

# NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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25¢

## Team concept —mules and a mule driver



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

I have written before about the so-called "team concept" or "Japanese style of management" that the United Auto Workers (UAW) bureaucrats have been trying to convince auto workers is the greatest thing that anyone has ever thought of. The union bureaucrats and management both tell the workers how the "team concept" can "help end antagonistic labor-management relations" because supposedly workers and bosses are all together as part of one "team."

Once the workers experience the "team concept," they recognize that it is just one more way to get them to work harder for the company. The latest example is at the Mazda plant in Flat Rock, Mich.

### LIFE ON THE "TEAM"

The contract ratified in March by UAW Local 3000 at Flat Rock provided four paid absence allowance (PAA) days, which allowed the workers to take part of a day or a whole day off, notifying the company a couple of hours in advance. Many workers were taking PAA days on Friday because the pressure of a five-day workweek or production was too much. Workers also were using PAA days to escape extreme harassment by supervisors. That in itself says a lot about life on the "team!"

Management did not like either of the ways workers were using PAA. They offered to give the workers increased bonus pay as well as special vacation days in exchange for restrictions on the use of PAA days. The local union leadership brought the proposed changes to the membership, and 77% of the rank and file voted them down.

Management began to enforce the policy they wanted anyway, which told the workers what the "team concept" is really about—not a team of equals, but more like a team of mules and a mule

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### Black World

## Behind the violence in S. Africa



by Lou Turner

*"National liberation, national renaissance, the restoration of nationhood to the people, commonwealth: whatever may be the headings used or the new formulas introduced, decolonization is always a violent phenomenon."*

—Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*

The "hidden hand" behind the vicious surprise attack on 300 Inkatha supporters in the township of Thokoza southeast of Johannesburg, followed by another attack in Soweto on Sept. 8, which in all left 42 people dead, was so blatant and obvious that even the government-backed leader of Inkatha, Gatsha Buthelezi, has been hesitant to point a finger at the rival African National Congress (ANC). While the level of violence had initially subsided in the aftermath of the July "Inkathagate" revelations, the approach of the signing of the Sept. 14 peace accord between state president F.W. de Klerk, Buthelezi and the ANC's Nelson Mandela became the pretext for a new round of violence.

With thousands of Black South Africans murdered and wounded since F.W. de Klerk came to power in 1988, clearly, there is a higher level of violence and killing in de Klerk's "new South Africa" than in the old.

### 'HIDDEN HAND'

The new phenomenon that de Klerk can take credit for is, as he told a London audience in April: "popular violence is no longer directed against the state, but between rival black parties." The July revelations reported in the South African Weekly Mail of government funding of the reactionary Inkatha Freedom Party, headed by Gatsha Buthelezi, exposed the "hidden hand" behind the phenomenon.

This isn't the only thing behind the current crisis in South Africa, nor behind the so-called "irreversible" move to democracy. The lethal process of neofascism that Fanon documented in the Algerian revolution is underway in South Africa.

More than half the command structure of the South

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### Editorial article

## Mass revolt, deep crises and pull of old haunt the "new" Russia

by Peter Wermuth

Barely a month after the masses of the misnamed "Soviet Union" blocked the reactionary coup against Gorbachev and helped drive the hated Communist Party from power, George Bush moved to seize the initiative by offering, on Sept. 27, the elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in exchange for maintaining Star Wars and the modernization of the U.S.'s strategic nuclear arsenal. The apparent ease with which Bush's dramatic proposal subsumed all discussion of events inside Russia leads one to ask how the rulers could manage to so fully re-assert their dominance so soon after the emergence of a revolt that but weeks before had been declared by the media a "world historic event" of epochal proportions.

The answer to that question is found in the contradictory character of the momentous events that swept the "Soviet Union" in the past six weeks. On the one hand, humanity again became witness to how deep and persistent is the quest for freedom, as masses of people in the crumbling Russian empire not only poured into the streets to oppose the coup, but then proceeded to hit out at the very pillar of Gorbachev's rule—the integrality of the Party-Secret Police-Military apparatus. At the same time, the fact that the subsequent collapse of the Communist Party and near-disintegration of the "Soviet Union" led, not to the dismantling of the statist institutions of repression, but rather to the resurgent power of former Communists such as Boris Yeltsin, discloses the contradictory character of the "revolution" begun on Aug. 18.

There is no more poignant illustration of that than the scene in front of the KGB headquarters in Moscow within hours of the coup's collapse. When tens of thousands of protesters followed up the coup's defeat by marching to the KGB headquarters, they found the building sealed and under the "protection" of the police, who had declared their loyalty to Yeltsin. Instead of seeing KGB agents brought to justice or the lists of its informers made public, the protesters witnessed a "new" leadership telling them to go home and await its decisions.

This contradiction between the persistence of the old and the struggle to create the new, which was expressed in innumerable ways, has given rise to the most ominous phenomenon of all: the fact that despite all the events of the past six weeks, Bush has every reason to act as if his drive to achieve single world domination has been given even greater impetus.

To dig out that contradiction demands putting aside all ideological blinders and instead tracing out the dialectic of events with eyes of the historic-philosophic context that can decipher its meaning.

### THE ROAD TO AUGUST

The road to the coup launched on Aug. 18 was paved by none other than Mikhail Gorbachev. He not only ap-

### Labor under Bush/Reagan

## N.C. tragedy was not an accident

Twenty-five workers died and more than 50 were injured as the result of a fire in the Imperial Food Products Company chicken processing plant in Hamlet, N.C. on Sept. 3. There had never been a fire drill or a safety inspection at the 11-year-old plant. The fire doors were locked to prevent workers from stealing chicken. "They were screaming 'Let me out!' They were beating on the door," a witness said. Many of the dead were found at the locked doors, smothered by smoke.

Workers who survived the fire told of working in blasting heat with no windows or fans, of coping with strict rules on bathroom breaks, of facing discrimination because they are Black and harassment by supervisors who are white, of being fired for taking time off work, or even asking for time off, to care for sick family members. All of this for \$4.90 an hour.

### DEATH ON THE JOB

What happened in Hamlet, N.C., has been called an "industrial accident," but there was nothing "accidental" about it. The 25 deaths and dozens of injuries must be seen in the context of the 200,000 workers killed on the job and the two million who have died from work-related diseases just since the passage of the Occupational Health and Safety Act (OSHA) of 1970.

The number of deaths on the job has skyrocketed



Ukrainians denouncing the new union treaty.

pointed each of the coup leaders, but spent the last several years concentrating ever more powers of repression in the hands of the central bureaucracy for use (as he put it) "against the threat of popular unrest." Thus, in the spring of 1990 he forced through legislation giving him the "legal" means of imposing a state of emergency, which he subsequently backed up by adding to the power of the internal security forces.

The fact that the coup leaders decided to utilize this mechanism on their own behalf, rather than Gorbachev's, is a result of the new balance of forces brought on by the massive workers' strikes of last spring. Faced with a strike wave affecting virtually every industry, Gorbachev realized he could not count on the Communist Party hierarchy alone to ensure "stability." He thus reached out to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, offering him a revised union treaty giving more power to the republics in exchange for Yeltsin's help in getting the miners back to work. Fearing the miners' revolt as much as Gorbachev, Yeltsin agreed.

At the same time, ever since the Gulf War a section of the bureaucracy had become increasingly unhappy over Gorbachev's rapprochement with the West, on the

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### On the Inside

*From the Writings of Raya Dunayevskaya--The beginning of the end of Russian totalitarianism.....p. 4*  
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since 1980. Hand in hand with the well-known deterioration in wages and benefits for U.S. workers under the Reagan-Bush retrogression has come a sharp decline in health and safety conditions at work.

Even the geography and the specific industry are not "accidental." It is not only that the federal government turned enforcement of OSHA regulations over to the state of North Carolina, or even that North Carolina, in turn, reduced its staff to 16 safety and six health inspectors. It is that the expansion and mechanization of the poultry industry, the poli-

More reactions to North Carolina poultry plant fire on page 3.

tical climate in the U.S. as a whole, and the labor history of the South combined with lethal results.

The massive growth of the poultry industry across the South has been accompanied by a rapid concentration of production into huge plants owned by a few giant corporations. Inside the plants, the production line speed has been set higher and higher, to 60, 80 or more birds per minute. One "state-of-the art" plant runs its line at 91 per minute, or 5,460 birds per hour.

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## Woman as Reason

by Terry Moon

"In Part Two [of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*] on the Women's Liberation Movement, especially the section on the 'Unfinished Tasks,' the point I choose to elaborate was, once again, the conception of Women's Liberation not just as force but as Reason. The new here, however, was that the 'proof' came from history itself—[the beginning of the Russian Revolution on] February 23, 1917. This was for the purpose of showing that the women were the ones who initiated that revolution. Even now I am not sure that we totally understand that that, in turn, depends on women practicing the immediate problems inseparable from the philosophic context" p. xxxv).

—Raya Dunayevskaya

The rewriting of history going on since the masses in the USSR defeated the attempted coup is profoundly disturbing and has deep implications. That does not mean only bourgeois hacks like Robert Conquest, writing in the Aug. 23 issue of *The New York Times* of the great events of Feb. 23, 1917, as "a localized food riot in Petrograd that escalated against negligible opposition," but many of today's Leftists who say that the defeat of the coup is greater than the 1917 Russian Revolution. These history-lies are a deepening of what Bush has been trying to do ever since the Gulf War: destroy the very idea of revolution, the very vision of a freedom-filled future. Now it is the past that is under attack—especially the legacy of the Russian Revolution.

To say the Russian Revolution of 1917—both February and November—was a great victory does not take away from the fact that it was transformed into its opposite, into a state-capitalist monstrosity. Indeed, to distort the past is to obscure the fact that what we have to work out is what happens after revolution, how to make it deepen continuously until all are free. One can't even begin to answer that question if the very fact of revolution is denied.

I think that what can help us in this battle is Raya Dunayevskaya's new edition of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (RLWLMPR). That is because her methodology reveals a "philosophic context" inseparable from women's true—that is, revolutionary—history.

### PHILOSOPHIC CONTEXT

In the quoted paragraph at the beginning of this column, Dunayevskaya writes that women initiated the Russian Revolution which "proves" the concept that she created: "Women's Liberation not just as force but as Reason." That concept and reality would also be obliterated if our history is rewritten. Listen to the paragraph that she wanted to include in a new edition of RLWLMPR to re-emphasize that it is not woman as mere "helpmate" that is key:

"History proves a very different truth, whether we look at February 1917, where the women were the ones who initiated the revolution; whether we turn further back to the Persian Revolution of 1906-11, where the women created the very first women's soviet; or whether we look at our own age in the 1970s in Portugal, where Isabel do Carmo raised the totally new concept of *apartidarismo* [non-partyism]. It is precisely because women's liberationists are both revolutionary force and Reason that



Women-  
Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

The Arab Women's Solidarity Association (AWSA) is challenging in court, Oct. 31, the Egyptian government's abolishment and ban of their organization, seizure of their records and the transfer of their assets to the government-supported Women of Islam association. AWSA was founded by feminist writer and activist Nawal El Saadawi after her release from prison ten years ago and has been actively involved in women's struggles in the Muslim world. Send protest letters to: President Hosni Mubarak, Kobba Palace, Cairo, Egypt.

—Information from *Women Living under Muslim Laws and Ms.*

\* \* \*

A women's information center in Jakarta, Indonesia is conducting its first anti-rape campaign, bringing together women from Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines "who all suffer from the same violence." The Indonesian government takes no action against rapists even though it is the second most common crime in the country.

—Information from *Toward Freedom*

\* \* \*

In Chicago, Ill., several hundred people participated in a spirited "Take Back The Streets" march on Sept. 7 sponsored by women's, minority and Gay and Lesbian liberation organizations. They protested the large increase of assaults against them and mounting police brutality. Protestors refused to be intimidated by the dozens of cops on horseback who surrounded the march the entire time.

\* \* \*

In Botswana, women, many wearing T-shirts saying "Freedom for Women," came hundreds of miles to support Unity Dow who challenged the law that citizenship is determined by the citizenship of the father.

## Stop the rewriting of our history!

they are crucial. If we are to achieve success in the new revolutions, we have to see that the uprooting of the old is total from the start."

It is when you ask yourself how it is possible for Dunayevskaya to see what the Women's Liberation Movement itself didn't see in its own activity, that the "philosophic context" needed to fight today's battles begins to become clear. The new questions raised by the Women's Liberation Movement—indeed by all of the movements for freedom—compelled her to dig so deeply into Marx's Marxism that she could see the new in today's freedom movements, help develop them and the Idea of freedom. That is how she came to create the powerful category of "The Women's Liberation Movement as Revolutionary Force and Reason" and see implicit in our activity the need for the uprooting to be total from the start.

### WOMEN'S LIBERATION UNFINISHED

It is Marx's Marxism which informs all three parts of RLWLMPR and it is the unfinished nature of the Women's Liberation Movement and all movements for freedom that impels us to grapple with Marx. I think that is part of what Adrienne Rich was expressing in her Foreword to this new edition when she asked: "But why do we need Marx, anyway? Dunayevskaya believes he is the only philosopher of 'total revolution'—the revolution that will touch and transform all human relationships, that is never-ending, revolution in permanence. Permanence not as a party-led state that has found all the answers, but as a society all of whose people participate in both government and production and in which the division between manual and mental labor will be ended."

What today's rulers, aided by the prizefighters for capitalism, are trying to crush as they rewrite our history, what they want to destroy, is not alone our very revolutionary past and the fact of today's revolutionary thought and activity, but what Dunayevskaya shows flows from it: our vision of the future, our determination to totally uproot this society and create something new. We will not let them.

## Abortion: Women will decide our fate

New York, N.Y.—About 5,000 furious women and men, cheered on by hundreds of passers-by, marched down Fifth Avenue Sunday, Sept. 29, in protest of the National Right-to-Life (sic) campaign's religious anti-abortion, anti-woman crusade in New York. The "right-to-lifers," encouraged by Bush's support for any and all anti-abortion, anti-woman tactics, even those in Wichita, attempted, and failed, to form a human cross—they called it a "chain of life"—down Fifth Avenue from 77th St. to Washington Sq. and across 34th St.

Everyone at the march was clearly outraged at this ideological invasion and grew even angrier on seeing the "right-to-lifers." Murmuring prayers, not looking directly at the protesters, and all carrying the same "Abortion Kills Children" sign, their presence seemed to say, "stop thinking for yourselves, women." In contrast, the marchers, including hundreds of young women in high school and college, never stopped making up new chants like, "Keep your rosaries off my ovaries!" and "Think for yourselves, make your own signs!"

Many rally speakers failed to capture this spirit and focused on writing Congressmen. But the speakers who won the loudest applause were the women who testified about their experiences with back-alley abortions.

Organized by WHAM! (Women's Health Action and Mobilization), a group started several years ago by women frustrated with the narrow, lobbying tactics of the larger, more mainstream women's organizations, the demonstration was joined by members of ACT-UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) and dozens of campus and community women's groups. Many younger women and men had never been to an abortion rights women's march before, but had protested against the Persian Gulf war last winter.

—NY News and Letters Local

Editor's note: At the same time that the bourgeois press was filled with stories and pictures of the anti-abortion fanatics' siege on clinics in Wichita, Kansas, counter-demonstrations against them and for women's right to control our bodies erupted throughout the U.S. Below we print accounts of two such demonstrations.

Chicago, Ill.—Hundreds of women, men and children marched and chanted through the streets of downtown Chicago in support of abortion rights Sept. 7. Sponsored by the Emergency Clinic Defense Coalition, the demonstration opposed the Supreme Court-supported gag rule initiated by George Bush which forbids any discussion of abortion in clinics receiving federal funds.

Many young women, too young to remember life before *Roe v. Wade*, vowed never to return to back-alley abortions—330,000 in 1972 alone, the year before women won the long-fought-for right to legal abortions in this country. As we marched through the streets shouting "Not the church, not the state;

## Rape trial protested

New York, N.Y.—"No more rape!" shouted 500 Black and white women and men at a demonstration in August shortly after the "justice" system found three white St. John's University students "not guilty" despite their sexual abuse of a Black woman student.

It was great to see such an unusual coalition of Black and feminist groups come together, shouting out in anger at sexism and racism. Protesters included middle-aged Black women government workers, white feminists, militant young Black men in fatigues, the Women's Martial Arts Center and many more organizations and individuals.

The immediate demand was that the federal government indict the St. John's men. But the crowd's real demand was to put an end to millennia of sexual abuse of women and to the special disdain visited on Black women.

During the trial, there was ample proof that the Jamaican-born woman had been terribly abused by up to seven men, all but one of them members of the school's lacrosse team. The absurd concept that one can freely consent to her own torture was accepted by the jury so they could avoid "ruining the lives" of the men. Jurors also stated they didn't believe the woman's account partly because she appeared combative and angry. Her demeanor "just didn't coincide with what we felt a victim should behave like," said one juror.

Such attitudes make it even harder for women who have been raped to come forward. I hope the group that demonstrated, in spite of its many differences, can continue to work to change this attitude toward women.

—Anne Jaclard

### Discover our real history!

"Marx's *New Humanism* and the *Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies*" by Raya Dunayevskaya. Send \$1 to N&L.

women must decide their fate," the honking horns and clenched fists of support from passers-by outnumbered the small handful of anti-women counter-demonstrators.

The truth of our chants—"Pro-life your name's a lie, you don't care if women die" and "Pray by day, bomb by night, That's the message of the right-to-life"—became chillingly clear the weekend after the rally when a clinic in Aurora, Ill. was trashed. More than \$150,000 in medical equipment was destroyed and the walls defaced with anti-abortion, anti-women epithets. When the clinic's doctor vowed to reopen and continue to perform abortions, he was followed and his car was doused with red paint and acid while parked outside a restaurant where he was eating. "Will they next throw acid in my face?" the doctor asked.

These monsters must be stopped—from Bush on down! This was the spirit that came through so clearly in the Chicago rally, especially from the new generation of young activists like the 14-year-old student who said: "I want abortion to be legal and I don't want the law and those men to say what I can do with my body."

—Participants

Los Angeles, Cal.—The so-called "right-to-life" Operation Rescue (OR) tried to bring some of the same psychic violence they practiced in Kansas to California in their "Turn the Hearts California" campaign.

This group assigned people to every clinic in the L.A. area. Some stood and prayed; others acted as "sidewalk counsellors," using verbal scare tactics, slickly written propaganda and a pretended wholesome friendliness to entrap women into "turning back"—not only from abortion, but from all family planning clinic services.

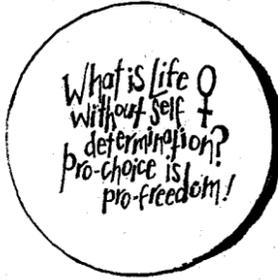
These "counsellors" solicited for the infamous bogus clinics which deceptively offer help for women in "problem pregnancies," but which are actually non-licensed, unregulated, non-medical storefront operations, right-wing anti-abortion brainwashing centers.

During the week, the anti-abortionists were met by a few dozen dedicated pro-choice activists, principally members of WHAM! (Women's Health Action and Mobilization), ACT-UP, Queer Nation, and their allies, who, when present, rendered OR ineffectual.

But: the largest area pro-choice group, Clinic Defense Alliance-Los Angeles (CDA-LA), did not issue any general call for clinic defense to its huge phone list, mobilizing only for a stand-off rally vs. OR on the final Saturday. When CDA-LA, which proudly claims to be "dedicated to stopping OR," cannot even be bothered to defend real women using real clinics, it is a vivid illustration that the pro-choice movement is stuck in a mainstream ideology.

It is clear we cannot allow the right-wing abortion ideologues to ever monopolize anyone's attention without there being strong voices to counter their honeyed ill-logic. And, in the eyes of this activist, it is crucial that women, as women, feel outrage at the very thought that women will die if we allow our fate to be decided by either the despicable overt misogyny of OR or the equally contemptible structured violence of our controlling government.

—Jennifer



## East Europe: bringing unions to heel

**Prague, Czechoslovakia**—It took Britain's Thatcher 12 years and seven pieces of trade union legislation before the Conservatives decided to put the final squeeze on unions' lifeblood—the "check-off" system of deducting subscriptions at source. Even now restricting check-off rights is but a proposal. Hungary's less squeamish conservative government turned a similar scheme into law barely a year after becoming the country's first non-Communist government since World War II. That is only one weapon in its anti-union arsenal.

The government's intention is clearly to cut the increasingly assertive trade union movement down to size before free market policies begin to bite. Its main target is the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions (MSZOSZ), the largest and most militant of Hungary's trade union organizations and main successor to the "official" trade union under the old regime.

Since the mutinous Budapest taxi blockade of last autumn, the two-and-a-half-million strong organization has recovered from its paralysis in the wake of the Communist collapse. It now represents two-thirds of organized Hungarian workers. MSZOSZ streamlined its organization by sacking 1,000 bureaucrats and successfully faced down the government over heating price increases with the threat of a two-hour warning strike this summer. The federation also won the restoration of workers' free summer holiday train fares and a commitment to end secret privatization deals.

### HUNGARY'S UNIONS ATTACKED

Both of the main Hungarian parties, the ruling nationalist Democratic Forum and the liberal opposition Free Democrats, had expected MSZOSZ to disintegrate and their own pet union outfits—the Workers' Council Federation and the League of Independent Unions—to pick up the pieces. That hope proved forlorn. With Hungary's unemployment expected to double this year from 3% to 6%, with inflation rising and with the fall in national income set to accelerate from 5% to 8%, they united to clip union wings and pushed the controversial legislation through parliament in July.

As well as requiring all union members to re-register within a month, the Act requires members to apply individually to employers to contain subscription deductions at source. Potentially even more damaging to MSZOSZ, however, is parliament's decision to freeze all trade union funds and assets and to set up a rigged committee to divide them up.

This committee will give one vote to MSZOSZ, one to the League, one to the Workers' Councils and one to all other organizations. Thus, groups with 6% of trade union members—the League and the Councils—will have the same say in the carve-up as those with 94%. Leszlo Andor of the Budapest Trade Union Institute said the government's overt aim is "to prevent a strong union movement from taking shape in Hungary."

Not surprisingly, MSZOSZ is going to the Constitutional Court. The federation's secretary-general, Sandor

Nagy, described the new law as a political attack designed to stop the development of a strong socialist or social-democratic Left. Sandor Batonyi, a leader of the radical Solidarity Workers' Union, has gone on hunger strike in protest.

### POLAND FOLLOWS SUIT

The dispute has echoes elsewhere in Eastern Europe. In Poland, where production is in free fall and official unemployment is already nearly 10%, the government also was busy this summer passing trade union property laws with a political twist. Parliament decided that all assets and funds seized from Solidarity when the old regime imposed martial law in 1981 are to be returned. What appears to be a straightforward righting of a wrong is aimed at weakening OPZZ, the former official union and Poland's biggest trade union organization.

OPZZ was the beneficiary of some of Solidarity's seized assets in the early '80s and could end up with a substantial bill. "This is a purely political decision to undermine our activities," said Jan Bogutin, OPZZ spokesman. Even more ominous for the future of independent trade unionism in Poland were recent remarks by Lech Kasczynski, the security minister and close associate of President Lech Walesa. In an interview with the weekly *Tygodnik Centrum* Kasczynski said that OPZZ was taking advantage of the freedoms of the new system to influence economic changes. Unfortunately, he added, it would be "difficult" to make it illegal.

Throughout Eastern Europe the parties of the Left are weak or discredited. Only the trade unions represent a potentially effective bloc against the policies of mass privatization and marketization being pursued with more or less enthusiasm in every country in the region. It seems increasingly likely that as social costs continue to mount and organized workers become more combative, so, too, will grow the governments' determination to bring unions to heel. —East European correspondent

*Archives of Harry McShane, Scottish Marxist-Humanist find a home. See p. 10.*

## GM, UAW snare labor

**Oklahoma City, Okla.**—In 1984 the United Auto Workers was pushing job security in its negotiations with General Motors. The idea was that, rather than laying off a worker and sending him to unemployment, they'd just create this labor pool. It started out then that the workers would stay home and be on call for eight hours. If they weren't there, they lost the day's pay.

By the time the labor pool was implemented, General Motors said the workers would be coming into the plant. If the company didn't need them, they could walk around and visit their friends. Well, evidently this was causing some kind of a problem on the lines, because some of these guys who were extra were filling in for the people who were working on the line and letting them have a break. The workers on the line didn't mind that at all, but the foremen didn't like it too well.

So General Motors created a little house up in front where the workers had to report. Whenever the shift came on, the foremen in the plant who needed people would come up there and choose who they wanted to work in their departments, and they'd take them out.

One woman told me that, after a month or two of just sitting there for eight hours a day, it was terrible. You hated to come to work. Every time a foreman would walk in to choose somebody, she said you got to where spontaneously you would just stand up, wanting to be chosen to get out of that little room so you could go out and work—which is kind of unusual. That's not something workers really run into.

After a certain period of time she did get out, and I got the feeling that she actually worked harder because she didn't want to go back. It's kind of like a little prison there. This was negotiated by our local and federal union. With the union bureaucrats and the company, it seems like everything is turned into a snare for labor, something to beat us with. —General Motors worker

## Teamster drivers speak

**New York, N.Y.**—This is what a Teamster driver had to say about the new National Master Freight Agreement: "The union rolled over on this three-year contract. Fifty cents, 45 cents, 45 cents—that's 8% over three years. They tell you you're lucky to have a job these days. What kind of attitude is that to go into negotiations with? That's why the companies can cry broke and get relief." For example, drivers at Howard's Express work 45 hours a week for straight time.

Another driver felt, "Even if you feel the pay's not so bad these days compared to what's out there, what worries me is when I'm making a delivery and right next to me is a guy from Johnson's Motor Express making the same delivery for \$8.50 an hour. This guy's driving a trailer in from Jersey, into the city, for \$8.50, what you're getting \$16 for. How long can that go on? There's more non-union carriers out there every day. The union's got to organize these drivers."

To this the first driver responded, "The federal government has made it much harder to organize a union now. That guy from Johnson Motor Express, if he talks about a union, the company will fire him. It's cheaper for the company to fire the guy, let him go to the NLRB (National Labor Relations Board). Sure they'll give him back pay—two years from now. The company will pay. It's cheaper than getting a union."

"Another thing is, a lot of people resent a Teamster making 40 grand. That's more than a teacher makes. They don't mind a stockbroker making more than a teacher, but they resent a blue collar making 40 grand. They feel you should bust your butt and do a good job, but you should know your place." —John Marcotte



## N.C. fire: 'a horrible thing'

The chicken plant that caught fire in Hamlet, N.C., was a horrible thing. They've found out since the fire that there are a lot of plants around here in North Carolina with locked doors. People have gotten used to working under these conditions. You have to support your family somehow. But still, it's hard to believe they had the doors padlocked from the outside, and the doors were the only way out.

Most of the people who got killed were Black women who were single parents. These women catch hell down here, especially if you're over 60 like me. I work day work a little, but there are hardly any openings for that now. The workers in Hamlet are saying that if they rebuild the plant, they want to unionize. There aren't many unionized plants here.

**Black woman day worker  
Sanford, N.C.**

\* \* \*

It was a shock to hear of the 25 deaths in a chicken processing plant in North Carolina. It seems that I was misguided in my view that locked doors and no fire safety plans went out with the Triangle Shirtwaist factory disaster. The U.S. Congress wants to hold new hearings on the question of workplace safety in light of the fire so that, they claim, new laws can be passed to prevent this sort of thing from happening again. There already are such laws; Reagan stopped enforcing the OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Act) standards.

The owners of that chicken plant are truly kin to the mine owners and operators of the world. They have a total disregard for the safety and lives of their workers, a lesson miners learned long ago, which is why they always demand worker control of safety issues. Since such a demand directly challenges the capitalists' control of production, nothing short of revolution will ever resolve the question. Until there is a complete uprooting of this exploitative society, there are bound to be more tragedies.

**Underutilized health & safety person  
New York**

\* \* \*

The deaths of 25 people in a fire at a North Carolina poultry processing plant are nothing short of murder. Will the owners of the plant be held accountable for this, or will they just get a slap on the wrist? Is this just one more tragedy? Living, thinking human beings were lost because, in the company's eyes, the theft of product and the reduction of the profit margin are much more important than a human life.

I hope other workers will see that this is the message that capital is giving us and take note that, unless workers themselves organize to monitor their health, safety and labor problems, the capitalists will continue their destruction. That is something we cannot let happen. **Martin Almora  
Chicago**

## Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

driver. This really brought the workers together as a union.

They put out a leaflet stating "To hell with jointness and teamwork." If the company wanted job quality, then that had to be "quality achieved through proper manpower and line speed." The workers decided to do what they were told "and nothing more," that is, no more team "suggestions" on how to improve production. They defied company policy and, instead of wearing their compulsory "team" uniforms, wore union T-shirts to work.

Some Mazda workers said that they couldn't remember when morale was so high and work so much fun. How I wish I could be with them! Reading about their activity showed how exciting the job in the plant can become when workers come together with their own thinking.

It takes me back to my days on the line before I retired from General Motors in South Gate, Cal. I can remember times when the workers came together and took control in our own hands. It drove management wild, but those were the days when I could hardly wait to get back to work. Reading about what these workers are doing at Mazda makes my blood run hot, wanting to get into the battle again.

### LIFE WORTH LIVING

I also know from my own experience that not only management, but the top bureaucrats in the UAW, will do all they can to keep a genuine workers' movement under control. Any time there was a real movement at GM South Gate, the company would give the foremen money on Friday to go to The Back Door, the beer joint near the plant. The foremen would buy beer for the workers and act all buddy-buddy, trying to stop the movement and get back in power themselves. The union bureaucracy also would play games with the workers.

That is why it is so important for the Mazda workers to be thinking their own thoughts, communicating with each other and seeing their struggle in relationship to what has happened before, where and how a workers' movement got stopped before. Workers create everything. We even participate in increasing our own misery when we don't do anything and allow others to do our thinking for us. Real life exists when workers make life worth living by rejecting the dehumanizing ways we are treated and by thinking and acting together.

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

by Raya Dunayevskaya  
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

*Editor's note: The ongoing, momentous events in Russia have impelled our return to this article, "The Beria Purge," written in August, 1953 on the situation in Russia after Stalin's death. It was later included as an Appendix to Raya Dunayevskaya's Political-Philosophic Letter, "Mao's Last Hurrah," published Feb. 26, 1976 (microfilm #5206 in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection at Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs). We print it here in full as it originally appeared in Correspondence, Oct. 3, 1953.*

Communism as practiced in Russia is a system of the most sweated labor in the world, buttressed by forced labor camps and a vast complex network of spies and counter-spies. The counter-spies are not "foreign agents"; they are "Party men" who spy on the GPU\* who spy on the Party men, and both spy on the people. This octopus periodically disgorges itself in bloodbaths known as purges.

Nevertheless, there could be no greater mistake made than that of all our Russian "experts" who identify all purges as the same type, and are now busy likening the purges following the arrest of the No. 2 man in the whole Russian empire, Lavrenti P. Beria, to the "Trotskyist" Trials of 1936-1938. The purges of the 1936-38 period announced the consolidation of the monster state. The present period signifies its disintegration.

After a struggle that had been raging in the country since the death of Lenin, the victor, Stalin, felt confident he could undertake a purge of what was left of the 1917 Revolution—not alone of those who had led it but thousands and thousands of rank-and-file workers who had opposed his regime. Thus by 1936-38 the counter-revolution was firmly in the saddle. The bloodbath had helped the ruling intelligentsia, the planners, assert its authority: "I am here to stay. I am the new ruling class, and you all better obey me. Here is the new Stalinist Constitution which not alone legalizes my status but defines my power as absolute."

### THIEVES FALL OUT

Today the ruling bureaucracy is not the integrated whole it was in 1938. It is split all ways between Zhdanov men, Malenkov men, Beria men, and—not to be forgotten although little known at present—Khrushchev men. Anyone who, like Nikita S. Khrushchev, has been boss over rebellious Ukraine, comes into Moscow as late as 1950, and by 1953 is in a position to have Malenkov "ask to be relieved" of the post of General Secretary of the omnipresent Communist Party, and himself steps into that post, is a man to be watched. These power politicians have by now reached a blind alley, not knowing where to turn, and murdering each other.

They have been doing that ever since 1948 when Malenkov engineered, without "the all-powerful Stalin" knowing about it, the medical assassination of his co-leader and superior, Andrei Zhdanov. It is clear now, as it was not then, that the death of Zhdanov was the beginning of the end also of Stalin.

Ever since the expulsion of Trotsky, Stalin has held undisputed power. Ever since 1938 he was so confident of his might and his politics that he knew he could mobilize for war, although he had executed the entire military staff. Hitler used to rave and rant to his lieutenants his envy and appreciation of the genius of Stalin who had the perspicacity and audacity to get rid of the general staff of the Red Army before launching a world war. He knew whereof he spoke, for totalitarian economics has no room for a command divided between political and military needs.

### POWER WENT TO STALIN'S HEAD

But by 1948, after two decades of undisputed power, topped by a military victory, Stalin, to use a phrase of his own on another occasion, was "dizzy with success." I am not using it as a psychological epithet. His exhilaration from success was a sign that he was no longer responsive to the objective needs requisite for a struggle for world power. Stalin failed to grasp the new situation—he had won a war, a mighty one, over Nazi Germany, yes. But he had yet to face the real contender for world power—the United States. Zhdanov was with him in not using the truce between wars for a breathing spell; he was ready to take the whole world on.

Malenkov thought differently and, feeling that he could not win the argument since Stalin was evidently with Zhdanov, had Zhdanov poisoned. For the first time since Stalin came to power something had been done behind the back of the old master intriguer and murderer; no leader can long retain undisputed leadership under such circumstances, no matter what leader cults have been fashioned around his name. The bureaucracy whom Stalin had so long and so fully represented began to find him inadequate to the new situation created by the end of a world war which no one really won but which left each of the two state-capitalist giants so exhausted that a halt had to be called.

How pyrrhic was Stalin's victory could be seen in the unrest in the national republics which constitute Russia. By a ukase of the Supreme Soviet, five autonomous republics were liquidated. Russia had suffered the greatest devastation and was in crying need for a labor force to rebuild the country. It could not hope to have that force enlarged by the return of slave laborers in Hitler's

Germany—too many had willingly escaped from the prison which is Stalin's Russia. Anyone who was in Germany at the end of the war knows that long before Koje, the Korean War and the massacre of P.O.W.s, a veritable civil war was going on in the Russian displaced persons camps, but the Allies forced the Russians to return to their "homeland."

### RESTLESS MASSES

The restlessness of the Russian masses knew no bounds. If they were merely to go on in the same old way, keeping their noses to the grindstone, then at least it would not be in the god-forsaken Urals. The totalitarian Russian bureaucracy had all the power and all the force and all the laws it needed to enforce labor discipline, but absolutely nothing could stem the tide of returning Russians. The tide invalidated all laws. To have a labor force at all the planners were compelled to make an unplanned declaration—an amnesty on all labor offenses committed during the war.

So catastrophic, however, had been the decline of the



The beginning of the end of Stalinism came on June 17, 1953 when East German workers, chanting "We will not be slaves," stormed the streets in the first uprising against a totalitarian regime.

labor force during the war years (a drop from 31.2 million in 1940 to 27.2 million in 1945 with more than a third of these unskilled new women workers) that even the amnesty was insufficient to create the labor force necessary. Thereupon occurred one of the speediest demobilizations of an army anywhere in the world; no less than 10 million were demobilized between 1945 and 1947. But many of these had been infected with what the Soviet bureaucracy called "bourgeois ideology." Still, considering Russian purges, this "cultural purge" in 1946 was a very mild one. But the power struggle behind the scenes was not so mild. A new low, even for the Stalinist bureaucracy, was reached in ending an argument among themselves by quietly doing away with Zhdanov, and then, of course, giving him a big mass funeral.

### MORE DECREES

By 1950 the Russian economy had about got back to normal when Stalin had a brainstorm. He brought Khrushchev in from the Ukraine (where he was Premier) and had Khrushchev, in a speech in the Moscow district, announce the most fantastic scheme yet—the creation of agrogorods, that is to say, agricultural towns. Just like that—decree them, and they shall arise and the centuries-old distinction between city and country will vanish.

Instead of "abolishing" the distinction between city and country, this idiotic schema brought such chaos to the countryside that even in that land of monolithic planning, the idea had to be shelved in a few short months. The peasant wasn't hurrying to transport, at his own expense and his own time, his little hut in the collective farm to the agro-town which was yet to be created, while the apartment house in which he was to live like a worker had not only not been built, it had not even been planned.

### SUSPICIONS DEVELOP

But if Stalin had to be satisfied with something less than the "abolition" of the difference between city and country, he was going full speed ahead towards a head-on collision with the United States—at least where he could get the Koreans and the Chinese to do the fighting for him. There was no breathing spell, let alone peace. The iron-fisted Stalin was clearly becoming a

millstone around the neck of the bureaucracy which yearned for a truce between wars. He had to be gotten rid of. But no one dared. No one except Beria. He had to dare, for it was a question of either his neck or Stalin's and he preferred Stalin's.

Stalin had evidently begun to suspect the "naturalness" of Zhdanov's death. The wily Malenkov had beat Beria to the draw again and managed suddenly to uncover "the plot of the doctors-poisoners" who had indeed poisoned Zhdanov, thus laying the blame for a death he had engineered right at the doorstep of Beria's Ministry. While the "lack of vigilance" campaign was raging in the country, Beria plotted his revenge, or, if you wish, his defense. For if there is anyone who knew Stalin it was his glorifier-biographer-historiographer, Beria.

Six months before the death of Stalin the power struggle reached a climax. Beria knew that his days were numbered and he had to move fast. He did. Despite all the bulletins of the Central Committee and of the chief doctors in the land, we can be sure that if Beria is not accused directly of poisoning Stalin, he will be accused of doing so indirectly, of bringing about his "untimely death" through his "intrigues and treachery."

This doesn't mean either that intrigue or treachery will stop, or that the bureaucracy as a whole didn't breathe a sigh of relief at the death of their "almighty" leader. One has to take but one glance on how quickly his whole program was scuttled: 1) The Korean war was stopped. 2) What the 19th Congress, the last which Stalin directed and the first to meet since 1939, had established in trying to widen somewhat the base of the bureaucracy has been shelved. The Presidium once again consists not of 50 or 25, but "a less unwieldy one" of 10. 3) And they ran, like rats from a sinking ship, from the grandiose fundamental "work of genius," Stalin's "Economic Problems of Socialism of the U.S.S.R."

### STALIN'S LAST TESTAMENT

This, which we may call Stalin's Last Testament, is the most pathetic document that ever a tyrant left his fighting heirs. After a quarter of a century of Plans and what he assured them was the actual transition "from socialism to full communism," Stalin's mighty labors brought forth only the need to merge the peasant's private allotment adjoining the collective farm into the collective itself. Upon this private garden, rightly called in this country "an acre and a cow," evidently depends the building of "full communism." This, plus "the gradual abolition" of the collective farm market, and substitution of "products exchange" for money exchange, will bring them to "communism in a single country."

That was little enough of a legacy to leave his bureaucratic heirs. But the Russian masses, who know that Stalin doesn't go in for theory unless he plans to apply it, made one grand rush to transform their money into manufactured products (consumers goods) and the peasants at the same time withheld farm products.

It was the closest to panic Russia has been since forced collectivization took its toll in 1932. Zverev, the Minister of Finance, had to come out with a statement against "rumors" that Russia was going to do away with money. Then he had to cut by no less than 50 percent the "voluntary" State Loan. Then the Supreme Soviet had to declare a 50 percent deduction in the agricultural tax. And finally Malenkov steps forward promising them heaven on earth, and to begin with: "Our country is insured of bread."

If Stalin's Last Testament is pathetic, how much lower the sights of Malenkov. In his first major speech he used for morale building everything from "elegant shoes" to hydrogen bombs! But there is nothing really decided in this power struggle as can be seen by the fact that no one has yet come out as the Leader but each man must hide behind the "collective" Central Committee which is about as unified as thieves who fall out.

### RUSSIAN WORKERS NO LONGER ISOLATED

There is no getting away from it, the Russian masses are not only ill-fed, ill-clad and ill-housed. They are rebellious.

The biggest problem of Russia remains the low labor productivity. Totalitarian state-capitalism has invented no substitute for that. The Russian workers aren't producing enough, and the Russian peasants are keeping back a lot of what they are producing. And all the pie in the sky, hydrogen bombs included, will not thrust them back into their isolation now that the East German workers have revolted against these rulers and overnight filled the air with the stuff that makes dreams a reality.

We are at the beginning of the end of Russian totalitarianism. That does not mean the state-capitalist bureaucracy will let go of its iron grip. Quite the contrary. It will shackle them more as can be seen from Malenkov's blaming of the workers for the poor quality of consumer goods "to the shame of the workers of industry." What it does mean is that from the center of Russian production, from the periphery of the satellite countries oppressed by Russia, and from the insides of the Communist parties, all contradictions are moving to a head and the open struggle will be a merciless fight to the end.

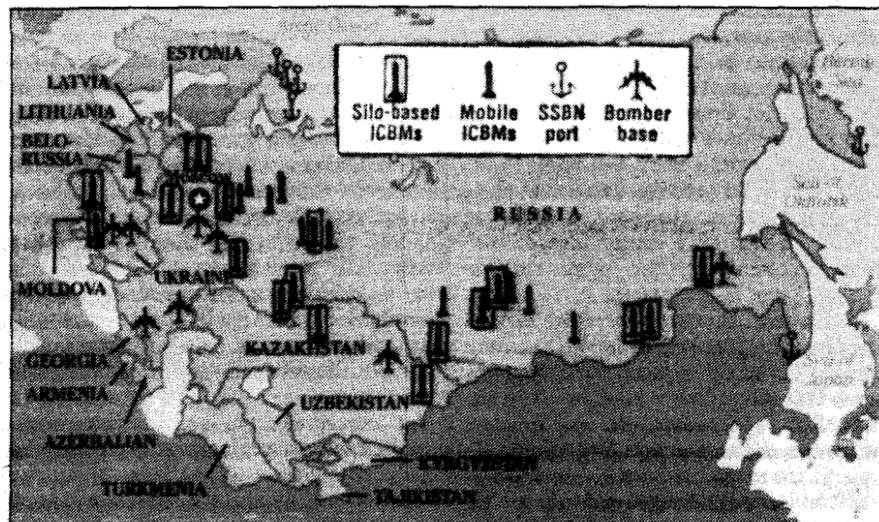
\*Initials for the name given to the secret police in Stalin's day.

# Mass revolt and deep crises haunt the "new" Russia

(continued from page 1)

grounds that it was leading, not to a "new era of cooperation" between the superpowers, but rather to total subordination to the U.S. drive for single world mastery. Gorbachev's failure to obtain a single concession from the West, either at the "G-7" economic summit or his July meeting with Bush, coupled with the imminent signing of the new union treaty, made the coup plotters decide the time had come to move against him.

That the coup collapsed as fast as it did is a testament both to deep divisions within the ruling bureaucracy and the actions of the masses, who took to the streets by the tens of thousands in Leningrad and Moscow. Within hours of the coup thousands of members of the Independent Miners' Union walked



off their jobs at coal mines in the vicinity of Vorkuta, site of the first massive revolt against Russian totalitarianism in the summer of 1953. Forty-one industries, from coal mines to poultry processing plants, joined in the walkouts, especially in the Kemerovo region of Siberia and the Kuzbass.

Nevertheless, there was no sign of the "unlimited national protest" called for by Yeltsin, nor were the demonstrations, crucial as they were, anywhere as massive as those that swept East Europe in the Fall of 1989.

## WHEN THIEVES FALL OUT

What proved of critical importance were divisions within the ruling class. Though the KGB and Interior Ministry were the backbone of the coup, top-ranking officers in groups like the KGB's Alpha Battalion, which committed unspeakable atrocities in Afghanistan, opposed it. Members of the air force, navy and army high command likewise either refrained from endorsing the coup or supported Yeltsin.

Far from this fracturing of the ruling class being a result of Gorbachev's "democratization" and reforms, as some would have us believe, it was instead an expression of the decades-long degeneration and decay that has set into a system incapable of internal reform.

That the coup's collapse led to the dissolution of the hated Communist Party certainly was an important victory. The fact is, however, that the basic institutions of state power and repression remain largely untouched.

This is especially true of the army. Shortly after the coup Yeltsin praised its leadership for "defending democracy," promising he will protect it against any "unjustified criticism." Emboldened by the mass support he received for opposing the coup, Yeltsin moved to consolidate his power by appointing as new Soviet Defense Minister Gen. Evgenii Shaposhnikov, who quickly reversed an earlier announcement that 80% of the army's officers would be removed for their complicity in the old regime. The 80% figure, he now insists, applies only to the Defense Ministry Collegium, a relatively small group. The collapse of the Communist Party and the all-centralized Union actually gives the army more power than it had before.

Nor is the KGB being dismantled. Though the KGB border police have been placed under the control of the Defense Ministry, new KGB chief Vladimir Bakatin (also chosen by Yeltsin) insists the agency's structure will be preserved and that the names of its many informers will not be made public, on the grounds that "we cannot throw these people to the mercy of the mob." As former KGB General Oleg Kalugin put it, "Despite people's spontaneous wrath against the KGB, the agency will not experience the fate of the former [East German] security service, the Stasi, because its buildings and archives are safeguarded and the situation is under control."<sup>1</sup>

## TURNING EVERYTHING UPSIDE DOWN WITHOUT CHANGING ANYTHING

The speed with which the situation has been "brought under control" is seen in how nothing has changed in terms of conditions of labor or control over the workplace by the "managers of industry," though most of them have forsaken the label "Communist" and become instant advocates of "free market capitalism."

It is reflected in how Mikhail Okhmakevich, former censor for Ukrainian radio and TV, has become the new head of Ukrainian radio and TV, and that the new head of the Kazakhstan information ministry is the same man who a month ago led the Communist Party's prop-

1. One critic of the KGB, Sergei Alexeyev, has called for it to be disbanded on the grounds that "democratic leaders will find their own uses for the KGB and keep it largely intact, or they will be fooled into thinking it has been de-clawed."

aganda department. Most important of all, for those in production it means the same old exploitative conditions of labor prevail as before. As one worker said, "The atmosphere at our enterprise hasn't changed one bit because the same leadership is still with us."

Instead of any change in production relations, the collapse of the coup simply accelerated what had been occurring for years—namely, the recognition on the part of the ruling Communist hierarchy that to maintain its privileged place as "masters" over the process of production it must jettison the bankrupt Communist ideology and Party and embrace the ideology of "free market" capitalism. This "change of heart" has not proved difficult for them, precisely because there is no class

difference between state-capitalism calling itself Communism and private capitalism.<sup>2</sup> It hardly requires a change either in bureaucratic attitude or class position for long-time Communist ideologues and apparatchiks like Yeltsin, Shevardnadze, Yakovlev and others to overnight metamorphose into Reaganites.

Today's reality thus gives the lie to the notion that the events of August, 1991 represent a "world historic event" on the level of the Russian Revolution of 1917, which smashed Czarist state power and transformed class relations from the bottom up in the first and so far only successful proletarian revolution in history. The transformation into opposite of that revolution into a totalitarian society in the Stalin era was but the Russian name for a new world stage of capitalism—state-capitalism. Only total failure to grasp the state-capitalist reality of our age can possibly explain the inability of so many to recognize the present situation for what it is.

## DISSOLUTION OF EMPIRE—OR ITS REBIRTH?

What has changed is the near-total collapse of the old centralized power of the "Soviet Union." The defeat of the coup was quickly followed by declarations of independence by republics from the Baltics to the Caucasus. For Byelorussia and some of the Central Asian republics, the "independence" moves were no more than a cynical attempt on the part of the Communist leadership to protect its monopoly on power. Though that also motivated Ukrainian President Kravchuk, the Ukraine, as well as other republics, contain genuine mass movements for national liberation that have long struggled to free themselves from what Lenin called "the prison house of nations."

Faced with the threatened imminent collapse of the Union, Gorbachev (with Yeltsin's backing) forced through the adoption of a new Union structure in early September consisting of a voluntary association with a weaker central authority. This "new" Union, however, provides for no more popular participation than did the old system. Power resides in a state council whose representatives are chosen, not by popular election, but by the leaders of the republics.

Whether or not this structure lasts, the truly decisive factor is Yeltsin's Russia, which has moved to reassert Russian dominance by using Gorbachev's leadership of the much-weakened Union-center as a cover for its own power ambitions.

This has thrown an entirely new dimension into international politics.

For with the defeat of the Communist Party and ideology, power is now fully in the hands of the section of the bureaucracy that was against competing with the U.S. for influence in areas of no direct concern to Russian nationalist interests. The bowing to U.S. wishes on matters such as Cuba has already greatly accelerated.

At the same time, the fact that great-Russian chauvinism is again resurgent now that it has cast off its "Communist" outer covering means independent initiatives are sure to be pursued in areas considered vital to Russian nationalist interests, such as the Middle East. It was hardly accidental that Yeltsin visited Azerbaijan in late September to attempt to work out (along with Kazakhstan's President Nazarbayev, another rising star) a settlement to the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute between Armenia and Shi'ite Azerbaijan. It may well prove to be a stepping stone to new approaches with the countries of the Middle East, especially Iran. Indeed, no less than six of the ten republics who have joined the new Union state council are Moslem.

Thus, while for now the Russian leaders are fully willing to bow to Bush on an array of fronts, especially since they have the illusion this will help them obtain the Western economic assistance needed to make it through the winter, the underlying basis of superpower competition has not been removed.

Bush's Sept. 27 proposal to eliminate tactical nuclear weapons hardly contradicts this reality. According to a New York Times report of Sept. 28, one purpose of his proposal is to "encourage" Moscow to move strategic nuclear missiles located in Kazakhstan, Byelorussia and the Ukraine to Russian territory. In trying to get the nuclear weapons out of "untamed hands," Bush is

2. The development of Raya Dunayevskaya's theory of Russia as a state-capitalist society will be the subject of a new publication to be issued this year by News and Letters Committees.

throwing a bone to Yeltsin, since this is exactly what he has been pushing for, especially ever since Kazakhstan's Nazarbayev warned Yeltsin (on Aug. 29) that before fanning Russian nationalist sentiment he should remember that "Kazakhstan is a nuclear republic." Bush expects that in exchange for helping Yeltsin obtain the missiles, Russia will agree to his arms proposal, which eliminates obsolete weapons while allowing the U.S. to continue developing Star Wars and "nuclear modernization."

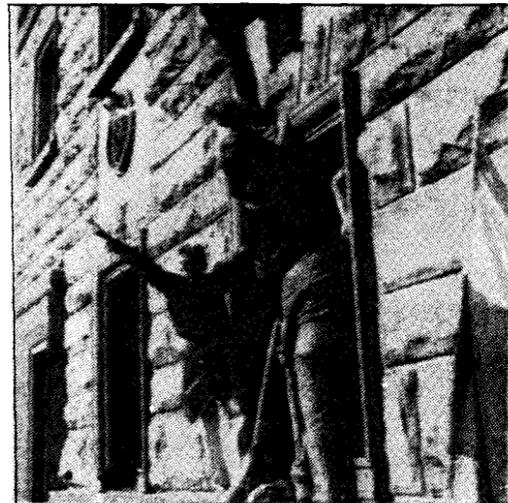
What should therefore not be overlooked is the fact that after the coup Yeltsin chose as the Union's new Chief of Staff none other than Gen. Vladimir Lobov, who shortly after the Gulf War publicly attacked Gorbachev's policy of accommodation with the West and called for the "Soviet Union" to achieve "qualitative military superiority over the U.S." through the production of a new, third generation of nuclear missiles.<sup>3</sup>

## SINGLE WORLD DOMINATION

How then can it be that, despite all the momentous events of the past six weeks, Bush's drive for single world mastery could proceed so unabated? Indeed, it is intensifying, as seen in everything from his sending U.S. troops to Peru, to his sabre-rattling against Castro, and from his insistence on having Gates head the CIA, to his latest threat to once again invade Iraq.

What enables Bush to act so boldly is the fact that, while the opposition to the coup showed how persistent is the global passion for freedom, the absence of any polarizing force spelling out what Marx's Marxism means for today gives the rulers every reason to feel the struggles will not spill over into full social revolution.

It is this which the Left must confront, not only in Russia, but right here in the U.S. It is high time revolutionaries in the West faced the consequences of the philosophic void they helped create, instead of deluding themselves that the economic crisis will necessarily cre-



Demonstrators at KGB headquarters in Moscow.

ate the conditions for a new revolutionary beginning—either in Russia or the U.S.

## GLOBAL ECONOMIC MORASS

Russia and the republics are surely in the throes of a deep economic crisis, one every bit as serious as the Great Depression of the 1930s. Far from the crisis resulting from Gorbachev's reforms, it is Gorbachev who is the result of the crisis. Long before he came on the scene, it was evident that nationalization of property that leaves the exploitative conditions of labor intact cannot overcome the endemic crises of capitalism. Indeed, the present economic morass in the "Soviet Union" is but one manifestation of the reality that has confronted world capitalism ever since the 1974-75 global recession—the fact that even state intervention in the economy cannot stem the decline in the rate of profit. For private as well as state-capitalism, it means there will be no more "booms."

Just as the Stalinists told the masses to sacrifice for the sake of a distant "Communist" future, so the new "democratic" leaders of the "Soviet Union" are now telling the masses to sacrifice for the sake of an equally distant "free market" future. The masses will accept the austerity of the market no more than they did that of the Plan.

Yet it would be the sheerest folly to use this as an excuse to once again evade responsibility for filling the philosophic void in the freedom movements. History is full of examples of "dead" societies that live on, only to exude a new form of reaction when revolutionaries fail to meet their historic responsibility. The anxieties already being voiced about the threat of narrow nationalism, anti-Semitism and outright neo-fascism in Russia is a vivid reminder that new revolts do not necessarily lead to new societies when the concept of truly new, human relations is left unarticulated.<sup>4</sup>

## THE TIME IS NOW

There is no getting around it. The time to work out

(continued on page 8)

3. For a discussion of Lobov's views, which he published in *Voennoy mysl* (no. 2, 1991), see Stephen Foye, "Yeltsin Begins Housecleaning in the Defense Ministry," *NEWSLETTER*, Report on the USSR, Sept. 6, 1991.

4. As Jerry Hough put it ("Independents Safer for All If They Hang Together," *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 6, 1991), "In 1925 Germany...had a well-functioning democracy and a very benign foreign policy. The economic shock produced by the 1929 depression transformed both its political system and its foreign policy. As we analyze the Soviet Union today, we need to keep the 1920s firmly in mind."

**THE GLOBAL NEED TO RE-CREATE MARX'S MARXISM**

I have been pondering a statement that runs throughout the Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives on "The Global Need to Re-create Marx's Marxism" (August-September N&L)—that the disorientation in thinking today is so deep that even the largest mass mobilizations haven't been able to sustain themselves. This statement became even more alive during the latest events in Russia. It was exciting to see the mass demonstrations in the streets that helped overthrow the fascist coup leaders. But a few weeks later, what has happened to the people who were in the streets?

How can Yeltsin's "free market capitalism" and some even more right wing chauvinist and anti-Semitic tendencies exert such a pull on the movement? The rulers are getting away with re-writing the whole history of the Russian Revolution of 1917! The Marxist-Humanist Perspectives helps battle this re-writing of history by asking us to clear our heads about what is Marx's Marxism and his concept of what it means to be human.

**Graduate student  
Illinois**

The phrase "disarray in thought" makes me uneasy. When does "clarity of thought" cross the line into a totalitarian attitude? Does "clarity" mean everyone has to agree on everything? We can never let it sink into a lack of dissent.

**Concerned  
Chicago**

I'm very concerned with what is going on in the Soviet Union. How come none of the countries that have had revolutions have been able to feed their people? Why is there so much hardship after revolution? Is the reason so many revolutions have failed because they changed Marx's Marxism to something else? I have so many questions about what is Marx's Marxism I don't know where to start. Can't there be a post-Marx Marxism that develops Marxism without changing its true meaning? Is that what Marxist-Humanism is?

**High school student  
Pasadena**

I'm very much looking forward to the pamphlet N&L plans to publish on the theory of state-capitalism. I hope it will help me to better talk with people like two women from Russia I met who are so hostile to Marx because of the experience of Russian totalitarianism. Just saying that what was called Communism has nothing to do with Marxism didn't lessen their hostility. Both said that anyone can "make it" in this country if they just work hard. When I asked them what kind of work they did, they said they had very low jobs and the work was very hard. But when I asked them, "If you work so hard, then why aren't you rich?" they didn't respond. The ideological attack on people's minds managed to convince people our choice has to be between two wretched systems that are pretty much the same.

**Typist  
Illinois**

The breakup of Yugoslavia and the rise of chauvinism are the bitter harvest of Stalinism. Also ominous is the chauvinist dictatorship in Georgia. I'd like to see a careful study of the relationship between what Lenin called the National Question in the early 1920s and how it's playing itself out now. What are the implications after so many years of state-capitalism? What is the same and what is different? It's very hard to know the full relation between fact and ideology in the way the information industry reports on these events.

**Subscriber  
Chicago**

The Orange County, California Register carried an article claiming that Karl Marx had become a worldwide joke, now that "Marxism, which has caused so much tragedy, has finally faded." Let's get things straight! First, Orange County is one of the most racist, conservative hell-holes in the U.S. Second, whether someone supports Marxism or not, the truth is that the Soviet Union never

practiced Marxism or Communism. It practiced totalitarianism. I have not found anywhere that Marx advocated the killing of humans, racism, sexism, ageism, or discrimination based on sexual preference. Neither Marxism nor Communism has ever been practiced anywhere. The real joke is those who are so ignorant of actual facts.

**Songwriter  
Ephrata, Wash.**

The other night, my mother and I were watching the news about the events in Russia. The reporters were talking about how people in Russia want to live just like the way people live in the U.S. My mom and I looked at each other and said: What is so great about life here?

**Black student  
Chicago**

The crisis in the Middle East is far from over. At the demonstration here over the Subic Bay base, one demonstrator pointed out that Bush's eight new bases in the Middle East may be related to why he would now be willing to give up one in the Philippines.

**Demonstrator  
New York**

The cartoon that was printed with the Perspectives thesis hit home even harder when the news finally started carrying reports of all the thousands who were literally buried alive by the U.S. tanks in the Gulf War. The reports were right—we will never know precisely how many were buried that way.

**Health worker  
New York**

Let that pseudo-lover of freedom, George Bush, preoccupy himself with the leaders, Yeltsin and Gorbachev. The triumph belongs to the Russian people, who in the summer of 1991, lived down forever the old slander that they are born slaves.

**A. Fortunoff  
Los Angeles**

We certainly cannot mourn the fall of "socialism" in the USSR, since there was no such thing. N&L never made the mistake of thinking there was. The demolition of the Party in the USSR can only be a liberating development for 280 million people. Like the killing of Caligula. What now for socialism? As an anarchist, I think some form of socialism is still a Humanist prospect. I want to congratulate N&L Committees and all its members—you have kept the best of Marx alive!

**Arthur Efron  
Buffalo**



**LABOR'S  
STRUGGLES  
TODAY**

Just a few miles from the golf courses and country club of exclusive Pebble Beach, farmworkers have been living in earthen caves. Environmental health officials from Monterey County, the nation's leading vegetable-growing area, were led to the deplorable conditions recently by television news reporters. Farmworkers who pick strawberries and other fruits and vegetables in and around Salinas sleep on the ground and eat and bathe in deplorable conditions in so-called labor camps. In one of them—on land owned by James Giamanco who claims no knowledge of the conditions though an electrical hook-up runs into the camp—they brave filth, pesticide-laden irrigation water, hauling drinking water, and dodging La Migra. They are frequently shorted pay. In the production of the most essential commodity—food—the laborers know nothing but necessity. So it will be in this industry where the struggle for emancipation will be most sweeping.

**Journalist  
California**

Since a hiring freeze at this University/Corporation we in Food Service are experiencing speed-ups and job intensifi-

**Readers' Views**

There are several positions vacant, but the work is being "absorbed" (their word) by those of us that are still here. Rarely does a day go by without injuries, directly related to these conditions. Burns and cuts and equipment falling on people...a day without someone getting hurt has become the exception to the rule this semester. Today, there will be only one cook responsible for preparing hot food for over 1,500 people! It is insane. The plumbers, electricians, and carpenters that come in to do repairs are experiencing speed-up too. One guy said he put in close to 70 hours last week, and he's just caught up on work orders for the week before. No raises, longer hours, harder work, this place is frantic and dangerous and totally opposed to the humanity of us workers.

**Food service worker  
Wisconsin**

We teachers now face a situation where two generations have passed since a student had knowledge—let alone opinions—of what unions were supposed to do. Idealists now respond to "the crisis in the environment" the way they used to respond to "the crisis in labor."

**Teacher  
Rhode Island**

**THE BLACK DIMENSION**

The nomination of Clarence Thomas brought about dissent within the NAACP, when the Compton, Cal. chapter came out in support of Thomas, while the national headquarters opposed him. The chapter president in Compton stated that "I believe in the work ethic of America," which Thomas supposedly embodies. But the truth is that the work ethic of America is based on the enslavement of millions of Black people throughout American history, and with-in Thomas' concept of "natural law" is the ability of the employer to exploit the worker. I reject this concept of "Nature" as exploitative. Marx's concept of "Nature" saw the need to unite the process of mental and physical labor which is the reality of human nature, the whole human being. The task is to work out how can Nature reach Mind as fully developed, to reflect a new human society, as Raya Dunayevskaya projected it in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*.

**Gene Ford  
Los Angeles**

Lou Turner's articles on the ideological confusion and the inadequacy of the Civil Rights Movement are right on target. In particular, his insight in the article on Thomas and Buthelezi is quite exciting. The groups testifying against Thomas representing Blacks, Asians, Latinos—people of color—don't have anyone on the Supreme Court. Yet the Senate will no doubt refuse to listen to them seriously—not even traditional groups like the NAACP. People everywhere are criticizing the system that allows the Senate to be devoid of people of color.

**Black Studies professor  
Berkeley**

Living in Crown Heights today is a nightmare, for both the Hasidic Jews and the people of African-Caribbean descent. One group claims they are terrified to walk the streets because they fear the Black man's presence. The other alleges the Hasidic Jews receive special treatment. Doubtless the Hasidic community has been treated differently from the Black/Hispanic community. This is the scenario: An Hasidic Jew killed a young Black boy and a grand jury did not indict him. Although the act was not intentional something must be done. In the night of violence and turmoil, a 15-year-old killed a visiting young Jewish man. His act was not and will never be the answer for racial tensions in Crown Heights, Bensonhurst, Canarsie, or all of New York City. Now

he will be tried and convicted, another life wasted. To overcome what has happened the residents of Crown Heights must eliminate all outside forces. Forget the politicians and settle this among the community who, when all is said and done, will still be neighbors.

**Concerned Black citizen  
Flatbush, N.Y.**

Raya Dunayevskaya and Charles Denby, in the Introduction to *Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought*, mention "the triangular—African, West Indian, Black American—development of ideas which led to actual liberation movements..." But they forgot to mention the contribution to those ideas of the Black Movement in South America, especially the South Cone (Brazil, Uruguay, Peru), unless Denby and Dunayevskaya are including Black South Americans as part of Black Americans. Black youth in the U.S. can identify with not only the African and Caribbean, but also South American freedom struggles. Brazil is a good example. Since the emergence of "quilombos"—underground meeting places where runaway slaves organized themselves politically, economically, culturally and militarily—Blacks have been and are an important influence in the revolutionary movement in that country. I hope in future issues we can hear more about our sisters and brothers from the "South."

**Latino activist  
New York, N.Y.**

**NEWS & LETTERS**

**WHO READS N&L?**

Your paper is read by many people here who are of similar persuasion as you. It is appreciated because you have so much news of workers, people of color and women both in the U.S. and internationally. N&L is much more open and non-sectarian than the so-called "Marxist-Leninist" press in India which is sterile and blind. At the same time, N&L stresses a degree of connection, wholeism and critical reflectivity that is very different than the fragmented, issue-centric coverage that we get in our non-Party press in India. Above all, it's the only literature we get from the U.S. that tells us about the progressive people's movements there.

**Reader  
New Delhi**

There are a lot of people I know in Manhattan, on the Lower East Side, who would like N&L. But unfortunately (though not surprisingly after the Reagan years) many are either homeless or squatters who don't get much mail. In addition, due to fear of the police, most don't let their last names be known. There's a truly revolutionary struggle going on there. I'd like to see you send a reporter to cover the scene.

**Unemployed radical  
Belleville, N.J.**

I love the job you guys are doing at News & Letters. Your stories are thorough enough that I always learn new things from them and I make an effort to keep on top of events. Keep it up.

**Editorial cartoonist  
Vermont**

**AN ALERT ON HATE MAIL**

N&L has learned that several items of disgusting anti-Semitic and hate literature have been sent to other Left organizations with a return address of our New York N&L P.O. Box hand-scrawled on the envelope. While we are confident that no one could possibly associate this vile literature with N&L, we are alerting all our readers to be on the watch for similar acts which may be perpetrated against others, as well.

## 'ROSA LUXEMBURG, WOMEN'S LIBERATION, AND MARX'S PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION'

Raya Dunayevskaya seems never to have stopped writing *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, as is clear from all the new paragraphs shown in the August-September issue of *News & Letters*. Unfortunately, what was not made clear is where readers of the paper can find the two presentations she considered integral to the expansion of Part Two. They comprise chapters 8 and 23 of her *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*.

One of the most exciting things I found in this expansion is the way she takes up the section on "The Working Day" in *Capital* where Marx detailed the degrading conditions of labor in the factory, especially for women. Raya says the bourgeois theoreticians looked upon this as a "sob story." It made me think about today's so-called experts, who use a different expression to dismiss everything that reflects the experience of actual human beings. They call it "anecdotal evidence," which is supposed to mean it isn't scientific.

Jan Kollwitz  
Chicago

At a recent local peace festival, I spoke with some activists who reject the projection of philosophy because it's "too difficult to understand." Yet they consider themselves Marxists. To me, they reflect the legacy left us by the post-Marx Marxists who "did not, in thought, measure up to Marx," as Raya Dunayevskaya put it in *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. Clearing the sludge created by those who insist on rejecting Marx's method in favor of repeating worn-out conclusions of some Post-Marx Marxist is not as simple, however, as pointing to Marx's own writings, which many of them have read. For me, Dunayevskaya's book is what leads to a concrete projection of "what Marx had to say for himself."

Artist  
Bay Area



### MIDEAST PEACE MOVEMENT

Artists for Mideast Peace has produced another peace button to add to its collection of now five designs which can be ordered for \$1 each plus \$1 for postage. We also promote the creation and exhibition of original artwork on the theme of peace. Each participant gets a large poster that contains a border with the word "peace" in English, Hebrew, Arabic. It is fascinating to see how different each poster looks when filled in. Anyone interested in planning a poster project for a school group or organization can call Mitch Kamen at 617-891-4235, or write to us.

Artists for Mideast Peace  
99 Burlington St.  
Lexington, MA 02173

The Israeli peace movement needs help from the U.S. peace movement when the fight begins in your Congress

over the 10 billion dollars the U.S. is planning to give our government in loans to help with the settlement of Soviet Jews. The halting of settlements in the Occupied Territories needs to be a condition of those loans. The loans are supposed to be for humanitarian matters and it will be far more humanitarian to give Soviet Jews a peaceful country in which they can live.

Adam Keller  
Israel

### NEW ROLE FOR DRUG LORDS

The international drug trade is quickly assuming the role that used to be played by the "communist menace" to justify continued military adventures. I don't think it's an accident that Peru's "Shining Path" movement is more associated with cocaine trafficking than with leftist politics by the American media. The greater the focus on arcane "drug cartels" as the source of our national drug addiction epidemic, the more obscure in the public mind become other factors, such as poverty, racism and the exploitation of the worker.

At the same time, addiction treatment is crumbling. As a counselor working in this field, I have seen insurance companies drastically reduce coverage for treatment. The private treatment industry struggles to survive, and the health care worker is "squeezed" to preserve profit margins through greater case-loads and smaller salaries. The quality of treatment declines and public centers face the same situation.

Drug addiction is a symptom of emptiness, hopelessness, meaninglessness. The need is to resist arguments claiming foreign drug lords are the source of the problem and to demand a society based on humanist values.

Subscriber  
Chicago

### LEFT GREENS IN CANADA

The participation of the Canadian contingent was missing in your coverage of the Left-Green Conference in your August-September issue. We agree with your comments on the lack of minorities and the question of sexism, which was

most effectively dealt with by one of our Canadian feminists who organized the re-writing of the principles on women's liberation. In fact, throughout, the Canadian contingent was far ahead in philosophic and strategic development. The American Left has held imperialist thinking in regard to their superiority on what needs to be done by the Left. Here, for once, the American Left-Greens approached the Canadians to learn from us what is developing as real ecological socialist politics in Canada.

Nick Ternette  
Winnipeg, Manitoba

### THE COMPUTER AGE

Another peril of the computer age was brought home this summer when phones became useless for hours in separate incidents in Washington, Los Angeles and Pittsburgh. The breakdown was caused by a mere three lines out of 2.1 million lines of computer code. As capitalists rush to incorporate more and more knowledge and decision-making into machines, they end up with more and more national—even global—networks of automata that interact in ways so complex that nobody completely understands them, and it's impossible to test them fully. In other words, capitalism has created a society of automata and we humans just have to try to fit in. Doesn't this give a new meaning to Marx's phrase that social relations under capitalism really are "material relations between persons and social relations between things?"

Programmer/Analyst  
Chicago

I just read about a new study showing that 46% of American workers have high levels of stress on their jobs, up from 20% just six years ago. The experts think it's just a case of "computer anxiety" so all that's needed is to make the computers more "friendly." What they refuse to see is that the stress is purposeful. Where I work, we are terrorized by waiting to be laid off. Managers think if you put three computers in an office you can just go ahead and lay off six people.

Waiting  
Illinois

## 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 ..... \$12.95 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
- 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments by Raya Dunayevskaya** ..... \$1.50 per copy
- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard.**  
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby ..... \$2 per copy
- Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions**  
by Raya Dunayevskaya ..... \$1.25 per copy
- Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought,** by Lou Turner and John Alan  
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- Dos ensayos por Raya Dunayevskaya. Spanish language pamphlet**  
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### —ARCHIVES—

- The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development**  
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## Deep Filipino opposition to U.S. bases

New York, N.Y.—As the Philippine Senate prepared to reject the proposed base agreement with the U.S., the product of a two-year-long political dealing between the Aquino and Bush administrations, which would extend the direct massive American military presence for at least another decade, Bush sent a long, detailed communication, on the side, offering "quantities of excess defense articles appropriate for the modernization of the Armed Forces of the Philippines."

At the same time, Aquino's new defense minister suddenly released 29 military officers who had been detained since their participation in the two rightist coup attempts of Aug. 29, 1987 and December, 1989, when hundreds of people were killed and wounded before Aquino requested and got U.S. Air Force intervention.

Robert Gates, in the midst of these maneuverings, during his recent contrite, "off the cuff" opening statement for the Senate Intelligence Committee hearing on his nomination to become director of the CIA said, "Regional conflict and its terrorist stepchildren...remain a reality despite our best efforts. I have been deeply engaged in dealing with all of these problems. I have been by the President's side when we prevented a coup attempt in the Philippines, liberated Panama..."

The force of the cynical U.S. drive for world domination was obvious. Undoubtedly some admiration was felt around the world for the 13 of 25 Philippine senators who voted against the agreement and thus for the expulsion of the U.S. in the face of the ongoing and foreboding display of U.S. determination to construct its new Pax Americana. Yet the vote of the 13 was neither the expression of individual courage nor something as ridiculous as the often repeated notion that the Philippines is an "adolescent nation" in need of slaying the father figure.

Rather, like the eruption of Mount Pinatubo on Philippine independence day three months earlier, leaving Subic Bay Naval Station directly at issue in the negotiations, the dramatic vote obscured the deepest historical aspirations of the Philippine people as a people.

This has been seen clearly in the fact that those suffering the most from the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo have been the Negritos, who had been living on the mountainside since being displaced a half-century ago by the American military base. The Black tribal group, also known as the Aeta, originally settled throughout the whole country, is the aboriginal people of the Philippine islands.

It took nearly a month for Philippine authorities to concede that at least 50 of this group, many of them children, had been buried in caves where they had sought refuge from the volcanic eruption, primarily because they did not trust the authorities and had refused to be taken to official refugee centers. By now, more than 200 Aeta, mostly children, have died in the refugee camps, where they still languish with diseases associated with exposure to the elements, such as diarrhea, dehydration and broncho-pneumonia. Non-governmental organizations point to the late and inadequate medical attention, while the regional director of the Department of Social Works and Development, Celia Yangco, claimed that the illness and deaths were due to the "cultural factor." She said that most of the Aeta refused to be hospitalized or take prescribed medication and were "not used to personal hygiene," even as they were afflicted with severe ailments.

The spectacular natural event of an erupting volcano disclosed the deep historical contradictions of Philippine reality in this century, which include



Two Aeta children huddle together in the rains at an evacuation camp.

## Chicano moratorium anniversary meeting

Los Angeles, Cal.—Aug. 24, the 21st anniversary of the massive 1970 East Los Angeles anti-war/Chicano power march, brought out about 300 youth to discuss problems facing young Chicanos, from gang violence to the government/media propaganda campaign for the upcoming 500-year celebration by the "white world" of Christopher Columbus' "discovery" of America.

One speaker stated: "Columbus crossed an ocean, so who are you calling wetback? Not the Mexican people: we only crossed a river, on our land. Columbus had to cross from one continent to another to conquer us."

At the rally emphasis was placed on the indigenous identity of Mexicans and Chicanos, and the problem of being identified with only their European heritage in attitude and language with terms like "Hispanic."

Native American tribes indigenous to the L.A. area were invited by the Mexican dance troupe Cuatehmoc, who honored them in a ceremony. Other Native Americans spoke in private groups about the imperialism of language and the need to fight the "shame" of the colonized by teaching and learning true history. Guatemala

those between American domination and the struggle for Philippine self-determination, and between those Filipinos who can conciliate with the vicissitudes of colonialism and those for whom that is hardly an option. That the indigenous people of the Philippines have come to the fore at crucial turning points in history discloses the persistence of something totally new trying to be born.

The U.S. first loudly "threatened" to leave if the treaty was not ratified, then "softened" its stand to one of abiding by the outcome of Aquino's proposed unconstitutional referendum, which would require millions of signatures and dominate the politics of the country for at least the next year. Simultaneously, the U.S. tried to quickly relegate the Philippines back to a very subordinate "regional" issue. Yet, what must be in the back of the minds of people like Bush and Gates, and is not all "regional," is the possibility that the ongoing civil war being fought between the Philippine military and the masses of the Filipino people—as it flares again today in the Cordillera Mountains, ebbing and flowing for nearly a century in the shadow of the U.S. presence—could develop into a kind of full social revolution which the U.S. government could neither grasp nor define its limits.

—Victor Hart

## Tribal groups bombed

Manila, the Philippines—In the Philippines in the 1980s I worked full-time with non-governmental organizations in health programs. We had a Manila office with a medical clinic for workers—those on strike, injured on the picket lines—for their families and for those fleeing military repression in the provinces, as well as for political detainees when they came out. So I already knew all about human rights violations and "internal refugees."

But that still didn't fully prepare me for what I was to experience this past August when I returned to my former office in Manila, after working in U.S. hospitals for awhile. I joined a fact-finding medical and relief mission, spearheaded by a national human rights group.

We travelled to the Marag Valley in the Cordillera Mountains, which is in the northern part of Luzon Island. The area is well-known because of its rich natural resources, and it is near the place of origin of the New People's Army (NPA) in the early 1970s. Today it is the primary target of the government's policy of "total war" it says is aimed at the insurgency, but which I saw directly affects everyone.

It was an 18-hour trip from Manila by bus, then jeepney and hiking. When we arrived, there were children crying, waiting to be seen by our medical staff. The people of the area are mostly the Isneg and Aggay, indigenous tribal groups similar in appearance to the Aeta group which was the most severely affected by the recent eruption of Mt. Pinatubo and its aftermath. Though it was a month after the bombing, many had not received any medical attention. We worked until midnight with lamps and flashlights. In the morning we walked to another barrio.

There we found 500 people, many of them children, in a huge cave in the mountain, waiting for relief and medical attention. These people wanted to know what the government was doing to help them. The children were so shy they put their heads down. Even the adults couldn't look us straight in the eye; I was asking myself why. We treated them for 17 hours straight. The children had goiter and many of the elders were going blind.

The military has made a boundary beyond which none of these people are allowed to go; they can't even travel to areas where they might get basic care. They are considered NPA supporters. The military burns the rice fields so that there is starvation before and after a military operation. It is the Aquino government's widely announced plan to end the insurgency by 1992.

It was a clamoring, especially from the press, that finally made Aquino call off the bombing while she announced "development" plans for the region. Many people think the aim of the government is to crush people's consciousness so that they can open up the rich area for development—the kind that would destroy the culture and environment.

—Regina Ilog

lan Native Americans were present to inform the public of ongoing abuses by the U.S. government-backed military there.

Looking towards the future, young Chicano rappers ("Aztlán") held everyone's attention by agitating for pride, health, respect and empowerment of LA RAZA by LA RAZA, not separate from the empowerment of their brothers and sisters of all races.

This was the beginning of a four-month series of events celebrating L.A.'s "Festival Mexicano" which was formally kicked off on the weekend of Mexican Independence Day, Sept. 16. Numerous celebrities, musicians, artists and intellectuals from the Mexican and Chicano community met in front of the L.A. City Hall in spirited recognition of the Mexican revolution of 1911.

Movies, plays, concerts, art shows, lectures and discussions will be continuing throughout Los Angeles County, focusing on the experience of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans (Chicanos), including the dimensions of Afro-Mexicans, women and homosexuals in the community.

—Anna Maillon and Gene Ford

## Argentina elections

New York, N.Y.—In the beginning of September elections for governors were held in Argentina and, with few exceptions, the conservative party currently in power, the Peronist Partido Justicialista, won an overwhelming victory in most of the provinces.

The ruling party succeeded in bringing down inflation to the level of 20 years ago (1.3%) and also in attaining a certain degree of economic stability, which could be part of the explanation for the overwhelming victory. But the economic indexes are not showing the objective social conditions the people are living—close to 40% of the population lives under the level of poverty and over 10% are unemployed.

The most disturbing result of the election was in the province of Buenos Aires, the most populous and richest. Here, one of the parties that got more votes, besides the conservative ruling party and the main opposition party (Union Civica Radical), was the one led by Aldo Rico, an army official remembered as the organizer of most of the attempts to overthrow the governments of Argentina since the dictatorship ended in 1983. This fascist party got 12% of the vote, of which the majority came from the poorest sectors of the population.

So, what about the Left? They lost as never before. They are following the rules of the game that they can never win. In their eternal search for power they have scared, or have themselves become distrusted by, people to the point that many in the most important leftist party, Movement Toward Socialism (Trotskyist), capitulated to the pseudo-populist ideology and voted for Rico. There is no doubt that this is a time of crisis and a time to ask, "What does it mean to give up your idea of revolutionary change in the time of crisis?" I see it as a time to work out anew what we are for.

—Carlos Varela

## The "new" Russia

(continued from page 5)

philosophic new beginnings is now. It entails breaking from all forms of post-Marx Marxism and rediscovering the philosophic revolution of our age: Marxist-Humanism.

From the moment she founded Marxist-Humanism in the 1950s, Raya Dunayevskaya insisted it took both the movement from practice and from theory to work out the path to a new society.<sup>5</sup> Yet although new forms of revolt covered the globe in the post-World War II world, the various Marxist tendencies—whether Maoist or Trotskyist, Castroite or "independent"—failed to meet this movement from practice with a philosophy of liberation. Instead of giving expression to the passion for new human relations by rooting themselves in Marx's Humanism, they clung to economic determinism and political voluntarism.

By the 1980s, this failure to actualize a movement from theory requisite to meet the challenge of the times left even those post-Marx Marxists who had broken with both poles of world capital totally unprepared to combat a new stage of ideological pollution—Reaganism. By 1991, it has led to the theoretical disintegration of post-Marx Marxism. That disintegration, however, no more signifies the "death" of Marxism than did its earlier "growth" represent its vitality. For what gives life to Marx's thought today is the desire for freedom by masses of people and the philosophic re-creation of that legacy in the post-World War II era.

For this reason, it becomes crucial to combat the latest form of ideological pollution—the effort to rewrite the history of the 20th century, one reflection of which is the fantastic pronouncement that the October 1917 Russian Revolution was a "coup" and the February, 1917 Revolution a mere "bread riot." More is involved here than the question of 1917. For the present rewriting of history extends to an effort to erase from the minds of humanity the effort to restate Marx's Humanism for our age in face of that revolution's transformation into opposite, a state-capitalist society. The quest for a Marxist Humanism covered the globe in the post-World War II era, from East Europe to Africa, and from the U.S. to China and Latin America.<sup>6</sup>

What makes the effort to kill off this history so deadly is that the task of restating Marx's Marxism for today appears not only awesome, but very nearly unapproachable, once the direction provided by the historic contributions of Marxist-Humanism is lost sight of. The restatement of Marx's Marxism for our day simply cannot be achieved either by practice alone or by theory that turns its back on the determinancy of history.

We must not allow the rulers to get away with their effort to deny humanity the very attempt to actualize a philosophy of liberation as the polarizing force for humanity's freedom struggles. Now that the entire body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism can be explored at a moment when Raya Dunayevskaya's philosophic comprehension of that totality is also available, a new humus for working out philosophic new beginnings is in hand.<sup>7</sup> We cannot afford not to avail ourselves of that opportunity.

—September 28, 1991

5. Dunayevskaya's founding philosophic moment, her "1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes," which articulate this conception, can be found in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism*.

6. For a survey of this history, see "A Post-World War II View of Marx's Humanism: 1843-83; Marxist Humanism in the 1950s and 1980s," by Raya Dunayevskaya, in *Praxis International*, October 1988.

7. Dunayevskaya's "trilogy of revolution"—*Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution*, and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*—is now available in new editions, each containing new writings from the 1980s by the author.

# Black/Red View

by John Alan

The nomination of Clarence Thomas, a conservative African-American federal judge, by President Bush to succeed Thurgood Marshall on the U.S. Supreme Court has generated a number of journalistic analyses on what role a Black conservative would play on a Supreme Court that is now probably the most conservative anti-civil rights court in this century.

These analyses were largely speculations on what bloc of conservatives Thomas would align himself with on the court. A far more important question is: Why does Bush need to keep an appearance on the Supreme Court of the Black American dimension when, in reality, the departure of Thurgood Marshall ends any authentic connection with the ongoing, historic Black movement for equality and freedom?

The confirmation process of a nominee is not the transcendence of politics—i.e., the ongoing class, race, and gender conflicts in American society—but politics practiced as a “ritual” as if these struggles don’t exist and as if there is a difference between the ideology of the court and the White House.

## MARSHALL, THOMAS DIFFERENCE

Justice Marshall devoted his entire legal career to getting the Supreme Court to act as a protector of Black civil rights as it was mandated by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. He emphasized that the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted to protect ex-slaves and all other persons from discrimination because of race, religion and national origin.

# N.C. tragedy was not an accident

(continued from page 1)

From 1975 to 1985 speed-up and mechanization combined to squeeze an incredible 43% increase in output per worker. This speed-up does not only result in chicken that can be unsafe to eat; it means that workers are suffering from infected cuts, respiratory diseases and skin rashes and are crippled by repetitive motion injuries.

The South is the fastest growing manufacturing region in the U.S. North Carolina has the highest percentage of manufacturing workers of any state, but this growth flourishes in a North Carolina where only 4.5% of the work force is unionized. It is the North Carolina of poverty-wage jobs, of race and sex segregation in job assignments, of unsafe work places, of Jesse Helms.

In the post-World War II years, as industry grew in the South, the CIO launched what it called “Operation Dixie,” a campaign to break the non-union, low-wage Southern enclave. The campaign was a disastrous stillbirth. It failed because it attempted to unionize Southern workers without challenging the segregation which permeated every aspect of Southern life. Union leaders could not even solve such elementary problems as how to hold public meetings with Black and white workers in the same hall.

The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s spurred new union organizing drives in the South, drives often initiated by Black workers who called in unions to help them. By the 1980s, however, the percentage of unionized workers was falling again in the South, as it was in the U.S. as a whole. Far from that fact indicating any

In 1961, when Thomas was eight years of age, Marshall wrote: “That many of the vestiges of slavery remain and racial discrimination is still practiced in all sections of the United States is due to the court’s narrow and often rigid interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment.”

Marshall fought for a constitutional pathway to Black freedom when all the legal roads were closed by the spurious doctrine of “separate but equal.” However, it was the “illegal” action of the Black masses in the 1960s which made his appointment to the Supreme Court a new, historic reality.

The career of Clarence Thomas has moved in an opposite direction. It has moved in a straight line from his being an ideological foot soldier of Reagan’s retrogressionism to a federal court judge. In his progress, Thomas has shown himself to be an opponent of the Roe v. Wade decision and an advocate of “Natural Law” as an alternative to what he called “both run-amok majorities and run-a-mok judges.”

When Thomas was a “civil rights” bureaucrat for Reagan and Bush, he was known for not upholding the statutes and laws protecting the rights of minorities. In short, Thomas’ public life has been devoted to a right-wing ideological offensive against civil rights.

## WHENCE THOMAS AROSE

While it is necessary to look at the sharp differences in the personal histories of Thomas and Marshall, it would be a mistake to see those differences in terms of their individual subjectivities. Both Marshall’s and Thomas’ notions of civil rights have very much to do

with what’s happening outside and inside the American Black dimension.

It is true that Judge Thomas’ conservatism runs counter to the welfare and interests of the Black masses. It is also true that his conservatism stems directly from the dismal state of Black reality and the unfinished nature of the Black Revolution of the 1960s. Thus it is not an accident that Thomas is a follower of the pre-eminent Black conservative Thomas Sowell. Sowell finds the ground for his neoconservatism in this unfinished “Black Revolution”; he never stops pointing out that civil rights, school integration, affirmative action, etc., have done little or nothing towards eliminating the problems of the urban Black ghettos.

However, the “solution” that Thomas and Sowell offer to the permanent crisis in Black life is capitalism. They maintain that the social system is not at fault; rather, it is the victim’s moral deficiency. Thus Thomas reaches back to “Natural Law” standing above society; and Sowell, back to a version of “moral” responsibility for poverty as a lack of “innate human capital,” that is the ability to sell one’s labor-power.

This reaching back to 19th-century “moral” ideologies expresses the tendency—a tendency always present in Black intellectuals and leaders—to separate Black thought from the Black mass movement. It is to this tendency in Black thought that Bush reaches out with his nomination of Clarence Thomas, at the very moment when he plans to veto the mild Civil Rights Act of 1991, further eviscerating affirmative action.

The blocking of constitutional rights does not end the struggle. As Frederick Douglass said upon hearing about the Dred Scott decision: “The Supreme Court is not the only power in the world....”

# Black World

(continued from page 1)

African Defense Force (SADF) are active supporters of the far-right Conservative Party, which explains why security forces are known to have supplied logistical support to Inkatha in its violent confrontations with ANC supporters in Natal province over the last several years. In the Black “homelands” of Ciskei and Gazankulu, SADF officers regularly employed Black mercenaries to attack the ANC. Former South African intelligence officer Major Nico Basson reported how the government has secretly supplied AK-47s to Black surrogates in Inkatha and other vigilante groups to attack the ANC, creating the impression that the attacks are “black-on-black violence”, rather than a government offensive. In addition, undercover police have carried on a campaign of selective assassination of anti-apartheid activists with letter bombs, poisonings and shootings, according to former police captain Dirk Coetzee.

Thus, the U.S. human rights organization Africa Watch concluded that all the evidence warrants “findings that death squads have been supported by both the South African police and the South African Defense Force.” Until the “Inkathagate” revelations, the de Klerk government claimed no knowledge of death squad activity within its defense forces. It was in face of government covert violence that George Bush lifted the sanctions on July 10, sanctions which he had originally opposed as Vice-President. Moreover it is this phenomenon of state-sponsored violence that the Reagan and Bush administrations have supported in Central America, and which Bush seeks to bolster further in South Africa.

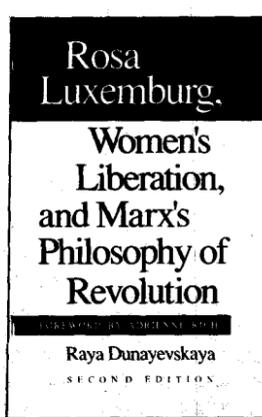
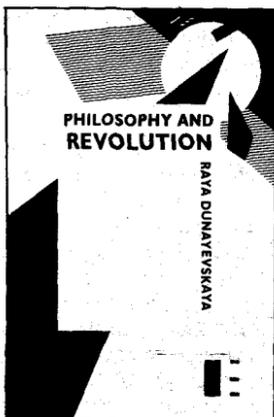
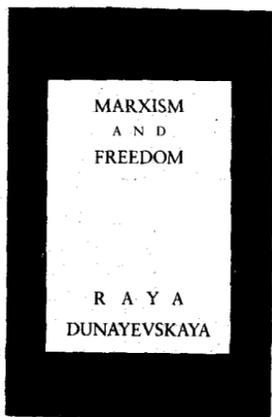
## CHALLENGE TO THE ANC

In point of fact, there is a relationship between sanctions and the apartheid state’s secret operations of counter-revolutionary violence, not unlike that carried out by Oliver North and the CIA in Central America. In South Africa’s intricate efforts to get around sanctions, covert government and private sector operations have helped fund contra-style organizations in Mozambique and Angola. According to the London-based Africa Confidential: “During the years of clandestine warfare against the ANC and the Front Line States, South Africa built up a formidable array of secret units required to carry out deniable operations, such as the Special Forces and the cynically-named Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB). These units have their own structures and, often, sources of funding, and are composed of individuals for whom violence is a way of life. Quite literally, they have a vested interest in destabilization. It is their job...Secret units such as the CCB developed as sidelines to their main business of murder and intimidation such trades as currency-smuggling, and trafficking in drugs, guns, ivory and gems” (AC, May 3, 1991).

The present moment raises crucial questions: will the ANC take the initiative or continue down the path of conciliationism? Will Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the armed wing of the ANC, be deployed in the townships as community defense units, or will de Klerk try to pre-empt this move by offering to merge MK with the SADF?

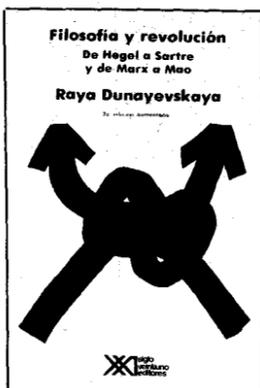
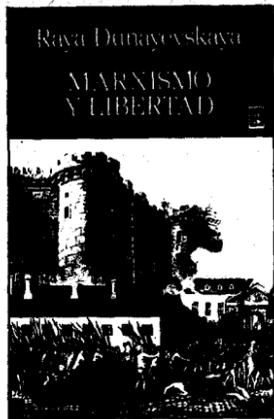
The most serious struggle for democracy is now being waged in South Africa. It is one which cannot conceal the contradiction between the bourgeois democratic form being discussed in preparation for constitutional talks, and the proletarian class content of the democratic structures created over the last two decades of mass struggle. Those ongoing mass proletarian struggles in South Africa will not easily confine themselves to the bourgeois class limitations of a “negotiated settlement.”

## A Trilogy of Revolution



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## Philosophic Dialogue

by A. Anielewicz

After two decades of global crisis and disarray, capitalist production relations pose so total a barrier to development that a new concept of, and basis for, human development has become an urgent necessity. This problematic was central to Raya Dunayevskaya's unique theory of state-capitalism, first articulated in 1941 and enriched and deepened through her later development of the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism. She strived to concretize Marx's vision of a society of freely associated workers, whose developing powers would be both means and end, as the absolute opposite to the despotic "integrity" of capitalist value production.

That Dunayevskaya's oeuvre speak forcefully to the crises of the 1990s can be seen even in the rhetoric of some capitalist ideologues who have begun to justify the imposition of the "free market" as that which will supposedly release the energies and talents of the individual. Conversely, by completely conjuring away Dunayevskaya's philosophic and theoretical contributions, Alex Callinicos' *Trotskyism* (University of Minnesota Press, 1990) stands as an obstacle in the way of claiming this legacy. It is to clear away that obstacle, rather than to reflect on his assessment of Trotskyism per se, that we turn to this book.

### CALLINICOS' 'STYLIZATION' OF HISTORY

Callinicos forsakes a chronology of Trotskyism's intellectual history in order to construct a "somewhat stylized—some might say caricatured" tale, primarily of Trotskyism's great crisis of the 1940s and the inadequate "Orthodoxies" and "Heresies" offered in response to it. Despair not, for in the end the leader of Callinicos' tendency, Tony Cliff, armed with his state capitalist theory and explanation for the post-World War II "boom," comes to save the day as the sole and true heir of "classical Marxism."

The methodological framework on which Callinicos hangs this tale is a scheme of ivory-tower theoretical development borrowed from Imre Lakatos, the bourgeois philosopher of science. Callinicos pretends that Trotskyist theories are "scientific research programmes" which develop "through the formulation of successive refutable auxiliary hypotheses." Explanation and prediction become the driving force of intellectual history, and their adequacy becomes the crucial test of revolutionary thought.

By applying this "stylized" Lakatosian model, Callinicos manages to postdate the crisis of Trotskyism to 1945, when "Trotsky's predictions about the Second World War and its outcome" were refuted. It is indeed the case that Cliff's theory of state capitalism, articulat-

## Clash of contending theories of state-capitalism

ed in 1948, was an attempt to resolve theoretical anomalies internal to postwar Trotskyism. The crisis itself, however, began to unfold as far back as 1939.

In 1939, it was the Hitler-Stalin Pact and the looming World War—not falsified predictions—that impelled challenges to Trotsky's defense of Stalinist Russia and analysis of it as a "workers' state, though degenerate." Despite Trotsky's personal authority, 40% of the Socialist Workers Party left in 1940 to form the Workers Party, within which the state-capitalist theories of J.R. Johnson (C.L.R. James) and Freddie Forest (Dunayevskaya), and Max Shachtman's theory of "bureaucratic collectivism," first emerged in 1941.

Callinicos' "stylization" of history enables him to present these theories as if they, like Cliff's, were responses to the post-1945 theoretical crisis! This, together with the author's failure to cite any of the documents in which Dunayevskaya or James developed state-capitalist theory before Cliff appeared on the scene, will serve to perpetuate the myth that Cliff was the first to analyze Russia as a state capitalist society. (See the *Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, Vols. I and XII.)

"First-ness" by itself is not important. Rather, the fact that Dunayevskaya worked out her state-capitalist theory in 1941, not 1948, reveals that what impelled its articulation, and thus its future trajectory, was nothing as superficial as the "falsification" of Trotsky's predictions. Indeed, she would later critique even Trotsky's "brilliant prognostication" that the 1905 Russian Revolution would continue "in permanence," because this theory "was not fleshed out to incorporate the actually developing forces for revolution or deepened conceptually to meet the new reality [or] used as a foundation for the establishment of an independent political tendency, grouping, or party" ("Leon Trotsky as Man and Theoretician" in *Studies of Comparative Communism*, 10:1-2, 1977).

For Dunayevskaya, Marxist theory lives up to its potential and its responsibility only insofar as it undergoes such "objective-subjective dialectical development." Thus, the contrary of her critique of Trotsky is likewise an apt description of the uniqueness of her state-capitalist theory and its deepening within Marxist-Humanism in the postwar epoch as new "movements from practice" manifested the quest for new human relations.

### DUNAYEVSKAYA'S UNIQUE STATE-CAPITALIST THEORY

That Dunayevskaya's concept and practice of Marxism refuses to jibe with Callinicos' Lakatosian scheme is perhaps one reason that he all but ignores her work. He makes no mention of her Marxist-Humanism, citing her only as a political leader in the Johnson-Forest Ten-

dency (JFT) and, after its breakup in 1955, as the founder of the "publication, News and Letters," but not the Marxist-Humanist organization, News and Letters Committees. Even her state-capitalist theory is subsumed under James' theory and attributed to him alone.

Callinicos is at pains to distinguish Cliff's theory of state capitalism from that of "James." The difference he seizes upon, not surprisingly, reflects his preoccupation with explanatory science: Cliff alone, he argues, could explain "why the Soviet bureaucracy enforced 'despotism in...the workshop,'" by "treating the effects of global competition as a necessary condition of the existence of state capitalism in the USSR."

In fact, however, Dunayevskaya's 1942 "An Analysis of Russian Economy" situated Russia's development within the world market and she explicitly affirmed this "necessary condition" at least as early as 1947, during a debate with Shachtman (the *Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, Vol. XII, #9007). "Johnson-Forest" repeated this affirmation in the one JFT work on state-capitalism Callinicos cites (and attributes to James alone), their 1950 *State Capitalism and World Revolution*. They insisted, however, that the "vital necessity of our time is to lay bare the violent antagonism of labor and capital at this definitive stage of centralization of capital," whereas Callinicos would raise intercapitalist competition to equal status with that antagonism.

Whether "[c]apital exists and can only exist as many capitals," a phrase from the *Grundrisse* Callinicos quotes in support of Cliff, is not at issue. What is relevant instead is what the author ignores in that same work, Marx's contention that "competition [does not impose] laws on capital from the outside, laws not its own" (*Grundrisse*, Vintage, 1973, p. 414, p. 752).

Equally erroneous is Callinicos' claim that the "Johnson-Forest tendency argued that the USSR was state-capitalist entirely on the grounds of the existence of a 'hierarchy in the process of production itself.'" Rather than speaking of hierarchy "as such," they regarded value production as capitalism's *differentia specifica* and thus treated the bureaucrats and managers who enforced it as only "personifications" of capital. In this case, as in the former, Callinicos' empiricism blinds him to the distinction between a law and the mode of its enforcement.

Those who wish to learn more about Dunayevskaya's theory of state-capitalism are advised to steer clear of Callinicos' rewriting of history and instead study her writings directly. News and Letters Committees will help facilitate such study by publishing a pamphlet-length selection of her writings on state-capitalism this winter.

## In Memoriam: Margaret Ellingham-Crociani

The nearly three-decade-long, rich, revolutionary correspondence, through which we got to know Margaret Crociani as a true comrade and warm friend, began with the letter *News & Letters* received from Milan in January, 1964. She was then part, Margaret wrote, of a small group of Italian Marxists who, having read both *N&L* and *Marxism and Freedom*, felt we had "a good deal in common."



It was a period of growing wildcat strikes in Italy and she described the anger of the workers at their union leaders and contracts that served only "to integrate them into the capitalist system." "These new forms of struggle are discouraged by the communist and socialist parties," she continued, telling us that this small group of Marxists in Milan and Turin wanted to help make known these new forms of struggle through a paper which would print articles by and conversations with workers themselves. In the same letter she described a group in Rome that would like to publish documents and books on the European and American working-class movement and invited us to send what we could to begin the exchange of ideas.

By return mail we discussed how important we considered it not to separate the "voices from below" from the needed theoretical development and sent copies of all the pamphlets we had published as well as copies of several of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Weekly Political Letters*. While Margaret studied and wrote to us about all of them, it was *American Civilization on Trial* that she considered so important that she worked long and hard, but without success, to have it published in an Italian edition. That interest became clearer when she told us, many years later, that she was an American by birth, who had left her home in Indiana when still in her teens to "find freedom," wound up briefly in Chicago during the years of McCarthyism and found Marx through reading "to find out what made society so oppressive." What pulled her was what she called "the totality of Marx's ideas—political, human, social, economic."

It was that same kind of totality that pulled her to Raya Dunayevskaya's Marxist-Humanism: "I've read many of the articles in *Socialist Humanism*," she wrote us in 1969, "and although some of the Eastern European philosophers have much that is interesting to say, Raya's article was the only one in which the concept of object and subject—materialism and humanism—was united and not put at two different levels of human consciousness."

A thorough internationalist, in her very first letter Margaret asked us for addresses of co-thinkers in Japan, in Africa, in Latin America—and, in turn, shared all the materials we were able to send to her with whoever she felt would be interested in an international dialogue. She not only translated reviews and articles about Raya's work which she found in the Italian press but wrote regular reports making sense out of the often chaotic Italian scene for *N&L*.

What, above all, characterized Margaret's long and vigorous relationship with Marxist-Humanism was that she never separated the responsibility she undertook for contributing such a wealth of concrete material for *N&L* from the serious philosophic dialogue she pursued around Raya's trilogy of revolution. "I am very glad," she wrote to Raya in 1983, "that Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation*, and *Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (RLWLMPR) has brought out so many questions that really need to be discussed, especially the organizational question. It is incredible that Lenin's *What is to be Done?* has served as a sort of Bible on this for 80 years. That can be worked out only in the historical and dialectical situation in which one is working..."

Later, she wrote to us that reading *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* we had just published had made RLWLMPR even clearer to her, for "the dialectic is continually in action to create a transformation in society... Each person has a role in creating the new society, no matter how 'humble' his social position. On the job and in one's discussions with others, one can influence and direct the path towards a new and human society. The roots of the new society are in the making right now. 'Internalization' means that every person should accept personal responsibility..."

Margaret accepted it as a "personal responsibility" to fight for a new, truly human society on the grounds of Marxist-Humanism. We are proud to have had her as a comrade and a friend. We mourn her loss and honor her memory.

—Olga Domanski

## Harry McShane collection

Manchester, England—One hundred years after the birth of Harry McShane, the Scottish worker revolutionary who became the first British Marxist-Humanist, but just three years after his death at the age of 97, I went to Manchester to present a collection of his correspondence and published writings to the National Museum of Labour History.

The Harry McShane Collection was assembled, arranged and catalogued by the Raya Dunayevskaya Memorial Fund in Chicago, who asked me to bring it to Britain and deliver it to the National Museum of Labour History on their behalf.

Harry McShane was born in Glasgow in 1891 and started work as an engineering apprentice in 1907. In 1908 he took part in mass demonstrations against unemployment, thus beginning a lifetime in the class struggle. In the years that followed, "Red Clydeside" was a centre of working-class militancy, opposition to World War I, support for the Irish struggle for freedom from British rule, and solidarity with the Russian Revolution, and Harry was in the thick of it all. During the Depression years of the 1920s and 1930s, he made a name for himself as an organizer of protest marches of the unemployed. A member of the Communist Party from 1922, he was misled by Stalinism like so many radicals of the time, finally breaking with it in 1953.

In 1958 Harry read Raya Dunayevskaya's first book, *Marxism and Freedom*, in which she set forth the new philosophy which she named Marxist-Humanism. He embraced the new ideas with enthusiasm, becoming Raya's closest friend and colleague in Britain.

The Collection represents the many facets of Harry's thought and activity as a Marxist-Humanist. There are the letters which Harry in Glasgow and Raya in Detroit exchanged on matters philosophic, political and personal. There are the journal, *The Scottish Marxist-Humanist*, which Harry edited from 1962 to 1976, and the articles and Readers' Views which he wrote for *News & Letters*. Here, too, are his prefaces to the British edition of *Marxism and Freedom* and to the pamphlets *Czechoslovakia, Revolution and Counter-Revolution* and *Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis*, draft versions as well as final texts.

The Harry McShane Collection represents the Archives of Marxist-Humanism in Britain. The National Museum of Labour History will be a fitting home for it. The Mechanics Institute Building, to which the Museum moved last year, is where the first meeting of the Trades Union Congress was held in 1866. The Archives Centre holds an extensive range of documents from the British labour movement.

—Richard Bunting

## Youth

## The human cost of child poverty

by Sheila Fuller

Dehumanization is characteristic of capitalism, whether in its private "free market" form or in its state-capitalist form. Today, this dehumanization has reached such a degenerate state that it is killing our children, our future, through neglect and poverty.

The plain truth is that in the last ten years of Reaganism's attack on living standards and its continuation in the Bush administration, with low-wage jobs proliferating and social programs being gutted, child poverty has exploded in this country. Millions of children are on the verge of hunger and suffer from weight loss, fatigue and headaches.

● The Census Bureau has just reported that the official poverty rate for children rose sharply in 1990, to 20.6%, over 13 million human beings. For Black children the rate is 44.8%, and for Hispanics, 38.4%. Not only is that rate understated, since a family of four making \$13,360 a year is not counted as poor, but the rate for 1991 is sure to be much higher as the recession takes its toll.

## CHILDREN'S HEALTH CARE SLASHED

● Children in the U.S. are dying from diseases that can be prevented with proper and timely vaccination. In Chicago, Los Angeles, Atlanta and New York City, a measles epidemic has broken out. Massive cuts in federal and state disease control funds have meant that clinics that used to provide immunization to poor children no longer do, or have long waiting lists.

In response to this epidemic, the Bush administration has deferred an emergency plan to buy vaccines and distribute them to cities and states. Instead, it is sending bureaucrats to six cities "to learn why kids aren't getting immunized." Bush is trying to make us believe that it is simply the parents' fault—but his delaying will be responsible for the deaths of many children.

● Parents who take unpaid time off work to care for

newborn or sick children often risk being fired, but Bush opposes even the mildest family leave bill, which would apply to only 5% of employers, and exclude even many of their employees. Yet child care is unaffordable for many poor parents.

## WHAT KIND OF FUTURE?

How dare Bush and all the pundits praise the glory of "free market capitalism" when the reality is that this system is neglecting and killing our youth every day! What kind of future does that point to for the world? Even many of those experts who do express concern about the state of U.S. children are only worried that the nation's future workforce will not be able to compete with other countries economically. What a contemptible attitude! It still does not care about children as human beings but only as sources of wealth, as financial investments.

It is painful to see that many children in our society experience no childhood, no period of unconditional love and caring, joy and exploration and learning. Many children live with death and war, poverty and abuse.

In his book *There Are No Children Here: The Story of Two Boys Growing Up in the Other America*, Alex Kotlowitz follows the lives of two boys in the Henry Horner housing project in Chicago. He writes of their daily encounter with death, diseases, drugs and gang violence. He also reveals the yearning for an altogether different kind of life among these children. But he concludes with his view of the lack of hope among children, the feeling that they have no power to change things.

How could it be otherwise as long as the only vision of the future to be found is the permanence of the "free market" and the poverty and violence for which it stands? How can we find a pathway out of this hopelessness and elicit the creative talents of children in developing a new human existence? Doesn't it require the projection of a vision of the future that is the absolute opposite of the existing exploitative reality?

## Schooling = brainwashing

Los Angeles, Cal.—It's back to school, and back to being called a "commie" because I think differently.

The principal was observing our class, so at the beginning of the day Mr. H. told us to stand for the Pledge of Allegiance. As usual, I remained seated.

But the threat of expulsion, along with him pulling on the back of my T-shirt, forced me to stand. He didn't even do anything when the boys started teasing me, because, in his words, "Commies don't deserve respect."

This is so typical of what happens in school. If you aren't "normal" (i.e., drive a nice car, get good grades, date either a cheerleader or a football player, and belong to 50 million stupid clubs), if you don't fit the mold, their mold, then you are crazy/hopeless/a troublemaker/stupid/queer/weird, etc.

They (the powers that be) try to make everyone the same, just so that their job is a little bit easier. They don't care about us really. They say they do, but it isn't true. We all have to be alike, doing the same work at the same time. No one is free to grow and learn in school. Instead we are oppressed and brainwashed.

Brainwashing starts the first day you enter kindergarten, when you memorize the Pledge of Allegiance and the "Star Spangled Banner," and it continues through middle school with the textbook *America: A democracy with freedom, justice and equality for all*.

But the assault on your mind becomes vicious in high school, where youth are rewarded (get to leave seventh class 25 minutes early) when they join Young Republicans, ROTC, SPUCC (Students and Parents United for a Christian Country), John Birch Youth Group, and YMCA Youth and Government. Many students join just to get out a few minutes early, but end up becoming (gasp!) "American."

And if someone dares to be a little radical, they are threatened with punishment in the form of jail time, deportation, and even death. There was an incident when a student wore a shirt with the circled letter "A" (anarchism) on it. She was told that if she "advocates the overthrow of the government," that her citizenship would be taken away—even though she was born here!

Also, they forced her to take a civics class taught by a McCarthy-era teacher who tells students "it is illegal to belong to the Communist Party or an anarchist organization."

—Lynn

## War crimes tribunal

San Francisco, Cal.—Over 900 people attended a "War Crimes Tribunal" here on Sept. 14. The "testimony" presented by over 30 speakers made clear the continuing devastating effects of the Gulf War. Today, thousands of Iraqi children are dying of cholera and other diseases as a result of U.S. bombing of water purification and sewage facilities. One speaker who had just returned from a survey of Iraq testified that the water system is so contaminated that epidemics could continue for years. Ongoing sanctions prevent Iraqis from receiving medicines including insulin for diabetes.

The U.S. bombing of thousands of unarmed retreating soldiers, failure to care for the wounded and dying, abandoning the bodies of the dead, and the bombing of non-military infrastructure were all shown by various speakers to be blatant violations of international law.

Jeff Patterson, G.I. resister and editor of the *Anti-Warrior* newspaper, updated the audience on cases of the many G.I.s who resisted Bush's war, declaring "We don't want justice, we want freedom."

However, the domination of a narrow abstract focus on law and the fact that only "expert witnesses" were allowed to speak severely limited the potential of such a mass meeting.

Ramsey Clark, former U.S. attorney general, who was promoted as the headline speaker, represented the major contradiction, stating that "law could be a means of peace." This and his illusion that the UN could be reformed highlight the "established" peace movement's refusal to face its failure to sustain and deepen the mass, spontaneous mobilizations against the war which filled the streets across the U.S. in January.

Those hundreds of thousands didn't need to be convinced by expert witnesses and they sure weren't going to wait for international law. They knew that they wanted to stop a brutal, inhuman war. The fact that youth stayed away from the war crimes tribunal and other recent events indicates that they have returned their own verdict: the existing Left-Peace movement will not be their vehicle to the future. This does not absolve us of the responsibility for working out a new beginning before the next war.

—Anti-War youth

## Protest El Salvador Aid

Editor's note: As we go to press, Salvadoran guerrilla leaders and President Cristiani announced that they have reached an agreement on a political settlement to the 11-year-old civil war. They predicted a cease-fire soon.

Chicago, Ill.—On Saturday, Sept. 14, the El Salvador Action Coalition kicked off a week of protest against U.S. aid to the death squad ARENA government of El Salvador with a rally of over 150 people at the Old Water Tower Park, and a march to the Federal Building.

Organizers of the rally urged participants to lobby their Senators and Representatives to co-sponsor the Adams/McDermott bill to end all "war-related" aid to El Salvador, and to return the following week-end to confront the 70 legislators who were coming to be wined and dined on a grand tour of the city by Chicago's ARENA-supporting Congressman Dan Rostenkowski.

The high point was when our march passed floats waiting to enter the Mexican Independence Day parade, which was occurring simultaneously, and the Mexican youth on the floats raised their fists in solidarity and joined in our chants to get out of El Salvador.

Early the next Friday morning over 30 demonstrators were stationed outside the legislators' hotel, and on five different occasions small groups managed to get inside and confront them at their banquet breakfast with banners demanding an end to aid to El Salvador. Security violently ushered them out, but none were arrested.

Later that evening protesters struck again; this time they greeted the legislators at a White Sox game by raising a banner and keeping it up for a half hour before park security noticed that their banner wasn't supporting the White Sox and kicked them out. The next day over 30 of us were on hand to greet the lawmakers once more, outside the free concert of the Chicago Symphony in Grant Park. Members of the coalition distributed "Un-official Programs" to the concert-goers that dedicated the concert to the people of El Salvador.

Despite the much welcomed creativity and daring of these protest actions after the long lull in activism in Chicago following the collapse of the anti-Gulf War movement, the organizers seem unwilling to confront the obvious contradictions in the direction that they attempt to impose on the movement. For instance, they condemn all legislators who support military aid to El Salvador as complicit in murder, but then expect us to lobby those same legislators to sponsor "our" position; and on the same page of their leaflet they refer to the ARENA government as modeled after Hitler's Nazi party, and then call for a "negotiated peace" with that same fascist government. Clearly, unless some serious re-thinking is done within the solidarity movement, this is yet another formula bent on an inevitable self-defeat.

—Jim Guthrie

## Youth in Revolt

by Tom Parsons

Chinese students continue to wear "underground" T-shirts which have been banned by the government. The T-shirts feature statements such as "Sick and Tired," and "Life Stinks." Asserting their self-worth in the face of school expulsions and job blacklists, activists sport the classical Chinese phrase: "Heaven made me so I must be of use." One T-shirt bears a Maoist slogan, "Fear neither hardship nor death," and then adds defiantly: "And we don't fear YOU, either."

\*\*\*

Throughout several cities across England this Summer, urban youth have clashed with police. Most of these battles have involved youths living in public housing complexes where unemployment levels have skyrocketed. Hundreds of working-class youths fought police and set fire to shops in North Shields last month, taking revenge for the deaths of two young men killed in a chase with police in a stolen car.

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Students at Concord High School, California, are wearing T-shirts declaring: "Racism Sucks!" In response to another group of students wearing a T-shirt with the letters KKK inscribed in its design.

\*\*\*

One hundred forty Israeli soldiers have been charged with refusing to serve in the West Bank and Gaza Strip since the outbreak of the Palestinian revolt against occupation in 1987.

## Support GI resisters!

Berkeley, Cal.—GI resister Erik Larson has been singled out selective prosecution for his outspoken stand against Bush's Gulf War. After applying for a discharge as a conscientious objector, the 24-year-old marine reservist spoke out against the war over a hundred times to mass rallies in the U.S. and in England, Germany and Italy.

Larson and outspoken African-American resister Tahan Jones originally faced charges which could have brought the death penalty. With the new charge of desertion, military "justice" could give them seven years in military prison. Erik's and Tahan's mothers have both been very active, speaking at many rallies, demanding: "Bring our boys home!"

Twenty-five other resisters are in the brig at Camp Lejeune, N. Carolina, serving sentences of four months to two and a half years. An estimated 3,000 G.I.s remain AWOL from Operation Desert Storm.

These young men and women such as Army medic Yolanda Huet-Vaughn are the real freedom fighters. They need our support! For donations and information contact Jones/Larson Defense Committee, Box 225, 1578 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, CA 94709.

Anti-Warrior newspaper continues to be the best clearinghouse and source of information, featuring writings by the resisters themselves. Send \$1 to Anti-Warrior, 48 Shattuck Square, Box 129, Berkeley, CA 94704.

—Supporter

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## The Coup in Haiti

## Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

In recent days, Bush has threatened several times to intervene militarily once again in Iraq, due to Saddam Hussein's detention of UN inspectors and his repeated failure to allow complete access to Iraqi nuclear and chemical weapons development sites. As we go to press, we do not know if Saddam will back down again, as he has in the past, or if Bush will once again launch military action in the Gulf.

But what is clear is that Bush is throwing his weight around everywhere, now convinced more than ever by the failed coup in Russia that he is on the verge of creating his U.S.-inspired "New World Order" throughout the world, including the Middle East. The weakened state of the other superpower, Russia, and the easy victory in the Gulf War have convinced Bush that now is the time to bring "order" to the fractious politics of the Middle East.

Bush and Secretary of State James Baker, with plenty of help from Russia, have succeeded in bringing Syria, Saudi Arabia and some of the other minor Arab kingdoms and sheikdoms into the negotiating process. Most important of all, they have taken advantage of the

### Yugoslavia's civil war

In August and September, the internal conflict in Yugoslavia heated up and approached the level of a murderous civil war. At least 500 people, many of them civilians, have been killed since fighting first broke out in June. Whole areas of Croatia, including the capital, Zagreb, have been subject to aerial bombardment or shelling. Croatia has moved to cut off oil supplies to Serbia, and is rapidly building up its armaments, with help from neighboring Hungary.

Serbian nationalists have been responsible for most of the aggressive violence so far. They fall into four often antagonistic factions: the one grouped around the governing Socialist Party of Serbia and led by the ex-Communist Slobodan Milosevic; the largely Serb-dominated national Yugoslav Army; the anti-Milosevic Serbian Opposition, most of it at least as narrowly nationalist as Milosevic's group; the various Serbian militias fighting inside Croatia.

These four groups have succeeded in lopping off large chunks of Croatia's territory, in an attempt to put under Serbian control any areas where large numbers of Serbs live, even if they are outnumbered by Croats. These are villages where Serbs and Croats—whose only major "ethnic" difference is that Serbs tend to be Eastern Orthodox Christians and Croats Roman Catholic—have lived together for hundreds of years.

Serbs are understandably reluctant to live under Croatian rule, given the history of the fascist Croatian regime's extermination of Serbs and Jews during the Second World War. But opportunistic politicians such as Milosevic are playing on this fear, using a combination of traditional ethnic nationalism and Stalinist-derived concepts of historical and "collective" guilt for whole peoples whose leaders at one time were fascists. This is the "doctrine" which Stalin used to deport the Crimean Tatars to Siberia, or to justify the massacre of 800,000 Germans, many of them innocent civilians, as the Red Army advanced through Europe. If not checked in time, it runs the danger of turning Yugoslavia into another Lebanon.

## Bush seeks to dominate Middle East cauldron

weakened state of the Palestinian movement since its decision to lean toward Iraq during the Gulf War.

For the first time since the Intifada began in 1988, the initiative is coming not from the ground, from the activities of the youth and others in the occupied territories, but from the old established leaders, whether those of the Arab countries or the PLO leadership. Everywhere, from the Gulf states where Palestinians are being expelled penniless after a lifetime of labor, to Lebanon where they are left disarmed and vulnerable to attack, to the arid and resource-poor kingdom of Jordan where most of the refugees have gone, the lot of the Palestinian masses has deteriorated since the Gulf War.

There are two major obstacles, however, which even

Bush may not be able to surmount. First, there is the intransigence of the reactionary Israeli leadership. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Housing Minister Ariel Sharon are bent on continuing and even escalating the settlements on the West Bank, the presumed location for an eventual Palestinian homeland. The Israeli leadership adamantly refuses even to discuss trading land for peace. Their aim is to populate the whole of the West Bank with Jewish settlers and, although this is not stated openly, eventually to expel most of the Palestinian Arabs living there to the arid and resource-poor kingdom of Jordan.

This is why Shamir got the U.S. to put a strict quota on Russian Jewish immigration to America, so that the estimated one million Jews who are expected to leave Russia will have no place to go but Israel. Now the Israeli leaders are fighting even Bush's mild proposal to delay until after the peace negotiations start a \$10 billion U.S. loan package aimed at helping these immigrants. They adamantly refuse even the idea of freezing settlements while the negotiations are ongoing.

Even the prospect of repealing the infamous UN resolution on Zionism as a form of racism, as suggested by Bush in his UN speech, does not exactly please Shamir and Sharon. While applauding Bush publicly, privately they are wary, since such a repeal would make it harder for them to reject a UN role in peace negotiations.

In fact, every Arab concession seems to nettle the Israeli leadership, which thinks it has won an irrevocable military victory over the Arabs, but the Arabs refuse to admit defeat. This militaristic arrogance is as great a danger to the safety of the Jewish people as are the murderous intentions of Saddam Hussein and his ilk.

The second obstacle Bush faces is the Palestinian masses. Though down, they are certainly not out. Even now no one knows who will represent the Palestinians, since Israel has put so many conditions down about not talking to the PLO, that it will be very difficult to form any type of Palestinian delegation. Bush would like the Palestinians to be part of Jordan's delegation, but this would imply that Jordan, not the West Bank, is the true Palestinian homeland.

He has even dropped hints that the negotiations may go ahead without the Palestinians, but if that is the case, they can only decide minor issues such as whether to return all or part of the Golan Heights to Syria. If that happens, the 1991 negotiations will be as much a still-birth for Middle East peace as were the 1978 Camp David accords between Egypt and Israel.

### Madagascar protests



Like many neo-colonial military dictatorships in contemporary Africa, the 16-year-old military regime of Didier Ratsiraka seems about to fall from power under mass pressure. All through the summer, hundreds of thousands of Malagasy have held demonstrations and strikes against the government. A very effective general strike has been in place ever since June. The largely nonviolent demonstrators were undeterred even after Ratsiraka's presidential guard fired upon demonstrators in August, killing 31 people.

All through the 1980s, living standards have declined. Initially, Ratsiraka claimed to be following North Korean type economic policies. After 1982 he made his peace with Reagan and the International Monetary Fund, creating a bizarre mixture of Stalinism, military rule and "free market" type austerity measures. This only deepened popular discontent. Little of the country's vast agricultural potential has been used to benefit the masses.

The opposition is an eclectic mix of leftist and conservative elements, who are championing a multi-party democracy and free markets. While such policies would at least open up the possibility of independent political and labor activism, it is unclear how they could solve the country's staggering economic problems any more than have the policies of Ratsiraka.

## 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 philosophical 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

rooted in her rediscovery of Marx's Marxism in its original form as a "new Humanism" and in her re-creation of that philosophy for our age as "Marxist-Humanism." The development of the Marxist-Humanism of Dunayevskaya is recorded in the documents on microfilm and open to all under the title *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half Century of its World Development*, on deposit at the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs in Detroit, Michigan.

Dunayevskaya's philosophic comprehension of her creation and development of Marxist-Humanism, especially as expressed in her 1980s writings, presents the vantage point for re-creating her ideas anew. Seeking to grasp that vantage point for ourselves and make it available to all who struggle for freedom, we have published Dunayevskaya's original 1953 philosophic breakthrough and her final 1987 Presentation on the Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy in *The Philosophic Moment of Marxist-Humanism* (1989), and have donated new supplementary volumes to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection. News and Letters Committees aims at developing and concretizing this body of ideas for our time.

In opposing this capitalistic, racist, sexist, exploitative society, we participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our Constitution states: "It is our aim...to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate mass activities from the activity of thinking. Send for a copy of the Constitution of News and Letters Committees.

### Mass graves in Chile

Chilean officials began uncovering over 120 bodies from a mass unmarked grave—"Patio 29"—in Santiago in early September. The bodies were buried there between September and December, 1973. All show signs of being murdered, and many were tortured by the fascist forces which overthrew the Allende government.

The sneering comments made by General Pinochet, leader of that coup, about the exhumation underlies the confidence the military and police feel, that they will never have to pay for their crimes. An amnesty for the murders and tortures between 1973 and 1978 was part of the deal which got Pinochet to turn over power to civilian rule.

Last spring an official report documented over 2,000 people who were murdered by Pinochet's forces. Over 900 are still missing. Many families of the "disappeared" held vigils around the cemetery; they, like many Chileans, will never forget.

### Repression in China

China's rulers have dealt with the failed August coup in Russia by tightening the ideological reins and increasing their repression at home. Armed anti-riot police were reportedly dispatched into the streets of Beijing shortly after the Russian coup collapsed, and news about the events was blocked from the official media.

Instead, deeply disturbed at the Red Army's division in the face of disintegrating Communist Party (CP) control in Russia, the Chinese CP leaders warned their own Army to be prepared to handle any emergency, i.e. crush any signs of unrest or revolt in China.

Just as Chinese authorities were preparing to openly embrace the leaders of the coup in Russia, collapsed. Now their campaign is aimed at distancing China from anything to do with the Russian experience of "reforming" state-capitalism, and from what ideologues are calling a subversive attack on the West to introduce capitalism into China "peaceful evolution."

While China remains one of the last bastions of style Stalinist state-capitalism, this has not stopped West from embracing the current set of rulers. A month after China gained "most favored nation" trading status with the U.S., two jailed dissidents went on hunger strike in Beijing to protest prison conditions.

Hou Xiaotian, the wife of Wang Juntao who is serving 13 years for his participation in the 1989 Tiananmen Square demonstrations, spoke eloquently: "June 1989 has passed, the trials have passed. To the world has become history. Who still remembers those who sacrificed their lives? Who still remembers those who held behind bars, bearing the 'responsibilities' of the 4th, enduring mental and physical torture?" May China surely remember.