new Humanism" for today can help us battle today's world crises.

We left the conference with many new relations established among anti-war activists, and many more questions about how to fight Bush's attempt to militarize our minds. We will continue the dialogue.

—Participant

WE NEED YOUR HELP TO CONTINUE N&L!

Never was it more important to continue a paper that does not separate the "voices from below" from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation for our age.

Have you sent your contribution to our Sustaining Fund?

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Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

(continued from page 1)

for their alleged collaboration with the Iraqis. The naked, tortured bodies of Palestinians have been left along highways in Kuwait, in a manner similar to that of the former Iraqi occupiers. The aim seems to be obliterating or driving out the entire Palestinian communi-

Paraguay



Peasants in Paraguay demonstrated in Ciudad del Este against government eviction from the land they occupied. Signs read: "We have the right to life" and "Don't throw us out of our homes."

Palestinians and Israel

As soon as the temporary cease-fire began in the Gulf War, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker was off to the Middle East to extend U.S. power as widely as possible. The U.S. wants to take its Gulf War Alliance and use it to hammer out a settlement to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, to the detriment of the weakened Palestinian nationalist movement.

After the Persian Gulf War began, the rightist Israeli government led by Yitzhak Shamir took advantage of the unconscionable Iraqi missile attacks on civilian populations, and the open threat to use chemical weapons, to clamp down harder on the Palestinians. Even more shocking was the little reported fact that for the first time ever, the Moledet Party, a neo-fascist group which advocates the expulsion of all Arabs from Israel and the occupied territories, has entered the government.

During the war, the Israeli government put the entire Palestinian community under a total curfew and lockdown. They took advantage of much of that community's ill-considered and narrowly Pan-Arab nationalist political support for Saddam Hussein to brand indigenous Palestinian leaders as Iraqi spies. For example, they have sentenced the popular philosophy professor and journalist Sari Nusseibeh to six months detention, on charges of "spying."

For its part, the Palestinian leadership is in deep disarray. PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat still leans heavily toward Iraq, even though the war has deeply undermined, even derailed the Intifada. Arafat and the other PLO leaders have always had a special affinity to kings and dictators, despite the PLO's stance as a liberation movement. When asked why they are silent about Iraq's repression of the Kurds, or Morocco's oppression of the Saharan people, or Syria's role in Lebanon, PLO leaders usually argue that they don't interfere in the "internal affairs" of supporter countries.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-87), founder of the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism, became Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees from its founding to 1987. Charles Denby (1907-83), a Black production worker, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper from 1955 to 1983. Dunayevskaya's works *Marxism and Freedom...from 1776 until Today* (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

ty, which numbered 450,000 before the war began. Many of these Palestinians were born in Kuwait, but none were allowed to become citizens.

Kuwait's more than 500 oil wells are on fire, the fires mainly set by order of Saddam Hussein, but some are also the result of Allied bombs. The sky is filled with black smoke, creating respiratory and other health problems for thousands of people. It may take five years to put the fires out. The dark clouds may spread over large parts of South Asia. If

Thousands defy Gorbachev

More than 200,000 protesters in Moscow, March 28, defied Gorbachev's ban on demonstrations to march in the streets demanding the resignation of Gorbachev and his government. They were blocked access to the Kremlin by as many as 50,000 military troops, whom Gorbachev has put in charge of law enforcement in the city.

Gorbachev's referendum to "preserve" the Soviet Union as a "renewed federation of sovereign republics" passed in the March 17 election. Only four republics put the statement on the ballot in its original wording.

Gorbachev's lukewarm success at the polls is one feature of the deep discontent reverberating throughout the Russian Empire. One week earlier, hundreds of thousands of protesters filled the streets in Moscow and over 20 other cities to voice their disgust with Gorbachev. Opposition politicians such as Boris Yeltsin, Gavriil Popov (Moscow's mayor), and Anatoly Sobchak (Leningrad's mayor) are riding the wave of mass unrest.

But a different feature appeared at the rallies in Leningrad and Moscow, where money was collected for the over 100,000 striking coal miners of the recently formed Independent Union of Miners. The miners walked out March 1 demanding better wages and working conditions, and that Gorbachev keep his unfulfilled pledges to the miners made during their general strike two years ago.

Despite the "looseness" of the referendum language, and the inconclusiveness of the results, Gorbachev clearly means to claim legitimacy from the election for continuing central control, so that he can set the timetable and limits of "sovereignty."

Thus, he has already presented a draft "Treaty on a Union," meant to replace the original 1922 agreement around which Lenin fought so bitterly against Russian chauvinism, and for genuine self-determination. Georgia and the Baltic states have already announced they will not sign the new treaty.

Mass uprisings against Saddam Hussein

(continued from page 1)

lied forces" were terror-stricken to hear from their intelligence officers interviewing refugees that "the revolution had started."

In the northern regions of Iraq where the Kurds live, the uprisings were initiated in the Betwain region and soon spread to the entire Kurdish area. The uprisings spread like wildfire to every city, town, village and concentration camp. Whole divisions, brigades, battalions of the army, numbering in the tens of thousands, surrendered or joined the Kurdish forces. News releases by the Iraqi Kurdistan Front—headed by Masud Barezani

they do, the effect could be something akin to "nuclear winter," with crop losses and mass starvation in store for the affected populations.

The war has put tremendous strains on all of the participants, including the U.S. and its sick economy as well as the oil sheikdoms and their backward political systems. But most of all, it has deeply undermined the fascist regime of Saddam Hussein. A massive uprising has broken out among the large Shiite population of Southern Iraq, while in the North rebels have liberated almost the whole of Iraq-ruled Kurdistan.

IRAQI OPPOSITION

The Iraqi opposition, most of it based in Damascus, has a checkered history. The main Kurdish leader, Jalal Talabani, has switched sides many times between Iran, Syria and even at times tacit collaboration with Saddam. The Communists have an even more opportunistic record, having actually worked in a coalition with Saddam's Ba'athist Party for a number of years in the 1970s. Another faction is the Shiite fundamentalists, most of whom are based in Iran, and who want to set up an Islamic republic.

At this point, no real alternative banner of opposition has been unfurled which could carry the Iraqi people to better conditions of life and labor. The contradictory character of the exile opposition will not stop the deep, spontaneous, mass-based uprisings against the Ba'athist regime from continuing, but it may have extremely negative effects on post-Saddam Iraq.

Chile denies justice

In Chile, the National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, sponsored by President Aylwin's office shortly after his election, issued its report detailing the torture and murder of over 2,000 people during the 17 years of military dictatorship under General Pinochet.

The report brings the butchery of the military and the DINA—secret police—officially into the open. It goes so far as to condemn the rationale used by the military, which claimed to be fighting a war against "terrorists." While Aylwin apologized to the victims' families, the military stood aloof.

Many relatives of the victims have called for investigations and trials for the military. But the military is shielded by an amnesty set up by Pinochet before he left the Presidency. He still commands the armed forces. The Chilean people are being asked to "reconcile" themselves to no justice for the 17 brutal years after the 1973 coup.

of the Kurdish Democratic Party—reported that during the first two weeks of March the entire northern Kurdistan region witnessed the collapse of the Ba'ath government's machinery of terror. The other main Kurdish party, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, headed by Jalal Talabani, has also been reporting on the collapse of government forces in their hands. In the Turkish border city of Zakhu, Kurdish flags were raised.

SADDAM ATTACKS UPRISINGS

Saddam Hussein, faced with this almost complete collapse of his power in these regions, first responded by announcing an amnesty for all "deserters." The one "law" that has been strictly enforced throughout his rule—execution on the spot for soldiers who refuse to fight—was "annulled" for one week. At the same time he began rapidly to reorganize the forces still under his control to kill off the mass opposition. By March 18, there were reports that in Basra poison gas was used; at the same time he went on TV to announce the arrival of "democracy." What has not been fully reported is the persistent news of rebellion in the working-class areas of Baghdad. Opposition parties have been meeting to form a united front to demand overthrow of the regime.

It is crucial to confront the dangerous reality we face in the present situation. The political opposition groups in and out of Iraq all have a checkered history. The regimes surrounding Iraq all have imperialist ambitions to dominate Iraq and at the same time fear that a genuine democracy will give the opposition inside their own countries renewed life.

The U.S. has over 500,000 troops stationed in the Middle East. It is desperately trying to form a coalition, not to bring "peace" to the Middle East, but to insure that the new stage of U.S. imperialism's mastery in the region will be unchallenged.

The opposition political parties in Iraq have not been immune to tail-ending and even becoming actual proxies for the regimes of neighboring countries. This does not mean, however, that Bush's attempts to present the struggle for freedom inside Iraq as if it were "instigated" by "outside forces" should be left unchallenged. Iraq's Shiites, Iraq's Kurds (not to mention Assyrians, Chaldeans, Turkomans) have suffered from decades of brutal racist oppression at the hands of the Sunni-based Ba'ath. However their feelings of solidarity and identity as Shiites or as Kurds does not mean they are uncritical of the existing political tendencies that want to rush to "lead," whether as a "supreme council," or "democratic front."

In the face of this awful contradictory reality facing us, we see new possibilities emerging today to engage fully in making explicit the freedom aspirations of the Iraqi masses. We cannot allow the destruction brought on by the military madness to stop us from raising the banner of anything short of full human freedom.