

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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25¢

Black, white and immigrant labor



by John Marcotte

"We don't need that kind here," A. hissed to me as he turned his back on the new casual dock worker. The new "kid" is Indian, from Guyana in South America. A. is white. I was stunned. I said, "What, are you serious?" A. said, "I've worked with them. They'll stab you in the back, kiss the boss's ass, sell you out."

I answered, "I cannot deny that you had a bad experience working with Indian people. I wasn't there, so I have to accept that as a fact. But that is the history of U.S. labor. The bosses have always tried to pit one against the other, to bring in immigrants to use against us."

"You don't stop that by turning your back on him. If you want him to be a strong union man and not a scab, you have to give him your hand, show him how we do the job here, tell him what his rights are. If you turn your back on him, you just push him to the boss. He has a rent to pay too, and you're not paying it for him."

RACE COLORS YOUR VIEW

We talked about this again the next day. A. said, "I'm not prejudiced. You got me wrong. But these guys are scabs, especially a guy wearing a (nonunion) courier T-shirt." I said, "You can't call a man a scab because at some point he had to work in a nonunion company." I told him that when I came new to this job, nobody, least of all the shop steward, ever told me what my rights were. As a result I killed myself for a whole year until I got on the list (a permanent job). I didn't know I had any rights as a casual.

A. just got on the list this year, and I remember how hard he worked as a casual. He worried a lot about whether they could fire him if he had a small accident. It was only after he got on the list that we saw the other side of him, the union side. You would think he'd remember that. But it's a funny thing how race colors your view.

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Black World

Rwanda, the West, and the rest of us



by Lou Turner

Once again UN policy has provided the political screen for African despotism to unleash its genocide on the African masses. Not unlike the tragic 1960 Congo crisis in which the despotic ambitions of such would-be African rulers as Zairean President Mobutu were carried out to their bloody ends behind the screen of UN intervention and CIA destabilization, Rwandan despotism has rent the screen of UN diplomacy to shreds now that it no longer serves its gluttonous appetite for blood.

Former Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana, whose death in a mysterious plane crash April 6 precipitated the current slaughter of a reported 500,000 Rwandans and the displacement of some 1 million refugees, played the UN card as well as any of Africa's despots seeking to frustrate even the most limited form of multiethnic democracy. Even as he went along with the UN-supervised power-sharing initiatives with the Tutsi-dominated Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF), Habyarimana armed his party's extremist militia or *Interahamwe* ("Those Who Attack Together") to guarantee continued Hutu supremacy.

Not only have the *Interahamwe* and government army units targeted the Tutsi minority but also anyone from the Hutu majority perceived to be unsympathetic to the Hutu-dominated Habyarimana regime. So while the genocidal violence appears to have its roots in the ethnic antagonisms between the Tutsi minority, comprising 15% of the population, and the Hutu majority, its content is significantly political. Moreover, the oft-noted Tutsi-Hutu ethnic rivalry is itself a class-driven phenomenon rooted in the colonial incubation of the feudal remains of the hierarchical caste system called *ubuhake* in which the agricultural Hutu peasantry had been subordinated to the pastoralist Tutsi cattle herders and landowners.

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

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



Mass rally in Los Angeles challenging a proposed law against immigrant workers in California.

By Gene Ford

Black worker from South Central Los Angeles

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

STRUGGLES FOR RECOGNITION

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

"Because it is a systematic negation of the other per-

son and a furious determination to deny the other person all attributes of humanity...[colonialism] forces the people it dominates to ask themselves the question constantly: 'In reality, who am I?'" (Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, p. 250)

If Black youth have become invisible because they are 50% unemployed and do not in many ways represent a source of labor within the cities, Latinos do dominate the pool of manual jobs that at one time were a measure of economic power within the Black community. That power brought with it recognition of the Black community's vibrant contribution to urban America.

Today recognition only comes through an underground economy of gangs, the drug trade, and guns all contributing to the culture of imprisonment. A retired autoworker in L.A. stated the dynamic of this problem: "I understand the alienation that is driving the youth in the cities across this country to kill each other in drive-by shooting. The government, the last 12 years, has done drive-by shooting into Third World countries." But without rebellion the creative side of the Black masses is ignored or considered destructive anti-social behavior.

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Editorial

China—5 years after massacre

The fifth anniversary of June 4, 1989, is a moment to commemorate the bloody massacres of over 3,000 students and workers in Beijing's Tiananmen Square and at Chengdu, as well as the executions and mass imprisonment of dissidents that followed. But we cannot forget that this is a struggle that has not disappeared in the face of ruthless repression.

From 1989 on, new organizations and secretly distributed newspapers and posters have appeared even as the secret police have exposed and shut down others. This is one testimony to the power of the Idea of freedom in China today, and the urgency dissidents feel to further develop it. The Chinese have proved wrong the many people who expected the freedom movement to remain dormant until after the death of Deng Xiaoping.

CLINTON IGNORES HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES

President Clinton honored not the reality of continued dissent but the fantasy of the Chinese economic miracle on May 26 when he renewed China's most-favored-nation (MFN) trade status. He ignored the report by Human Rights Watch/Asia of over 500 additional prisoners, nearly all workers, still jailed five years later. He disregarded documentation of exports involving labor by political prisoners so he could claim "progress" on human rights, though "not significant." Here is a man who as a candidate two years ago bashed Bush for the same human rights whitewash, and now has formally unhinged China trade from human rights considerations.

The high pressure lobbying to safeguard the U.S.-China \$40 billion in trade came in part from exporters such as agriculture interests, but primarily from companies exploiting Chinese labor with the lowest wages in any broadly industrialized country. Wages remain so low that a U.S. economist criticized striking workers at a factory in the boom part of the economy—export-processing special economic zones in Guangdong province—because at less than \$70 a month they were already overpaid for the region!

At other factories wages might be a fraction of that, or

be withheld for months, not unlike how peasants across many provinces have gotten only IOUs for crops sold to local governments. Even the wages that are received are being undermined by inflation as high as 30% in the big cities, higher yet for basic commodities, and compounded by the sudden absence of subsidized housing for many workers. Little wonder that some full-time workers and their families face malnutrition, or even starvation, in the midst of glitzy new showcase construction projects.

Other workers, particularly in the largest state-run enterprises, are at risk of plant shutdowns and massive layoffs. To find another job a production worker joins 150 million job-seekers pushed off the land.

The obstacles to resistance should be overwhelming. The gigantic army of the unemployed and the army itself, whose budget has tripled since 1989, pose different risks to action on the job. Yet workers have formed over 800 different independent unions in Guangdong as a testament to their widespread initiative and courage.

As well-known dissident journalist Liu Binyan wrote in the journal, *China Focus*, "Since February of this year, the Chinese government has been arresting or detaining dissidents, but it is worried about more than just a few radicals. Some foreign observers think most Chinese are satisfied with the current situation because

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On the Inside

Women of color rethink diversity

by Laurie Green

Women of Color in U.S. Society, ed. by Maxine Baca Zinn and Bonnie Thornton Dill (Temple University Press, 1994), 339 pp.

These essays by Black, Latina, Native American, Asian American and white women social scientists powerfully reject abstractions of feminist theory that detach gender from race and class. Maxine Baca Zinn and Bonnie Thornton Dill explain that the anthology grew out of dialogue at the Center for Research on Women at Memphis State University among scholars who view women of color as pivotal to feminist studies.

Zinn and Dill argue that "[w]omen's lives are shaped as much by relations of dominance based on race and class as those based on gender" (xi). Mere recognition of diversity among women hides the unequal social relations beneath diversity. This seemingly simple statement

Woman as Reason

represents a tremendously important critique of limitations in postmodern feminist theories which stop short after attacking universal, seemingly natural categories of womanhood. "Beyond simply asserting that gender is socially constructed," Zinn and Dill write, "we can begin to account for the multiple connections shaping all women's experiences. Diversity...reveals how genders are constructed out of interlocking systems of inequality" (10).

This insistence that diversity is really about unequal social relations allows these authors to illuminate dimensions of oppression and struggle in the 1990s that are crucial to understand for anyone interested in transforming U.S. society. The intersection of race, class and gender becomes a window into both the objective conditions of social life and subjective developments in consciousness, culture and organization among women of color, especially working-class women.

Karen J. Hossfeld's essay, "Hiring Immigrant Women: Silicon Valley's 'Simple Formula,'" looks at how race, gender and immigrant "logic" informs extremely discriminatory hiring practices in Silicon Valley's semiconductor manufacturing industry. Workers in high-tech production are mostly women from over 30 Latin American and Asian countries, with nearly half from Mexico.

A white male production manager in a printed circuit board assembly shop follows a "simple formula" for hiring: "small, foreign, and female" (65). Gender logic leads white male managers to falsely assume that women rely on husbands' income, while immigrant logic assumes they are willing to make do with abysmal wages and working conditions because they're "used to" them. Racial logic stereotypes Asians as model workers, and Blacks as undependable.

These logics translate into cheap, non-union labor, so these plants stay in Silicon Valley rather than moving overseas in search of cheaper labor or further automating production. "We already have the technology to fully automate everything we do here," comments one manager. "Because of the large supply of unskilled immigrants in the area, labor is still cheaper for doing certain jobs than machines are." (74-5)

This point cuts through a recent intellectual trend to view high tech as the determinant of society rather than human laborers, because it has supposedly made sweatshops obsolete in this "postmodern" age. This thinking renders invisible workers in these sweatshops on which microelectronic technology relies. High-tech production has brought intensified exploitation of women of color and new struggles and consciousness.

Tribunal on sex industry

Organized by the Asian Council for Women's Rights and the Japanese Committee for Women's Rights, an "Asian Tribunal on the Traffic in Women and on War Crimes Against Women" was held in Tokyo in April, with representatives and survivors from 14 Asian countries in attendance. As Shizuko Oshima of Japan noted at the Tribunal, Japan stands as the principal country accused because, despite the recession, its \$30 billion a year sex industry continues to thrive.

Today, 286,000 Filipina women work in Japan in the sex industry; as do 50,000 Thai women. Bengali and Nepalese women are also exploited in large numbers. Frequently, these women come from impoverished rural areas, especially those populated by ethnic minorities. They are enticed or forced into the international traffic in women's bodies. The destination is often Japan, but can also be India, Pakistan or elsewhere.

Takako Doi, former leader of the Japan Socialist Party, addressed the Tribunal, declaring: "The fate of women in a society is a barometer of its capacity to evolve in a more just direction." V.R. Krishna Iyer, an Indian jurist, argued: "The traffic in women should be considered as crime by the whole of humanity."

Corine Kumar, also from India and a co-founder of the Asian Council, stated: "In China in 1995, during the United Nations conference on women, we want to make heard the voices of those who have been victimized. Violence against women needs to be seen as a violation of human rights. Up to now, rape, incest, forced prostitution and mutilation are considered to be merely offenses against individuals."

"We are demanding not so much equality with men as a society which, for both women and men, incorporates feminine values. I don't at all aspire to be equal to men in the world such as it is today, unequal not only for women, but also for the countries of the South."

—Kevin A. Barry

Other essays creatively develop these new structural realities of wage work and family for women of color and issues of resistance. Nazli Kibria's "Migration and Vietnamese American Women: Remaking Ethnicity," challenges views that Vietnamese women migrants see family life as a cultural refuge or, conversely, a patriarchal prison. Because male migrants find marginal jobs rather than better ones like those they left, women workers find themselves less dependent on their husbands. Also, whereas in Vietnam women move into their husbands' families' home, in the U.S. kinship arrangements radically alter. Women do not confront such changes passively. Family life becomes a "contested terrain" on which women struggle to alter power relations.

Cheryl Townsend Gilkes' essay, "If It Wasn't for the Women...": African American Women, Community Work, and Social Change," illuminates how the intersection of race, class and gender shows that diversity involves how consciousness and struggle arise in relation to changed objective conditions. She argues that the "complex historical roles of women" in racially oppressed communities simultaneously encompass both survival and challenge to oppression through formation of organizations and concepts demanding translation into real social power.

One activist she met worked recruiting Black women for the war industry during World War II, and at the same time organized discussions on racism in factories and unions. Another recalled that her women's club administered job training for homemakers and lobbied for protective legislation for household workers in the 1960s and '70s, and that this same club had helped domestics lobby employers for full wages in the 1920s and '30s! Gilkes discovers in this history a process of discovery, challenge and development.

Gilkes illuminates the relation of individuals to society, and consciousness to practice: "[Women's] persistent refusal to accept the discomfort of racial oppression is the conflicted connection between the individual and the society that contributes to the emergence of a social force for change." This refusal is expressed in a multiplicity of diverse experiences, yet each question reflects "the totality of the pressure" African Americans experience and "contains the seeds of rebellion and social change" (241).

Not every essay uncovers seeds of rebellion and change that are this apparent. However, just as each individual challenge represented the universal in Gilkes' analysis, so in this anthology each exploration into the particular, historical intersection of race, class, and gender also sheds light on other possibilities for social transformation. Diversity, in fact, sheds light on the universal question of freedom if it moves us to actually grappling with objective and subjective transformations in conditions and consciousness.

♀ Women Worldwide

by Mary Jo Grey

Dozens of Belgian women dressed in black march every Wednesday at noon in Brussels in solidarity with women in Belgrade who are protesting Serbia's war on Bosnia. The demonstration was initiated on International Women's Day by the Women's Action Collective in opposition to rape, war crimes, violence against humanity and the European Union's inaction on the war in Bosnia. They vow to march weekly until the war ends.

Iranian students staged a sit-in demonstration in Tehran's Melli University, May 9, to protest the torture and murder of a woman medical student, Zohreh Ezadabadi, kidnapped from her dorm. The university called it a suicide. Government security forces of the Islamic Republic responded by surrounding and threatening protesters.

—Information from *The Committee for Struggle Against Suppression of Freedom in Iran*

Families and supporters of the 198 mainly women workers who were killed in the May 1993 fire in the locked Kader toy factory (see June 1993 N&L) took to the streets of Bangkok, Thailand to force the company to increase the meager settlements they had offered. The bosses finally agreed to: larger compensations, payment of full medical expenses for those injured and support for the education of the children of those who died.

Letter from Sister Namibia

Windhoek, Namibia—Although we are doing a lot at Sister Namibia in order to promote women's empowerment and emancipation, our work is often frustrated by the lack of active debate on women's experiences in this society we live in. The debate on abortion, for example, only started recently, and is, unfortunately, very distorted. An evangelist flew in from Texas to express her views on "the killing of God's children" on the radio and TV. And so on and so on. So, it is difficult, but I suppose we'll have to hang in there.

A friend, a member of the Workers Organization for Socialist Action (WOSA) in South Africa, introduced me to *News & Letters*. At the time I went through a "labeling" crisis. I felt that most of the theories I found I could relate to and learn from left out very important information on how we live and relate as human beings. Too many of those theories focused solely on structural issues without addressing the "personal," the "human factor," the different layers of oppression Black women face.

—Sister from Sister Namibia

Night shift in Chicago



News & Letters

Editor's note—Two thousand janitors rallied in Chicago May 12 for "Justice for Janitors," rejecting the two-tier wage system and 25-cent raise BOMA (Building Owners and Managers Association) had offered SEIU Local 25. BOMA backed down on the two-tier system, but the final agreement includes a 25-cent annual raise for three years. Below is an interview with a woman who cleans a downtown office building at night.

I wasn't dreaming to come to this job, but life made me come because my family comes first. All my life since I was married at age 18, I've worked one shift and my husband worked another shift because we have two kids. The only way we were going to be there for them, we decided, is either I'm not going to work and we'd live the best we can, or if I work, one of us is going to work days and the other nights so somebody is there for our kids.

You've got to understand that most of the members of Local 25, like 60%, are ladies. It's housekeeping. A 62-year-old lady in the building across from ours was raped and stabbed in the elevator. She was a cleaning lady like us. Nobody comes up to you and says, "I'll keep an eye on you." You're afraid of your shadow.

When I start working at 5 p.m., some people are working up there, and then comes 8 p.m. and it's deserted. Then you're afraid of every little move that you hear. This is how nerve-racking it is. When we go home it's only us and homeless people on the street. We go in groups, but we're still not safe.

We have guards, but how far can you stretch a couple of guards in a building so big? I used to work three quarters of one floor and one quarter of another. By the end of the night, there would be two girls on the same floor, which helped because those are the worst hours. Now I do the whole floor by myself. We had 32 people a couple of years ago. We are now down to 16.

We work with antique equipment. When you use the vacuum night after night, it falls apart. And they won't replace it. We had a smart lady who hit the vacuum over the floor and said, "Now fix it." You get desperate. And gloves? It's unheard of, but should be mandatory because there are diseases we know and don't know about.

Cleaning is important. They come in there where it's nice and clean, and no one appreciates it. When they spill and stuff, they look at you like you have to do it. All the popcorn, all the chicken bones, fish bones on the floor, all the cigarette ashes and coffee mess.

We might be cleaning garbage, but we are not garbage. BOMA has got to understand that. They treat you like a second-class citizen, like you don't exist. We have rallies and bosses have actually come and threatened to fire the ladies. The people who don't speak English are afraid. Most are from Eastern bloc countries that were communist, and they don't want to say nothing.

In a lot of companies the ladies are not allowed to have lunch together. I work for my lunch! These girls don't know their rights. People are waking up and saying, hey, we are worth it, we are human beings.

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Caterpillar rally, walkouts demand fairness

Chicago—Over 15,000 workers attended a Rally for Workers Rights on May 7 in Peoria, Ill. to defend Caterpillar workers' rights to a fair contract. What was so moving about the rally was seeing so many people from around the U.S. and other countries come together. At the podium were representatives from Belgium, Brazil, England, Japan and, yes, from South Africa. Each name was called, and each one stood up and raised their arms in salutation. They received thunderous applause. It gave one a feeling for the possibilities of what a workers' movement could be when it is truly worldwide.

—Diane Lee

Morton, Ill.—People at the Mossville Caterpillar plant walked out on May 16. The company had suspended more than 30 people who brought in balloons with pro-union slogans. After the third day they brought everybody back. Most of the walkouts have been over indefinite suspensions of union representatives or people strongly behind the union, shop stewards and committee people.

At the Morton plant, since the early 1980s, we have gone from 2,200 to under 800 workers represented by

Up against Staley lockout

Editor's note: Workers at A.E. Staley, members of Paperworkers/AIW Local 7837, have been locked out since June 1993 for refusing to concede all of their rights to management. A National Mobilization for the Locked-Out Staley Workers is planned for June 25. Write Local 7837 at 2882 North Dineen, Decatur, IL 62526, or call (217) 876-7006 for details.

Decatur, Ill.—One of our people was found guilty for throwing road jacks. He could go to jail for a year and be fined \$1,000. It was a jury trial, but no one was surprised by the outcome. The whole town is bought off by Staley.

One guy with a sign was walking at Staley's west gate during a rally. They arrested him. He was doing what he was supposed to, moving back and forth, but they charged him with obstructing traffic. They aren't going to drop charges; they are going to try to set an example.

When they look at what we are up against with the lockout, a lot of good union people and locals are saying we have to stop and fight. Hopefully these unions will look around and say, "We're next," and ask, "What's going to happen to our kids?"

—Locked-out Staley worker

This lockout has bothered young people here quite a bit. They learn to curb back on activities and clothes. Kids in college have had to drop out. There are plenty of sons and daughters in high school, good kids with good grades, who have to go into the Army instead of college. There are no loans and no money to send them to school. They have problems with this situation. So part of my idea is to get kids to understand the unions. They fought this battle in the 1930s. Why do we have to do it again?

—Black unionist

Unemployment has run out. Locked-out Staley workers have to go out and beat the bushes now. It's hard because Staley sent out a letter smearing every one of us. They also send out a monthly report to all the businesses in Decatur saying we were disruptive and that we were bad workers. The fact is they are trying to destroy the locked-out union workers.

—Staley worker

Delano revisited

San Francisco—The United Farm Workers (UFW) march from Delano to Sacramento in April 1994 (see May N&L) reminded me that I went to Delano in 1966 when they were organizing the farm workers' union and drumming up support for the grape strike, not only in California but across the country. What was impressive was all the youth who came out to support it and the Chicano intellectuals from Los Angeles; CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) even sent some people down there.

There was a huge compound constructed where many strikers actually lived. Daily entertainment was done by Teatro Campesino; food was always being cooked. It wasn't a typical strike where workers leave the picket line and go home for the night. There was tremendous support from the community.

The union had the effect of bringing out a new consciousness of self to Chicanos/as in California. It went beyond just organizing farm workers. The Left had always said you could never organize the farm workers, they'll never go up against the big landowners, and so on. Then Cesar Chavez came out of nowhere, right from the fields; nobody had heard of him. How do you explain it? It was a type of internal self-organization, and it won many concessions along with winning the actual strike, which meant recognition of the union.

Despite that, the conditions haven't changed much. Many of the victories of the 1960s and 1970s have been lost. I always had the feeling that part of the decline of the UFW was due to it becoming more a type of union like the A.F. of L. instead of the new type of organization it was in the beginning when it wasn't just the workers but their families and friends—the whole community. Now the struggle goes on. Those "factories in the field" are going to exist as long as the system exists that produces them.

—John Alan

the union. The people left are people who have more than 20 years in seniority. They're doing the same jobs they were doing when they hired in; all the easier jobs are gone.

The company used to have six to eight job classifications. Now there are only two. Management has combined them all; anybody can do anything. When someone quits or retires, instead of filling the job, most of the time they just divide the work up and give it to the peo-



News & Letters

Caterpillar international rally in Peoria, Ill.

ple who are left. Management is treating employees like machines. They turn up the speed and turn it up some more.

We had a rally earlier with people from all over. A man from South Africa involved with the union spoke there. The companies want to do away with things that the unions have gained. It seems to be happening all over. Like Cat is now saying how community-oriented they are, but when they wanted us to go along with their cuts, they said, "We are a multinational company now." It boils down to not people, but just dollars and cents.

—Caterpillar worker

Comité Costureros

Los Angeles—I have been a garment worker for almost 20 years, and I can tell you a lot. Salaries in the garment industry are miserable—only minimum wage, a little more than minimum wage. There are no clean bathrooms, no lunch rooms, and cockroaches are everywhere. Conditions are really bad, and bosses sometimes don't even pay their workers. That is why we, the Comité Costureros (Garment Workers Committee), are organizing.

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

We distribute our newsletter at plant gates, but not as much as we like to. One article talked about how last year the company called LA Gear had \$183 million in profits; another one called Guess had \$175 million. This has a lot of impact because a lot of people in the industry think that the bosses and owners are poor. But we show that they don't want to pay. We have also been passing out a lot of fliers about how the racist immigration laws are going to affect us, how these laws will deny us our medical care, how they deny our children an education.

At my work every day there was talk about the rebellion in Chiapas. People were talking about how the government was killing the people and all the injustices that were going on down there, and you can see more every day the repression of these people. We were protesting at the consulate and had a forum about it also.

There are a lot of people who have a tendency to say: Well, we are not in Mexico and we can't fight here. I think it has to do with a lot of people not having papers, not being legal. And they think that their fight is not here, it is over there. The struggle that is going on here has made us realize that we are never going back to our country because of the misery down there. We have to struggle here. If not, we are going to see the same conditions that are in Mexico.

—Martha B.

Indian factory occupied

Nagpur, India—The workers in the Kameria Jute Mill in the state of West Bengal kicked out the established trade unions, formed an independent union, occupied the factory and even started production on their own, defying court orders. This act of the workers has given a slap in the face to the Stalinist CPM (Communist Party-Marxist) government in West Bengal.

The movement has received tremendous support from workers all over the country. Even a section of the intellectuals, artists, film stars and singers rallied around the Kameria workers and donated huge sums of money towards the movement. The community kitchen run by the workers was a great success. Although the movement has finally become a movement for a workers' cooperative, the initial enthusiasm generated is unprecedented.

—A.G.

Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

We don't have many Black drivers here. A Black guy (B.) who just (finally) made the list began on nights, running linehaul. I'd seen many other casuals come and go. After a few weeks or a few months, the supervisor would say, "I'm not using so and so anymore, he's too slow" or "he's got an attitude" or whatever.

They loved B. "He's a good man," the supervisor would say. Why? He'd run linehaul in record time—work hard, drive fast, waste no time, never complain. That's what you have to do as a casual here to last. Of course, the other drivers complained about this guy. If the company allows 9 hours for a run and you do it in 7½, it makes everyone look bad.

I don't condone that, but I didn't turn my back on B. either. I answered all his questions about the union, the job and our rights as best I could. I tried to help the man. Sure enough, he slowed down and started to speak up for himself after a few months, once he had his foot in the door.

RACISM OF THE BOSS

Look, here is a Black man with a family to support. Here are all these white drivers, criticizing him and hating him. Is any one of them going to feed his family? Is any one of them reaching a hand out to their union "brother"? As C., who is Puerto Rican, told me, "You can see you have to work twice as hard to get on the list here if you're not white," due to the racism of the boss (and my supervisor is openly racist).

I guess B. did what he felt he had to do to keep the job. No one tried to talk to the man in an open way, recognizing this. Instead of shutting the man out, we should criticize the system, the contract, that puts casuals in such a precarious position. We should explain to them what protections they do have. And we should stop being blind to the racism of the boss. That is the hardest. I myself didn't see it for a long time.

It can be hard to see, because the boss will be color blind when it comes to getting out production. He will use whoever gets the work out. I was used, A. was used, B. was used. If we blame the one who is put in that situation, rather than the boss or the contract or whatever makes that situation possible in the first place, that is a dead end. If we turn our back on that guy, he has nowhere to run but to the boss.

ENEMIES? OR POTENTIAL ALLIES?

If we give him our hand and make him strong, then we are really a union. That's how the CIO was built. Employers like Ford brought Black workers up from the South as strikebreakers. The United Auto Workers did not attack them, but went to the Black community and the Black churches, explained the struggle and said: Join us—and that is what happened. If the auto workers had turned on the Black workers as their enemies, rather than potential allies, we would not have had the CIO.

Only feeling part of a real union of all workers can overcome the fears of Black and immigrant workers. Instead of working fast to protect their jobs, solidarity will protect their jobs, but they have to feel that. We have let a situation develop where we take care of "our own" exclusively. The bosses are using this against us, and we have to begin to reach out and admit we can't solve our problems all alone.

Teamsters: what about 1998?

Chicago—In the recent Teamster strike against the 23 members of the Trucking Management Inc. (TMI) bargaining group, many drivers lost \$4,000 or more each in wages. The International union paid out nearly \$30 million in strike benefits and without major changes will soon be broke. TMI had gambled that, as in February's day-long strike against United Parcel Service, most locals wouldn't walk out. In late April TMI finally admitted that the Teamsters would stand firm. They agreed to a package which, while a step backward, could be much worse.

The proposed introduction of half-price dock workers is gone and use of railroads instead of drivers is capped, but at the cost of lost overtime for dock workers, more arbitration of deadlocked grievances and lower wages for new hires. The union won dozens of other improvements, notably a new "innocent until proven guilty" policy toward disciplined workers who used to be on the street until their cases were heard. Many of the most important issues, like workers having any time for a life, weren't on the table.

Few members like the current proposal. Members are asking, "Is it bad enough to vote down? Could we do any better?" Probably not. A bigger question is: Will we be able to prevent a lockout at TMI's four largest members in 1998?

Over the next four years the Big Four will near completion of national networks of regional nonunion carriers. Other nonunion LTL (less than truckload) carriers will keep growing. The Teamsters will have to stop the infighting and pass a dues increase—rejected 3 to 1 in a recent referendum—or go broke. And NAFTA will allow management wholesale use of Mexican carriers and drivers in the U.S. Meanwhile, the Workplace Fairness Act, which would prohibit the permanent replacement of economic strikers, is poised for another quiet death in the Senate. Before the next contract deadline the Teamsters must mount an organizing campaign the likes of which has not been seen in decades—or say goodbye to tens of thousands of jobs.

—Yellow Freight driver

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

Editor's note: Of the vast number of Raya Dunayevskaya's writings on Mao Zedong and philosophy, we are publishing a section taken from her Perspectives Report to the 1968 Convention of News and Letters Committees called "From Culture to Philosophy to Revolution, or Hegel's Phenomenology and Mao's Cultural Revolution." It was written during the time Dunayevskaya was intensively working out the book which became Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao. The full report was titled "The Missing Link" and is included in The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection (Microfilm #4123-4142). All page references in the text to Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind are to the Baillie translation.

In a muted form, Czechoslovakia has been showing all over again what the supreme elemental outburst of proletarian revolution in Hungary had revealed in 1956, that the struggle for freedom involves, among other things, a breakthrough in the field of ideas against the entrenched ideology—what Marx called the Fetishism of Commodities, or private property and "equality of exchange and Bentham." [Capital, p. 195, Kerr edition] These fetishes of capitalistic culture, in its private form, had been replaced in state-capitalistic Communism by State Property and the Vanguard Party. It is these the Hungarian Revolution demolished and Czechoslovakia is again challenging. In their place the Hungarian Freedom Fighters had established Workers Councils, many and such a free flow of ideas that the Humanism of Marx saw its first direct historic re-establishment. It is this which has never stopped haunting Mao to this day.

Despite the opportunism and pure anti-Russian chauvinism which has led Mao presently to oppose the Russian invasion [of Czechoslovakia], Mao has not changed one iota from 1956 when he urged Khrushchev—not that Khrushchev needed much urging—to lead a counter-revolution against the Hungarian Freedom Fighters.

It is true that in China itself, for a brief few weeks (from May 8 to mid-June in 1957), Mao had opened a new road called "Let One Hundred Flowers Bloom, Let One Hundred Schools of Thought Contend." But the hypocrisy was clear from the start in the insistence that, under all circumstances, one and only one Party remains the "leader." In any case, as we all know, the moment the voices of revolt began contending vigorously against Mao, stating that what they had in China was not genuine Marxism, freedom, that freedom to speak out was ended, and, instead, China embarked on the so-called Great Leap Forward.

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

Marx, you will remember from the chapter "Why Hegel? Why Now?*", considered Hegel's Phenomenology "the birthplace of the Hegelian dialectic," which contained "all the elements of criticism"—and here we must remember the meaning of criticism as negation of what is, so I repeat—"criticism frequently worked out in a manner far beyond the Hegelian standpoint," that is to say, very nearly Marxist. The alienation of Reason as well as of Labor, of Spirit (which includes Culture) as well as of Religion—the whole dialectic of theory and practice moving toward a unity in the Absolute Idea—revealed its objectivity in such great depths that Marx ended its foundation of historical materialism.

Marx insisted that Hegel's abstractions were, in fact,

* Dunayevskaya had been circulating draft chapters for her book in progress, Philosophy and Revolution. The quotes from Marx in this and the next paragraph are from his 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts.

criticisms of "whole spheres like religion, the state, bourgeois life, etc." Marx singled out special sections in order to stress that the distinctions that Hegel drew did, indeed, "reach the nub of the matter." The part that directly concerns us here was the one Hegel entitled "Spirit in Self-Estrangement, the Discipline of Culture."

Note, please, that self-estrangement, alienation, has not been overcome though we have now reached the part [in the Phenomenology] on Spirit which is the cornerstone of the Hegelian "system." Remember also that Hegel was himself a bourgeois and wasn't out to destroy bourgeois society. Nevertheless, so devastating was his criticism of its beginnings in the Enlightenment that very nearly nothing has to be added by Marxists provided, of course, they understand that, in Hegel, the critique is "standing on its head," that is to say, is dealt



with only in its thought forms. What saved Hegel was his profound, comprehensive, objective historic sense. Thus he praises the Enlightenment's struggle against superstition. "Enlightenment," he wrote, "upsets the household arrangements, which spirit carries out in the house of faith, by bringing in the goods and furnishings belonging to the world of the Here and Now..." (p. 512)

In our day, the positive feature of a new culture "upsetting the household arrangements"—in our case, the dominant prejudices which constitute white culture's "faith"—"by bringing in the goods and furnishings belonging to the world of the Here and Now," is seen in such slogans as "Black Is Beautiful." First, because it is true, and secondly because such separation from the dominant superstition is a step toward a new revolution, even as the Enlightenment was a step toward the French Revolution, and the Chinese did away with the comprador bestiality of Chiang Kai-Shek.

What happens the day after the positive features, which are but beginnings, is what Hegel was tracing and criticizing. First, what Hegel called the spiritual life of "pure culture," which is always just on the surface, "is the absolute and universal inversion of reality and thought, their entire estrangement the one from the other...each is the opposite of itself" (p. 541) This is so because, to begin with, the here and the now was a "self-estranged reality." It must therefore be negated again, but the limitations of culture make this impossible for by now "the noble type of consciousness" finds itself "related to state power." (p. 526) The inexorable next stage is that "in place of revolt appears arrogance." (p. 539)

"Culture takes up nothing but the self and everything as the self, i.e., it comprehends everything, extinguishes all objectiveness." (p. 512) Spirit, says Hegel, thereupon "constructs not merely one world, but a two-fold world, divided and self-opposed." (p. 510) There is no escaping the development that "in place of revolt appears arrogance"—unless one sees it as but a "shrivelled skin" and is ready to slough it off. But that can hardly be done while you're still in the culture skin, while your "self-diremption" cannot move you from individual ego to universal mind so that you get to true individuality or, as Hegel called it in Philosophy of Mind, "individuality freed of all that interferes with its universality, that is freedom." (para. 481) Once freedom is the goal, then

Hegel's Phenomenology and Mao's cultural revolution

nothing, culture included, will be allowed to stand in its way. Only then, to repeat the expression Hegel borrowed from Diderot, will "some fine morning, it (spirit) give its comrade a shove with the elbow, when, bash! crash!—and the idol is lying on the floor." (p. 565)

But this "bash! crash!" can't just be destruction—which is what attracts all—it can come only when a new road to freedom is open before you. It got open in the Phenomenology because it was Mind, Spirit, the Dialectic of Theory and Practice which did the shoving, made Reason see that Culture was but "shrivelled skin" that must be sloughed off if the road to revolution (the French Revolution in Hegel's case) was to be open. And the French Revolution was, to Hegel, the supreme outburst of spiritual emancipation.

If religion is the opiate of the people, culture is the "rum and coca-cola" come-on. In the case of Mao, once the alienation from the masses possessed him, he engaged in such a "giddy whirl of self-perpetuating disorder" (p. 249) called "Great Leap Forward" that it brought the country to near famine. The labor regimentation which Mao dared call "Communes" had long ago been much more precisely characterized by Hegel as "Self-Contained Individuals Associated as a Community of Animals and the Deception Thence Arising." (p. 419) (Ask me some day how Marx uses this section in the Grundrisse.)

Having failed to create a revolution in production relations, Mao had no choice but to go in for the epiphenomenal.

At first he had tried to escape the relegation to the cultural sphere. It is to be doubted that Mao understood or had ever read Hegel's analysis of culture as "self-diremption," but everyone in the movement did know at least the vulgarized Marxian version that culture was mere superstructure as against the basic structure of capitalism, i.e., its mode of production. What gave Mao a second chance to escape the epiphenomenal was the rise of the Third World in the early 1960s. He then attempted to mask his opposition to proletarian revolution by declaring the new, Third World of underdeveloped countries to be the "true storm centers of world revolution."

Thereby he hoped to win this new world and challenge Russia's leadership of the Communist world. It almost worked! U.S. imperialism's attack on South Vietnam in February 1965, however, made clear the need for united actions—and when Mao refused such a united front with Russia to aid Vietnam, it brought about new opposition both within his own Central Committee and on the part of other Communist Parties who previously had taken the Chinese side in the Sino-Soviet conflict.

It was then, and only then, that Mao dropped the other shoe—revealing the true retrogressionist character of his thought. You could say that, though Mao didn't recognize philosophy, philosophy recognized him so long ago it predicted his coming. The fetishistic character of the so-called cultural revolution struck out, not against exploitative production, but the bland "four olds" (old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits). All sound and fury and no class content. Only he who has no future is so scared of the past! By any other name, including that of Red Guards, the elitist character of Party, Army, Red Guards and what now merged into the one and only "helmsman at the ship of state" is as unmistakable as was Louis XIV's "L'etat c'est moi."

A single look at the deification of Mao that has taken place since the cultural revolution and one must conclude that Hegel did, after all, underestimate the arrogance of the illegitimate offspring that was to crop up 160 years after the publication of The Phenomenology of Mind.

It is not Mao that concerns us. The only reason we spent so much time on him is because in this year of transition, when genuine freedom movements are arising very nearly daily, we have to answer: what can possibly be the pull of Mao—or, for that matter, Castro—upon today's young revolutionaries, Black and white, who are neither tied to state power, or elite party and/or guerrilla band, much less hunger for single world mastery?

The genius of Hegel, his relevance for today, is that he summed up what he called "the experiences of consciousness" in so comprehensive, so profound a manner over so long a stretch of man's development—from 500 B.C. and the Greek city-states to 1800 A.D. and the French Revolution—that the tendencies in the summation of the past give us a glimpse of the future, especially when materialistically understood in a Marxist-Humanist, not vulgar economist, manner.

Briefly, it is this. There is a dialectic of thought from consciousness through culture to philosophy. There is a dialectic of history from slavery through serfdom to free wage labor.

There is a dialectic of the class struggle in general and under capitalism in particular—and, as it develops through certain specific stages from competition through monopoly to state, it in each case calls forth new forms of revolt and new aspects of the philosophy of revolution. Only a Marx could work out the latter. What Hegel had shown were the dangers inherent in the French Revolution which did not end in the millenium but in Napoleon. In a word, the dialectic disclosed that the counter-revolution is within the revolution.

It is the greatest challenge man ever had to face. In our age of state-capitalism, totalitarianism, and

(continued on page 5)

The dimension of China in the Marxist-Humanist Archives

自由

FREEDOM

Selected documents by Raya Dunayevskaya include:

* *Only Freedom Can Solve the Crisis*
(News & Letters, July 16, 1957)

Critique of the "Hundred Flowers Campaign" and Mao's "How to Handle Contradictions Among the People"

* *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions* (1959)

Contains critique of Mao's "administrative mentality" as new danger threatening the revolutionary movements

* *The Challenge of Mao-Tse Tung*
chapter 17 of *Marxism and Freedom* (1964)
(also available in Chinese)

* *The Thought of Mao-Tse Tung*
chapter 5 of *Philosophy and Revolution* (1973)

* *Post-Mao China: What Now?*
Contained in *New Essays* (1977)

* *Whither China?*
(News & Letters, March 1977)
On how "the power of China's revolt is that it helps us to pose a pathway out of the retrogression"

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

Dialogue with a Zapatista revolutionary

Chicago—A brief yet fruitful dialogue with a representative of the ongoing Zapatista revolt in Chiapas, Mexico occurred here on May 18, when Pedro Castillo, a spokesperson from the legal wing of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) and Coordination of Civic Action for National Liberation, addressed a small audience of students and community activists. Castillo focused on how the Zapatista revolt, which began the day the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) took effect last January, had already succeeded in shaking up the entire political landscape of Mexico.

"As a result of the revolt of last January, the whole of Mexico is now being forced to take account of the reality of the suffering of the indigenous people of Chiapas," Castillo declared. This has created "a new reality" which will not be swept aside by the results of the presidential elections this August.

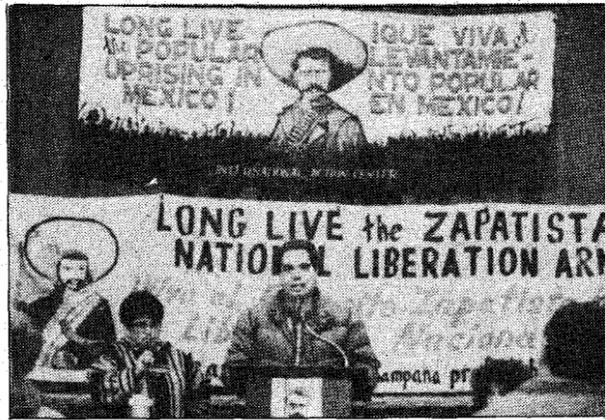
Castillo said the ideas of the Zapatistas "are derived from the consciousness of the masses themselves," who took up arms in response to the revocation of Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution, which had guaranteed land to whoever works it. "It took a million lives during the [Mexican] Revolution to win that right; we refuse to go backward," he said. He added that instead of trusting the approaching elections to resolve such problems, the Zapatistas are preparing for "large-scale civilian insurrection" in the event the elections are stolen by the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party.

The most interesting part of the meeting consisted of Castillo's response to questions about the overall aims and ideology of the Zapatistas. After a question about whether the Zapatistas aspire to the revolutionary transformation of Mexican society as a whole, Castillo stated that while the "fundamental contradiction" facing Mexico remains that of labor vs. capital, the "immediate contradiction" now facing the masses is the "savagery of international capital" as embodied in NAFTA vs. all those in Mexican society, from workers to small businessmen, who stand opposed to it. For this reason, he said, the present struggle is defined by the need for "greater democracy" and "mass participation in decision-making."

Though it was hard not to hear in Castillo's response

an echo of the old Maoist refrain about "primary" and "secondary" contradictions "exchanging places," it was also clear from his talk that some new ideas have surfaced within the Zapatistas. This was especially evident from his response to a question about whether he supports the concept of a "vanguard party to lead" which has heretofore predominated in the Latin American Left.

Castillo stated, "I believe that revolutionary ideas also have to be revolutionized—and this idea of the vanguard party is one of them. We categorically reject this theory of the vanguard. This idea of a vanguard party has created many problems in the past, and we are con-



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

scious of that. We can't put forward any one group or party as being in control; we need many organizations, many struggles, working together for liberation. We know of no model for achieving this."

Hopefully, the coming period will witness additional opportunities for revolutionaries in the U.S. and Mexico to directly engage each other on how to "revolutionize the ideas" of liberation which today's changed world has found wanting.

—Peter Wermuth

A perspective on the South African elections

Editor's note: On the eve of the historic South African elections, exiled South African writer and revolutionary activist Phyllis Jordan spoke at an ecumenical vigil of the South African community in Washington, D.C. Following are brief excerpts from her talk.

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

This is not said to denigrate the ANC. For, if the nationalism the ANC represents is compared to Afrikaaner nationalism, its strengths and basic humanity become apparent: non-racism as opposed to racism; equality as opposed to privilege; democracy as opposed to tyranny; and incorporation as opposed to exclusion.

We will not dwell on the ANC between its banning in 1960 and the Soweto uprising in 1976. This uprising is climactic in the history of resistance in South Africa. Although it and its confluent protests were suppressed with a brutality appalling even by the regime's brutal standards, it is still a watershed event. For it demonstrated to the government that although the older liberation organizations had been suppressed, resistance to apartheid was still strong. The decade 1976-1986 was the high-water mark of Black protest. It is during this decade of seeming continual crisis that the first contacts are made between the ANC and the National Party (NP). But, WHY?

Piet Botha and the "securocrats" tried to kill two birds with one stone. They would stem the flood of Black protest by abolishing what was termed "petty apartheid," while at the same time satisfying the Afrikaaner bourgeoisie by giving them a stable Black urban workforce. Thus the "Botha Reforms" of the 1980s.

Hegel and Mao

(continued from page 4)

transformation into opposite of the proletarian revolutionary party to the Single State Party, philosophy is not only the abandoned orphan for whom no one cares, much less cares to develop and labor at and with. It is the missing link everyone—everyone except us—is determined will never be found. Time is so short, yes. But without such "labor, patience, seriousness and suffering of the negative" the danger is that you fall backward, just when you are on the threshold of high new adventure, into one of the existing world societies, rather than move forward to a new society.

So it is neither Napoleon nor Mao; neither the White Terror that followed the defeat of the Paris Commune nor Stalin-Khrushchev-Brezhnev-Kosygin type of counter-revolution; neither Guevara's tragic death nor Castro's approval of the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, though all of these have lessons for us. Rather it is we, right here and now, as we try to prepare for a future that does not repeat the past.

The ANC was also in crisis. Effective abroad only as a propaganda organ, virtually non-existent within South Africa, its "armed struggle" reduced to something resembling a farce, it faced the prospect of being overtaken and marginalized by events within the country.

It is here that the convergence of interests between the ANC and the National Party takes place. The NP needed the ANC to bring stability to the country; and the ANC needed the NP to legitimize its claim to being the only true representative of the African people. It was clearly in the interests of both parties to negotiate.

The bourgeois character of the negotiations is illustrated by the parties that eventually joined them. The Black labor movement, Black civic organizations, and Black peasant organizations were denied independent representation, while Mandela insisted that the Bantustan and other so-called "traditional African Leaders" be accorded full representation. This, of course, skewed the whole basis of the talks to the right, with no unwelcome "Left" issues intruding on the agenda.

And so, we come to the elections. Those elected to Parliament will be candidates chosen by the contending parties. They will not represent any particular constituencies. As such, they will be answerable only to the parties that chose them, not to the voters. Voters will have no right of recall.

The new government will preside over a country whose economy is in recession; a country where seven million Blacks live in shacks; where the Black unemployment rate is over 50%; where Black income is 10% that of whites, with 95% of Blacks earning only \$220 per month; where 12 million Black households have no clean water, where 14 million people are functionally illiterate, and where 1.5 million Black children received no schooling in 1992. That my friends, is the legacy of apartheid.

Is this the revolution for which so many of our people have died? The obvious answer is: For the majority of South Africans the answer is NO! What is taking place in South Africa is not a revolution. It is merely the replacement of one administration by another, both drawn from the same class—the bourgeoisie—albeit that one administration was white and the next will be Black.

Did the ANC betray Black South Africa? Again the answer is NO! What we have is a classical deal: the Afrikaaner bourgeoisie ditching the white working class, and the ANC dropping all pretence of ever having represented the Black working class and peasantry. That the ANC used the Black working class and peasantry to achieve its aims is undeniable. But that is not unusual. The French bourgeoisie used the peasantry to gain power in 1789.

In the final analysis, all we can say is that the struggle for total liberation has only begun. The majority of South Africans will get absolutely nothing from the so-called "new dispensation." One does hope that the various elements that have been left out of the new political dispensation will find one another, stand up fearlessly, articulating clearly the goals of the majority of South Africans. In that task, they cannot and must not allow themselves to be distracted by the blandishments of the new Black bourgeois order. This is our task!

A LUTA CONTINUA!!

Dominican election fraud

New York—When the ballots were counted from the May 16 election in the Dominican Republic, few were surprised that President Joaquin Balaguer emerged victorious. His closest rival, Jose Francisco Pena Gomez denounced the results as fraudulent. Accounts by Pena Gomez's Dominican Revolutionary Party and U.S. observers point to a purge of upward of 200,000 voters from the rolls, exceeding the margin of Balaguer's win. Juan Bosch, president at the time of the 1965 U.S.-led Organization of American States (OAS) invasion, came in a distant third.

The candidates were brought violently onto the national and international scene by the explosive mass revolt that began to take shape after World War II and became fully known to the world in 1965. A fight for a democratic constitution transformed itself into a popular rebellion with a revolutionary content. It was then that President Johnson, fearing the making of "another Cuba," sought to repress the revolt by sending the marines and forces of the OAS troops.

The uprising, however, was defeated not only by military and clerical forces, supported by imperialists, but by theoretical and philosophic limitations and contradictions within the popular movement itself. The leftist organizations gave capitalism the "means" to reorganize itself upon new grounds: a defeated democratic movement. Ever since, fraud has characterized Dominican elections.

What followed was "12 years of terror" and "economic restructuring" of Balaguer's Social Christian Reformist Party, eight years of the Caribbean Basin Initiative's austerity under Pena Gomez's party, and eight more years of Balaguer's state-run privatization and enterprise.

The 1994 elections look like a repeat of the fraud in the 1990 election, on lesser grounds because this time a lot of young people voted for Balaguer. The victim this time is Pena Gomez's party, which is contesting the vote, while Bosch's party neither sees nor hears any evil—exactly what Pena Gomez did in 1990 against Bosch who won the election that time, but negotiated. Balaguer and Pena Gomez seem to be willing to negotiate some kind of agreement, or the latter would be calling for the restraint of his rank-and-file militants and working-class supporters. Bosch's popularity dropped since his narrow defeat in 1990 because of similar conservative politics.

Balaguer has a good possibility of remaining in state power, in part because his political opponents give him his actuality. The opposition, Pena's and Bosch's parties, have always been in disagreement. However, Balaguer does not divide them; these parties divide themselves quite spontaneously from each other as their own contradictions arise from within.

The opposition opposes itself, not on principle—after all they are parties—but on who has more power, who wins more votes, and who gets to administer the state or capital. Balaguer simply plays these obvious divisions out. The other candidates pretend to be what they are not: genuine alternatives. They are based not against degenerate capitalism, but upon ethical grounds, on personality, a terrain where Balaguer is the one with the least to lose.

This is how political discourse switched from substantial economics and social issues to that of "Dominicanity," or who is more Dominican. In other words, since none of the candidates challenge capitalist production as fundamental to politics, political debate ran around a new novelty: Pena Gomez, a Black candidate and personality. Within this new context arose once again the anti-Haitian as what "defines" "Dominican": racism.

For his part, Pena Gomez fought to prove how "Dominican" a Black can be. He doesn't give a damn about the Haitian workers, and workers in general outside of the abstract labor of his bourgeois politics of "investing in people."

The true negation of both Dominican and Haitian bourgeois neocolonial identity, the poorest, most oppressed and most necessary working people on the whole island are the Haitian workers. They are paid in misery, exploited, and treated worse than dogs by both states. They are the point of unity to follow.

—Sin Mas

Editorial

(continued from page 1)

their standard of living has improved. If that were true, then the dissidence of a few would be no cause for government concern. In fact, the dissatisfaction in Chinese society is already quite obvious. Moreover, things today are different from 1989; this time, workers and peasants may well play major roles. That is what the government is most afraid of."

DISSIDENTS' REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION

A look at China is a glimpse of our own future if the capitalists' vision of a restructured global economy is not stopped first. There is much for us to emulate in China's dissidents, including those workers and peasants that Deng and his fellow rulers fear. Theirs is a revolutionary tradition for the whole of the 20th century. Not even Mao's prestige and authority stopped expressions of dissent—from the Hundred Flowers period through the April 5, 1976 demonstration after Zhou Enlai's death.

It is equally clear that Deng's military-based authority has not sidetracked a movement determined to defend itself and work out the shape of its future.

May 27, 1994

WHAT NEXT IN SOUTH AFRICA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM?

I remember how the Left press always wrote about the way an ANC government in South Africa could help drive the economic development of a revolutionary Africa. According to their thinking, capitalism would be on its way out. Remembering that, it was quite a shock to see, in Lou Turner's lead article (May N&L), that this rhetoric has been taken up by the Afrikaaner elite. Where does this leave the masses of Black people? At this year's African Liberation Day parade on Chicago's impoverished West Side, I saw one youth carrying a hand-lettered sign that said a lot: "Is South Africa FREE? Are WE?"

Fred
Chicago

Bourgeois society is so degenerate, so thoroughly anti-human, that now we're supposed to accept the idea that genocide is natural (Bosnia, Rwanda, Cambodia). The absolute opposite is seen in the South African 14-year-olds who have got Hegel's concept of having their own minds and a concept of "full-blown liberty" which is not based on any existing society.

Anne Jaclard
New York

The analysis of South Africa and the contradictions facing it described in the lead article in last month's N&L provided a comprehensive perspective from which to view developments there. The duplicity of de Klerk, which you had warned of in earlier analyses, was confirmed again with the recent disclosure that he made a secret deal with the Zulu nation two days before the election, ceding it a huge tract of land that threatens Mandela's land reform program. With de Klerk and Buthelezi in leading positions of government, more betrayals are sure to follow, confirming again that reform is no substitute for a thoroughgoing revolution.

Radical
Detroit

It was exciting to go into the sports stadium in Peoria, Ill. for the rally for the Caterpillar workers, and to hear representatives from Japan, Britain, South Africa, Belgium and France. You got an international feeling for the labor movement. Many workers were interested in N&L precisely because we had so many international stories. It moved everyone when the speaker from the International Union of Metalworkers said that if they could win the battle against apartheid in South Africa, we ought to be able to win the battle against capital in the U.S.

Secretary
Chicago

Lou Turner's article "What next in South Africa?" was both informative and balanced. By informative I mean that he presented more than one dimension of the struggle in South Africa—in youth, Black workers, capital and the Left. By balanced, I mean that his story lacked both the uncritical, rhetorical "line" of many leftist papers and the narrow half truths of the bourgeois media. Mandela, the ANC, Black workers and the Left should neither be supported uncritically nor dismissed out of hand as "dupes" of South African capital. The revolutionary dimensions and the contradictions within each sector should be looked at and analyzed as objectively as possible. That is what I thought Turner's article did.

R.W.
Chicago

In your appeal for help in the May News & Letters you write that the "question is whether that can bring the movement for freedom to daylight without us confronting the task of projecting a pathway out of today's darkness." The truth of that was shown by Turner when he acknowledges the endless revolt, which as he says, "walked in the shadow of massacre." But in asking the question, "What next in South Africa?" Turner shows the answer by no means rests only on the shoulders of the masses fighting for freedom. In writing of the meaning of the election there he reveals that the most dangerous trap is "the philosophic void at the center of the movement." That's the void that must be filled to see to it that the darkness of

today's events ends up being the darkness before the dawn. No one else seems to be doing this but you. Here is my donation to help keep News & Letters going!

Women's liberationist
Illinois

ENVIRONMENTAL STRUGGLES



The protests that were seen last summer, led by environmentalists and Native Americans against British Columbia's decision to allow clearcut logging of two-thirds of the big tree forest on Vancouver Island, are not over. More actions are planned for this summer. A Native American participant told me: "Forty years after old-growth rainforest is clearcut nothing grows there. And those trees are cut not for beautiful furniture, but for pulp! Loggers don't realize that when the forest is gone in two to five years, their jobs will be gone, too. We are at a critical stage. If we wait, there won't be anything left. The logging companies have surveillance teams that are really commando units to harass people they suspect are environmentalists. This is not on private land, but the National Forest!"

Readers who want more information on actions planned this summer can contact Friends of Clayoquot Sound through Western Canada Wilderness Committee, 20 Water Street, Vancouver, BC, Canada V6B 1A4.

Susan Van Gelder
Michigan

The Winnipeg Greens are pleased to announce that Green political activist, Nick Ternette, has published "The Rise and Fall of the Left in Canada." Ternette examines the relationships between the popular movements (Women's Movement, Peace, Environment, etc.) and Canada's Left. He provides an insightful analysis of the failure of the Left in Canada, and with the fall of the Communist Party of Canada, takes a serious look into the future of the Left from an Eco-Socialist perspective. The book is available by sending \$5.00 to:

The Winnipeg Greens
158 Evanson Street
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3G 2A3

I have sent Franklin Dmitryev's essay article, "Marx's humanism in today's environmental debates" (April N&L) to several environmentalists, including the author of "Texaco: Destroying the Ecuadorian Rainforest" in the War Resisters League journal *Nonviolent Activist*. As a result of petroleum companies spilling an estimated 19,000,000 gallons of toxic waste affecting six native nations, one nation is facing extinction. The WRL article bemoans this havoc wrought on indigenous peoples.

The question is whether Dmitryev's reflections about Marx's body of ideas—"What kind of development is truly human and not just the self expansion of capital?"—can move "reformism" to revolutionary development.

Sheila
New York

BOSNIA AND RWANDA—
MASSACRE'S MESSAGE

Oxfam workers were eyewitness to one of the worst massacres in Rwanda where the victims were Tutsis, killed by a chauvinist Hutu faction. While foreign development workers have mostly been evacuated, Rwandans working for the same agencies are not allowed by the army to leave and have to go into hiding. Meanwhile the media is obsessed with the evacuation of white Europeans while Rwandan development and human rights activists are in the most danger.

Activist
Oxford

I liked the News & Letters pamphlet

Readers' Views

on Bosnia. On the question of the U.S.'s betrayal of the people of Bosnia, I can't even imagine that the U.S. is doing anything unless it profits capitalism. I don't see a bright future for the masses of East Europe with the current difficult economic crises and political chaos. What I think can be effective is the pressure of public opinion on U.S. policy to change it to some extent. This is exactly what has to be increased with publications, pamphlets and conferences.

Reader
Los Angeles

Your May 1994 editorial on Bosnia was right on target. It seems to me the rulers need to prove their power to the world, and at the same time are constrained by economic weakness at home. But whether they argue for or against intervention in situations like those in Bosnia and Rwanda, the message is still that the masses are powerless to do anything. Everything is supposedly in the hands of the rulers and/or evil, immutable human nature. So they hide the causes of genocide by reducing them to old ethnic or religious rivalries. Which is why your call for grassroots aid initiatives combined with dialogue on ideas of freedom is so important.

F.B.
Chicago

BIGGEST GANG

When Detroit Police Officers Rico Hardy and Ira Todd were found "not guilty" of murdering an unarmed Cuban immigrant, Jose Iturralde, outside a Southwest Detroit bar in April 1993, the media played up the jubilation among the officers' families, but it could not ignore the widespread anger and protest in Detroit's Latino community, whose efforts had resulted in keeping the case in the open.

Unlike the white officers who beat Malice Green (a Black man) to death two years ago, Todd and Hardy, formerly assigned to the Gang Squad, were not immediately suspended from the force. It took four months until they were suspended and charged in Iturralde's death. And they were cleared of department charges on the day jury selection began. Other events in the case disturbed many residents of Southwest Detroit who often say that the Gang Squad is the biggest gang in the area.

Angry
Detroit

WOMEN'S
LIBERATION
WORLDWIDE

Information such as we get in N&L is hard to come by here in Namibia. We hope to have reading evenings this year and the articles in N&L will really stimulate debate. Your newspaper form and reporting style facilitates easy understanding. The news from all over makes it easier to see how other people work for change. It will be especially important to have contact with socialists in South Africa this year to gain a perspective of what is going on.

Sister Namibia Collective
Windhoek

The conference held here in India recently on "Women and AIDS" was to see in which way women are particularly affected and also "accused" by society of carrying the HIV virus. Specifically sex workers are seen as carriers when in reality they are "most at risk."

The issue that is very much on the table these days in women's circles here is population, as preparation for the UN conference in Cairo. The main issue is to highlight how population growth in the North is a far greater danger due to the high levels of per capita consumption, than population growth in the South. Also discussed is how women's reproductive rights are being trampled in the name of population problems. Population policy is seen as racist, sexist and classist. In India there is a reduction of

maternity benefits to only two children. Also, people with more than two children are disqualified to stand for elections.

Pilar
India

There were all sorts of International Women's Day activities on both sides of the border separating Israel from the occupied territories, although there has been very little cooperative activity between both sides, even on "neutral" issues such as women's issues. We do believe that Palestinian women will attend the international conference of Women in Black and women's peace movements to be held at the end of the year. Sadly, the vigils in Israel are now down to two regulars, in Tel Aviv and Kibbutz Nachshon, and one irregular in Jerusalem. Thanks for sending the pamphlet of Raya Dunayevskaya's writings on the Middle East. I find N&L very informative and am glad I have a subscription.

Gila Svirsky
Jerusalem

YOUTH AND THE FUTURE

Youth today are a difficult subject to write about. Bourgeois society is trying to foist off as reality that youth are criminals and it's important not to begin any discussion on that ground, even to refute it. The April lead on this subject was excellent in that it did not set out to prove any preconceived notion, but opened a lot of questions. It's true that youth don't have a relation to the discipline of a factory clock—that's how they know they don't have any future in this capitalist world. That's their determinant for a totally different future.

Librarian
Detroit

The story of the Chicago teacher who gave his sixth grade students a math test that included questions on drugs, guns and prostitution—on the assumption that they would respond to it better that way!—has been picked up by the national press because the angry parents and children are demanding the teacher be fired. A young new teacher I know said the situation is even worse than this one incident. This "test" has evidently been circulated among teachers for a long while and was supposed to be a "joke"—and it's not the only one that had gone around. It is a sign of how deep the racism and sexism is that the kids have to put up with today.

Ready for some changes
Chicago

It's pretty scary to think that the rulers are getting off the hook by just locking people up and 20 years from now if they have the same problems they'll think of something worse. How can you even think there will be a future? Youth turn to gangs because they don't see any future for themselves.

Teenager
San Francisco

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Anti-imperialists
Malta

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DIALECTICS OF LABOR, LABOR OF DIALECTICS

When I read Raya Dunayevskaya's 1949 letter, which you called "The dialectics of labor, and the labor of dialectics" (May N&L), I thought of what a Black worker once said about needing to "have your ears to the rail to hear the train coming." I think that was what she was digging for in that letter. But she is saying that for that you not only have to hear well what comes from below but go so deeply into the dialectic of capitalism that you can anticipate the something new that is coming. To me, she's delving into what is the role of intellectuals before the revolt comes.

Mitch Bay Area

I'm glad N&L is publishing some of the Dunayevskaya-James-Lee correspondence. This is an area sorely neglected by the Left, and should be more timely now than ever. But it has been glossed over in most books I've read on Left history, whether by vulgar propagandists like Alex Callinicos in his *Trotskyism*, or even serious Left scholars like Alan Wald in his *The New York Intellectuals*, who simply says that Dunayevskaya and James had "a falling out."

At a time when so many are wondering what revolution has meant, and can still mean today—and when there is such a debate going on about forms of organization, democracy, etc.—the profound questioning which is seen in the letter by Dunayevskaya published in the May issue should be an inspiration.

Gerard Emmett Chicago

Raya Dunayevskaya's 1949 letter reprinted in the May N&L, speaks to an issue that is only now coming to the surface among capitalist ideologues—the source of innovation in capitalist production. In the age of Taylorism—dumbing down the work process into repeatable fragments requiring little training—Dunayevskaya saw that "the history of technology could show it was not great men who discovered, but great masses."

Today Taylorism is rejected and the

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

Reader Oakland

In the August 30, 1949, letter by Raya Dunayevskaya (May N&L), she discusses Lenin's enthrallment with the relationship of the concrete to the abstract in 1914. An earlier letter by her, June 20, 1949, quotes Lenin: "((THE ABSTRACT IN THE FOREGROUND, THE CONCRETE OBSCURED!!!) NOTA BENE! EXCELLENT! THAT'S THE MAIN THING! NB" (microfilm #1644, *Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*). This indicated that, by the editors adding the word "labor" to her comment on "concrete vs. abstract" in the published letter, unintended meaning seems to have been introduced.

By the way, Dunayevskaya's choice of a quote from Hegel—"The battle of reason is the struggle to break up the rigidity to which the understanding has reduced everything"—can be found in Hegel's *Logic* (from the *Encyclopedia*), paragraph 32.

Reader Chicago

In Dunayevskaya's letter, I was intrigued by Hegel's critique of empiricism for transforming the concrete into an abstraction. It reminded me of a pair of

newspaper articles I read last August. The *Detroit Free Press* reported that "women endured the recession better than men and posted gains in both pay and jobs," while the *Chicago Sun-Times* contended that "this time around, more of the laid-off workers are women."

One source of such contradictory "facts" is their reliance upon statistical averages. While purportedly giving us a snapshot of what exists, an average in fact collapses all individuality into its very opposite, a generality—which is, strictly speaking, a snapshot of what does not exist: the "average woman" or "average worker." Economics, that most empirical science, in this way often reveals itself not as an objective science but merely as a form of sophistry, demonstrated precisely by its capacity to "prove" the contentions of every faction.

Jan Kollwitz Illinois



LABOR STRUGGLES TODAY

There are 10,000 women and men janitors in Chicago fighting to get equal pay so our kids and us don't end up in the newspapers doing stupid things. Some workers say, "Why should we go to a demonstration? They harass us at work. The media isn't covering us, so what's the point?" They are supposed to report news, but they don't cover our demonstrations, even when we have as many as 4,000 people. They don't cover us because we clean their offices! We are there because we know they think, "We got you," but we know we got them.

Woman janitor Chicago

My father worked at Caterpillar in Peoria, and so did my wife's father. We were "Cat brats," as they say. Instead of working at Caterpillar, I got a job in a print shop when I was 18, and my wife works in a garment factory. I worked at

that print shop for 26 years, and got injured four times. So finally I decided to get out of there and got a job selling cars. Now I'm putting in 12 and 13 hour days, but nobody is buying cars. Everyone is worried that there is going to be a strike, or they'll be locked out, so people are just running their cars into the ground. So here I am trying to make something more of myself, and I'm not making any money. The whole area is now totally depressed because of Caterpillar.

Car salesman Peoria, Illinois

TWO-TIER HEALTH CARE?

Clinton's health care reform isn't going to change what we've got now—two health care systems. The one for workers isn't much different from what we have to put up with at work. The health clinic which we have to go to is run by several Chicago unions. The way they run it makes you feel like you're on an assembly line. When I was pregnant, I went in for tests. I had to be there from 9:30 a.m. until 2:30 p.m. on a weekday. When I wasn't in a waiting area, I was sent from one person to another and another the whole time. When I was about to give birth, my water was breaking and I had to drive all the way from the north side of the city to the Mount Sinai hospital on the south side where my health plan required me to go!

Building janitor Chicago

A NOTE TO OUR READERS

Readers who would like to contact Andrea Gibbs about her prisoner rights work or about support for Camp Sister Spirit in Mississippi can write to her at *The Victims' Voice*, P.O. Box 6741, Gulfport, MS 39506. She is the deputy sheriff fired two years ago for protesting mistreatment of prisoners. See the story about her in the May N&L, p. 8 and her Reader's View in the same issue, p. 7.

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Contains "Presentation on Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy of June 1, 1987," and 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes."
..... \$3 paperback, \$10 hardcover

BY CHARLES DENBY

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PAMPHLETS

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Black/Red View

by John Alan

After much publicized political pressure from liberals in Congress, the deposing of Haitian President Jean Bertrand Aristide and the embarrassing failure of the oil embargo to bring down the Haitian military regime, President Clinton is now contemplating a military intervention into what is virtually an unannounced civil war between the Haitian masses and the military government of General Raoul Cedras.

If a U.S. military intervention does occur, it doesn't mean that the Clinton administration has departed radically from the policy of the Bush administration. Both administrations have essentially pursued an identical policy of containing a real revolution in Haiti. Both administrations have refused to give refugee status to the thousands of Black Haitians seeking asylum in the U.S. to escape the brutalities of the Haitian military dictatorship. Both Clinton and Bush have feared to challenge the intrinsic racism in American society.

The Haitian military commander, General Raoul Cedras, clearly understands how race and class effectively shape U.S. policy toward the Haitian crisis; how it reduces all political rhetoric about human rights to a farce. Thus in his political game with Clinton, Cedras appoints the 81-year-old judge Emil Jonassaint as the new puppet provisional president of Haiti. And Clinton rents a Ukrainian cruise ship to process Haitian refugees at sea to determine whether they qualify as refugees.

It would be foolish to think that sending U.S. military forces to Haiti is going to end the war between the Haitian masses on one side and the military and the Haitian elite on the other. U.S. economic interests in the Caribbean/Central American region need internal dictatorial military forces to control the peasants and workers of those poverty stricken countries so that they can be "peacefully" exploited by U.S. entrepreneurs paying 10 to 14 cents per hour for piece work assembly labor.

The Haitian army was created, trained and armed by the U.S. to perform the role of a policeman over the Haitian masses, and it has dutifully performed that role even during this present hassle with Clinton.

NATURE OF THE HAITIAN MILITARY

The inherent nature and the future of the Haitian army has never been discussed in public either by Clinton or Aristide. There seems to be an unwillingness to condemn the army as a politically repressive organization. Aristide himself has only demanded that those in the Haitian army and in the police who committed crimes should be punished. In this case, to demand only the punishment of those who are proven guilty absolves a repressive organization by closing one's eyes to the history of the Haitian military. Since that army was organized by the U.S. Marines in 1915, it has fought, killed and maimed only Haitians; and, as a military/political organization, it has placed presidents in office and assassi-

Haitians—between U.S. and military

nated or removed those presidents of whom it disapproved. The latter was the fate of Aristide.

However, the Haitian army is the instrument not the main source of terror in Haiti. The 79 years of domination of Haitian life by indirect U.S. imperialism is. Thus the unspoken, but crucial, question is: can the Haitian masses ever be liberated without a radical change in Haiti's relationship with the U.S.? Aristide's surprising electoral victory and his brief presidency challenged the Haitian elite and was indirectly a step toward self-determination and away from U.S. economic and political domination. Both Clinton and Bush were aware of this and after Aristide's ouster they imposed a phony oil embargo, hoping Cedras would negotiate.

The Haitian issue might have disappeared from U.S. politics if the suffering Haitian poor were not so determined in their efforts to come to Florida and Aristide was not so adamant in his claims as the constitutional President of Haiti. These two facts gained wide-spread support for Aristide among liberals and African Americans—the kind of support Clinton can't ignore. But how Clinton will attempt to satisfy Aristide's support within the limits of U.S. imperial interest in the Caribbean is another question.

HAITIAN MASSES DESIRE FREEDOM

Of course we can't expect that poor Black Haitians can alone, at this moment in history, change the course of human development in the Caribbean region by effectively opposing the will and the might of the "Colossus to the North." But these poor boat people are expressing an idea that we can hear from the masses of people in Central and South America: "human life must become more human!" This single idea has permeated the entire history of Haiti ever since the Haitian slave revolt in 1791.

The lasting historic significance of the Haitian slave revolution is that it went beyond the American Revolution, which was limited to political freedom from Europe, to a social revolution which radically changed all social relationships based on plantation economy. The tragic suffering of the Haitian masses has been the historic denial of the new kind of human society they were attempting to achieve. But the idea of how to concretize that society remains alive to the extent that they are prepared to die for it.

'No Jobs, No Peace!'

Chicago—It is May 14, a Saturday afternoon. Two hundred unemployed, angry Black construction workers circle the sidewalks and streets. Chants of "No Jobs, No Peace!" drown out a police sergeant's commands, echoing under the cavernous McCormick Place extension. Hostile stares and perplexed glances come from the virtually all-white attendees to the National Restaurant Association's (NRA) 1994 convention.

The Black workers—laborers, electricians, carpenters, painters—are members of United Services and have come to protest the lack of hiring of Black construction workers in Chicago. "You can go to McCormick Place and other construction sites and not see one Black face," said Eddie Read, the president of United Services. According to Read, the construction companies on the new \$1 billion McCormick Place project do not have the 30% Black workers mandated by law.

United Services, formed three years ago, fights against the racist practices in the construction industry. It negotiated an agreement with the Chicago Transit Authority to set aside 4,000 of 7,000 construction jobs for minorities on the Green Line elevated train renovation. And on this day they are joined by a representative from the Chicago Coalition of the Homeless (CCH) to put forth a proposal to the NRA that it come up with a plan to feed the homeless. They gather in front of the cameras from ChicagoLand TV and speak of dislocations brought on by advances in capitalism. "Because of the changes brought on by the Information Age, many of our people are homeless. We're not lazy," says a CCH spokesperson.

The demonstrators march for close to four hours in front of McCormick Place. They pass out informational leaflets and engage the few conventioners who would listen in discussions about their cause.

The police, initially caught off guard by the protest, bring in reinforcements. A sergeant tells Read and the other demonstrators that they're on private property and must leave. Undeterred, the protesters continue to march. "If We Don't Work, Nobody Works," is chanted in rhythmic unison. They walk in a huge circle in front of the annex blocking traffic for blocks.

The mood of the demonstrators rises as they receive affirmations of approval from other workers: thumbs up signs and nods of approval from passing cabbies and bus drivers, a raised fist from a Black construction worker pouring cement. One Black construction worker who got a \$19 an hour job through United Services expressed his sentiments this way: "I got a job, but that don't stop me coming out here. It's a lot of brothers need jobs."

—RW

Black World

(continued from page 1)

ization, the 1959 Hutu "revolution" that led to independence in 1962 has remained unfinished. It enfranchised a Hutu middle class while leaving the social inequality of the Hutu peasantry, in this most densely populated country in Africa, untouched.

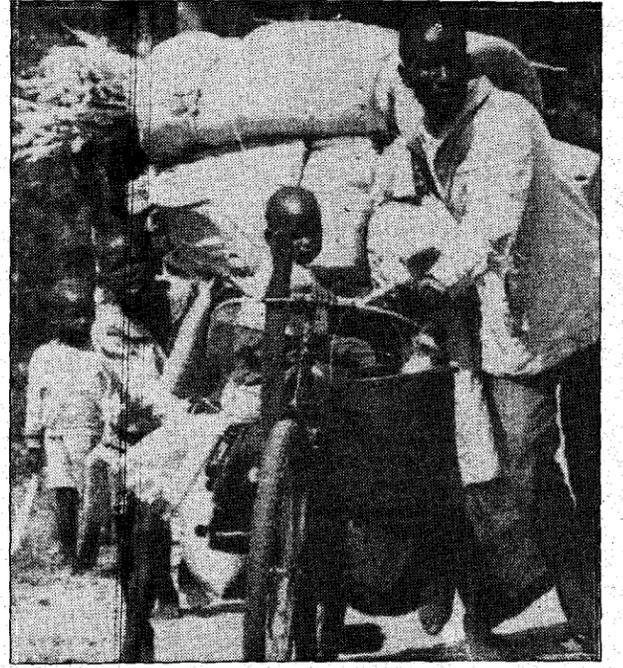
As against the tiresome repetition of the "Marxist" formula that the atrocities are an expression of some kind of peasant terrorism, or the Western liberal view that reduces the savagery to "ancient ethnic conflicts," Marx's formulation in the 18th *Drumaire* comes closer to the complex truth of Rwanda, namely, that "The centralization of the state that modern society requires arises only on the remains of the military-bureaucratic government machinery which was forged in opposition to feudalism." In Rwanda, as in much of post-independence Africa, the centralization of state power by the Hutu elite did not arise on the ruins but alongside of the "military-bureaucratic government machinery which was forged in opposition to feudalism." That machinery remains intact and has been extended with the paramilitary *Interahamwe* as the regime's despotic instrument against both Tutsi and Hutu.

Habyarimana's political party, the National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development (MRND) is augmented by the extremist Hutu Committee for the Defense of the Republic (CDR). Both parties formed militias, armed and supplied by the army, in response to the RPF incursions from their bases in neighboring Uganda. The RPF's relationship to Ugandan President Museveni dates back to its military support for the armed struggle that brought him to power.

A 1993 Africa Watch human rights report concluded that the MRND *Interahamwe* and the youth wing militia of the CDR were responsible for most of the civilian deaths over the three year period (1990-93) leading up to the Arusha Peace Accords signed in Tanzania in 1993. The UN-sponsored Accords served as a screen for Habyarimana to increase the troop strength of the army from 5,000 to 30,000. Habyarimana's displeasure with the Accords, that sought to undermine, had less to do with Tutsi-Hutu "ethnic conflict" than with the prospect that a multiparty system with opposition Hutu parties, the largest being the Democratic Republican Movement (MDR), would spell the end of his power.

Thus, insofar as there is an ethnic basis to the Rwandan crisis, it is as much an intra-Hutu conflict between members of Habyarimana's northwest Hutus and members of the southern Hutu. As Lindsey Hilum, writing in *Africa Report* (May-June 1994), observed: "The traditional north-south divide between Hutus was as important as the tribal division" (p. 15).

In response to the government's radio diatribes against ethnic and political enemies, the RPF, for its part, encouraged violence against the ruling elite in its own radio broadcasts. Both sides continued the arming



Rwandan refugees fleeing Kigali.

of their supporters in the months leading up to the April crisis. In October 1993, some 300,000 Hutu refugees had fled from neighboring Burundi following massacres by the Tutsi-dominated army. With stories of Tutsi atrocities in Burundi circulated by Habyarimana's forces to frighten Rwandan Hutus into thinking that the same would happen should the Tutsi be allowed into the government, tensions escalated in the Rwandan capital of Kigali to their April 6 climax.

The role of the Western powers—the U.S. who provided military aid to the government; Belgium who as the former colonial power brokered the Arusha Accords; and France who supported Habyarimana in part because he is a friend of French President Mitterrand's family—has been reprehensible. France in particular had bolstered the despotic Habyarimana regime and secretly armed it.

However, the complicity of the UNAMIR (United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda) stands out from all the rest. Restricted by the bureaucratic mandate of the UN, the 2,500-strong UNAMIR peace-keeping force stood impotently outside government roadblocks while the mass slaughter of civilians ensued. Indeed, the UNAMIR forces withdrew to their barracks at the height of the massacres, and was ineffectual even when it came to protecting the lives of the UN staff.

Thus, the moral outrage of UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali's condemnation of the "world community" for its failure to respond to the Rwanda crisis is as hollow as Clinton's prevarications. In the end, the UN and the West only intends to reposition the same diplomatic screen that has historically served its effacement of genocide in Africa. The question before Africa is: Can it do otherwise?

'AfterCulture: Detroit'

AfterCulture: Detroit and the Humiliation of History, by Jerry Herron (Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1993), 216 pp.

AfterCulture: Detroit. . . is a collection of essays about Detroit on the general theme that it has transformed from a "narrative city" to a decontextualized "space." The author passes through a number of intriguing vignettes and anecdotes to illustrate this. But the narrative of the book itself is an abstract one, a narrative without people. Herron is fixed on the Signs of the city: its objects, its relics, its artifacts, not the city itself, which is its people.

The workers' and Black struggles, which are the real stuff of Detroit's history, are not present in his book. He thinks that the decline of Detroit is a problem with culture, as if there were nothing at all wrong with capitalism, and the racism which has utterly devastated the city gets very little direct mention. But Detroit didn't come apart because the people there got their semiotics all screwed up, but because of capitalism and crippling racism. And it started long before the 1980s; Reaganism was just the final blow. At one point Herron even talks about the production line as a democratizing influence. For me it was just dehumanizing, not democratizing!

This is not to write the book off, however. It is still immensely entertaining, and as literature it ranks pretty high. Herron may miss the forest for the trees, but he sure knows a few of the trees. For one thing he unmasks the nothingness of middle-class "consciousness" and relates it to its ahistorical character, and indirectly reveals the falseness of the belief that middle-income (formerly many industrial workers) means middle-class.

Most important is the fact that he wants to talk about narrative, which means talking about history, and this is what makes the book genuinely valuable. Ultimately, the physical destruction of a city and its objects, and this city is Detroit, is a way of rewriting history. And to rewrite history means to remove the Idea of freedom from it, the living human beings who struggled for it; for history is the proof of the ability of freedom to exist. Herron has helped reopen and stimulate this discussion of history, and for this reason, *AfterCulture: Detroit*. . . is on a lot higher level than the utterances ("outrances?")—there's a postmodern pun) of these silly postmodernists like Derrida and Baudrillard. All said and done, it's still highly recommended reading as I see it.

And this isn't any "end of history"—the next part of the narrative for Detroit may well be Revolution!

—Former Detroit tire-builder

Essay Article

by Victor Hart

The theoretical ground staked out by Jürgen Habermas over the course of two decades had as one of its central results, if not presupposition, the notion that revolution was not among the significant problems of modern societies. Yet, those familiar with his work cannot but wonder at how this result has been coupled with his constant returns to Marx's philosophy of revolution.

I. HABERMAS AND THE EAST EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS

In the 1980s and 1990s, Jürgen Habermas' "Critical Theory" has had to respond to the revolutions which swept Communism from power in Eastern Europe. "What Does Socialism Mean Today? The Rectifying Revolution and the Need for New Thinking," Habermas' major article analyzing those world-historic events, was first published in German in 1990, followed rapidly by an English translation the same year for *New Left Review* (Sept.-Oct. 1990). The article appeared in the wake of mass uprisings in the former Czechoslovakia and East Germany, as well as Romania, but before the August 1991 hard-line coup attempt against Mikhail Gorbachev which set in motion the chain of events that culminated in the collapse of the Russian Communist Party. Moreover, the article was unusual because it was straightforwardly political, and not Habermas' usual level of abstract discourse.

Clearly written for those independent radical activists in search of a theory to give meaning to the widely unexpected, world-historical developments of the last decade, it might be argued that the major thesis of Habermas' "Rectifying Revolution" (RR) article is that the Left, not the appearance of a postmodern world or right-wing anti-Communism, was responsible for the upheavals sweeping Eastern Europe.

As we will see, Habermas' aim was not only to analyze the meaning of these events with a view of their theoretical ramifications for the Left, but to offer a supposedly conclusive critique of Marxism, beginning with Marx. The aim clearly is to show that his own theory, developed over the last two decades, offers a viable or even essential alternative to Marx and Marxism; that it carries the potential for a new unity of theory and practice demanded by a developing world situation.

Comparing the theoretical perspectives of Raya Dunayevskaya with those of Jürgen Habermas, as both, from very different vantage points, anticipated the world-historical changes in Eastern Europe, allows us to test the viability of Habermas' alternative. In order to do this we must begin at the beginning, with Marx.

II. 'MODERNITY' AND THE SUBSUMPTION OF LABOR

Habermas uses his 1990 article on "Rectifying Revolution" to press a point that concluded his *Theory of Communicative Action, Lifeworld and System: Critique of Functionalist Reason*. In the final pages of that work he cites a long passage from Marx's 1857 *Grundrisse* where Marx explains the "difficult and great" transition from Adam Smith in arriving at a concept of wealth-creating activity in general, the universality of labor. However, underlying this discovery, Marx says, is the emergence of a form of society (and here Marx offers as an example the U.S.) in which indifference toward specific labors has become a practical truth. As wealth-producing activity in general, labor has "ceased to be organically linked with particular individuals in any specific form," and therefore their own concrete life activity has become "a matter of chance and hence of indifference" (pp. 104-05).

Habermas assigns to Marx's insight the place of a "special case" in his general theory of communicative action where labor, now ruled by an abstraction, is seen as removed from the self-activity of the workers and placed under the systemic imperatives of economy and administration. Even if we ignore how Habermas has for nearly two decades found original ways, through references to the *Grundrisse*, to reconcile Marx with his own theory, it is the origin and present form of automated production which is now of theoretical interest.

Raya Dunayevskaya begins her 1986 contribution to the journal *Praxis International* by recalling the development of "high-tech" from World War II directly into production. In the U.S., the 1949-50 Miners' General Strike was fought not only over unemployment and the demand for better wages but raised the question—what kind of labor should people do; why is there such a gulf between thinking and doing? (See "A Post-World War II View of Marx's Humanism, 1843-1883; Marxist Humanism in the 1950s and '80s," *Praxis International*, October 1988, p. 360.)

Habermas, on the other hand, purports to show, in addition to the subsumption of labor, how today's loosening from traditional contexts of a whole range of social actions compels the task of actualizing the implicit universality of everyday communication "oriented to reaching understanding." Modernity's selective expansion of only one aspect of reason (called purposive-rational, following Max Weber) is expressed in the development of autonomous sub-systems "steered" by money and power. They intrude into or distort the communicative process of everyday life whose own rationalization is dependent upon speech "oriented to reaching understanding."

In the spontaneous revolts in Eastern Europe, where "no future-oriented ideas" (RR, p. 5) emerged, both the theoretical concepts of the activist-leaders and the inaccessibility of a lifeworld absorbed by the "state socialist" system led to an immediate outcome which confirmed for Habermas that modernization is an ongoing rationalization process.

Though developed capitalist societies bear little resem-

Jürgen Habermas' philosophic exile of Marx

blance to the Manchester misery described by Engels, Marx's insight, that a civilization which blinds itself to anything which cannot be expressed by a price bears the seeds of its own destruction, is still valid. While "capital scrambles into markets corroded by state socialism in search of investment opportunities," former "state socialist" countries risk becoming the modern Manchesters.



In Poland, a recent protest against post-Communist austerity reflects back on the shortcomings of the 1980s "self-limiting revolution" against the Communist Party, and underscores the need for a break with all theories which stop short of Marx's concept of "revolution-in-permanence."

However, the real object of Habermas' attack in his article on East Europe is the idea of socialism of Marx's "romantic, speculative...Paris Manuscripts" (RR, p. 15), especially the notion of alienation and the vision of its transcendence. Habermas has long held that Marx himself had jettisoned the early concept of alienation when he developed his labor theory of value.

Early industrialism with its image of small craftsmen lent plausibility to the view that labor contained the potentiality of reunifying a modern world torn asunder. However, the actual development of the contemporary world led Western Marxism to conceive of labor's incorporation into "the totally administered world," thus making implausible the early Marx's notion of a future "dominated by industrial labor" which would overcome alienation and fragmentation.

Instead Habermas takes the Kantian idea (developed by Weber) of modernity divided into separate cultural spheres of science, morality and art, which follow an autonomous logic. The "philosophy of consciousness" from Kant to Marx, according to this view, is an exhausted paradigm, incapable of evoking the universal dimension which gives meaning in an increasingly rationalized world.

III. HABERMAS' 'RECTIFICATION' OF MARX

Habermas holds that Marx's theory essentially aims at laying bare the development of the forces of production as a natural law. In this regard Habermas singles out Marx's "Critique of the Gotha Program" as having historically had the most serious practical consequences. In that work Marx is supposed to have "instrumentalized" constitutional democracy by viewing it as the final form of the state in bourgeois society while allegedly failing to specify how freedom would be institutionalized. Habermas writes that like Marx's earlier critique of Hegel's doctrine of the state, his view was that freedom consisted solely in converting the state from an organ superimposed on society into one thoroughly subordinate to it. "The illusion of an 'administration of things,'" writes Habermas, "reduces the expectation of the need for a democratic forum for resolving conflicts to such an extent that the spontaneous self-organization of the people appears to be sufficient" (RR, p. 12).

Against this background Habermas confronts the "non-communist Left" with their ideas of workers' self-management and democratic socialization of the means of production. If the Left today has sought a "Middle Way" between capitalism "curbed by the welfare state and state socialism" through revolutionizing East European society, it has surely failed. For the Left has not caught the implicit universals of modernity: separated-out market economies and administrative systems, as well as the need for new non-institutional "public spheres" of communication that are integral to the lifeworld in which a diversity of values can be arrived.

Habermas had been active on the East European scene as early as his 1957 "Literaturbericht zur philosophischen Diskussion um Marx und den Marxismus" ("Report on the Literature Concerning the Philosophical Discussion about Marx and Marxism"). The article takes up a wide range of European literature discussing Marx's early work, including the 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts*, which were receiving renewed worldwide attention two decades after they had been "discovered" a half-century after Marx's death. In the *Literaturbericht*, Habermas, following Marcuse's pioneering review of 1932 when the 1844 *Manuscripts* had just been published, characterizes Marx's thought as a philosophy of history and of revolution, a revolutionary humanism rooted in the analysis of alienation whose intention is to change social relations in order to overcome alienation. Tom Rockmore's *Habermas and Historical Materialism* (1989) characterized the *Literaturbericht*, a work which has never been translated and published in English, as "the first phase of what is arguably one of the major readings of historical materialism in our time" (p. 31).

By contrast, with his jettisoning of the Hegel-Marx di-

lectic, which originally coincided with the availability of his major theoretical work in English, it is significant that Habermas' 1990 political-theoretical article on East Europe so rapidly found an English-language forum. The 1971 English translation of his 1963 *Theorie und Praxis* (TP), containing "Between Science and Philosophy: Marxism as Critique," was substantially altered by the additions of two footnotes: one rejecting the concept of a revolutionary subject, the other calling for a replacement for the Hegelian-Marxian concept of totality. His "Rectifying Revolution" cited this English version for those interested in whether "Marxism as critique" had become as exhausted as "actually existing socialism." The introduction to *Theory and Practice* contains the peculiar observation: "We no longer find, in dialectical logic, as in a certain way Marx still did, the normative basis for a social theory constructed with practical intent" (p. 16).

This is said in response to critics of Habermas' 1968 *Knowledge and Human Interests*, which contained his most philosophical assessment of Marx, such as Oskar Negt who charged that Habermas' notion of humanity's "quasi-transcendental" interest in emancipation had not "pose[d] the question of organization" (TP, p. 15).¹

Marx's critique of political economy is, in turn, reduced to a critique of ideology, one aimed at showing that democracy cannot be realized in its bourgeois form. Yet, Habermas says, Marx at the same time opposed any "undisguised" recantation of bourgeois ideals. Although Habermas ambiguously refrains from linking Marx directly to the theory of organization he describes as having moved logically from Lenin through Lukacs to Stalin, his reduction of Marx's critique of political economy to securing the practical elements of critique, which supposedly "Marx gave to the Communists," results precisely in such a linkage. "From this," writes Habermas, "the Communist Party developed" (TP, p. 27).

Further, he implies that the foundation for the interpretation of Marx's concept of organization was laid in a dialectical logic based in the "philosophy of history" of both Hegel and Marx. In his reference to making "critique practical," Habermas imputes to Marx the concept of an inevitable triumph of the proletariat as a "macrosubject." From this, he says, the organizational practice of Marxism developed.

IV. HABERMASIAN ORIGIN OF 'SELF-LIMITING REVOLUTION'

Finally, Habermas reassures us that in his "ambivalence" Marx made distinctions in his practice of critique in which, it is alleged, recognized situations wherein "initiatives of radical reformism" are more promising than the revolutionary struggle based solely on labor and a philosophy of history. Regarding today, Habermas writes that "In the face of various sectarian enterprises one might point out...that in advanced capitalism changing the general structure of education might possibly be more important...than the ineffectual training of cadres or the building of impotent parties" (TP, pp. 31-32).

What remains after all of this is a bare Habermasian conception of the contemporary possibilities of a unity of theory and practice through the development of public spheres of dialogic relations. This notion was reflected in the concept of "self-limiting revolution" propounded by some Polish intellectuals when they disbanded KOR (Workers' Social Self-Defense Committees) in the early 1980s. At the time of KOR's liquidation, Solidarity's spontaneity included millions of workers, attracting ever new sectors of the population into the movement. The threat of a Russian invasion hung over the country. Martial law was imposed in 1981. And the concept of salvaging an autonomous "civil society" increasingly came to be viewed virtually as an absolute by some intellectuals in the movement.

Ignoring decades of mass revolt and creativity, Habermas makes the 1980s dissolution of Communism appear as having originated from above in the perestroika and glasnost of Mikhail Gorbachev, the hand-picked successor of Yuri Andropov, the career KGB administrator assigned to East European countries in the post-World War II years.²

No one could have foreseen the 1989 mass uprisings which alone made impossible the continuation of exploitative state-capitalist regimes masquerading as Marxism. A profound anticipation of these world-historic changes, one which is the very opposite of Habermas', is found in the work of Raya Dunayevskaya.

After three decades of following East European revolts from under Communist totalitarianism, Dunayevskaya, in one of her last writings, anticipated future revolutions in Eastern Europe. Yet, if these revolutions are to develop

(continued on page 10)

1. In his review of Dunayevskaya's 1973 *Philosophy and Revolution*, John O'Neill's extension of Dunayevskaya's argument to encompass such theorists as Habermas and Althusser suggest far-reaching implications for what Dunayevskaya called the "dialectics of organization and philosophy" when he writes: "...behind the complexity of Habermas and Althusser's arguments over Marxist social science there still lurks the problem of the relation between philosophy and revolution. If Marx can be separated from Hegel then revolution can be handed over to the Party or else resubjectivized" (*Telos*, Winter 1974-75, p. 167).

2. See the revealing dialogue between Habermas and Adam Michnik, a founder of KOR, in the *New York Review of Books* (March 24, 1994). Besides both of them minimizing the Serbian genocidal war being carried out in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the most telling comments are Michnik's on reading Habermas during his six years in prison after martial law was proclaimed in Poland in 1981. Interesting as well is Michnik's muted critique of Habermas for his failure to adequately oppose Stalinism and for his "derisive" view of Solidarity.

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

(continued from page 1)

How do we develop the concrete relationship between Black and Latino so that both remain revolutionary? The liberal and conservative elements of the Black community have reached a deadend in their power to assimilate into white society. That power to assimilate is now being handed to the Latino community. Although in Watts and South Central L.A. we live as neighbors, our children go to the same schools, and we are affected by a singular discrimination, there is a drive to segregate the two communities from each other, even as we are already isolated from the white community at large. The Latino immigrant in particular is being treated with harsh working conditions as if he or she was less than human. Black labor likewise represents less than a pack mule to the capitalist.

"The problem of America has been the need to control manual labor... Manual labor... is the basis of civilized life... In an ideal society it would be highly paid work because of its unpleasantness and necessity; and even today, no matter what we may say of the individual worker or of the laboring class, we know that the foundation of America is built on the backs of manual laborers." (W.E.B. DuBois, *The Gift of Black Folks: The Negroes in the Making of America*, p. 18.)

In the laundry company where I work, 95% of the workers are manual labor and Latino, 65% of whom are women, 3% Black and the top one percent white male. That gives a view of how racism is entrenched within the system from the government down to the work place. For example, the immediate floor supervisors are all Latino and are responsible for pushing the production of the ironers, the washroom, and soil department where speaking Spanish is a must. The top dog however is white, sitting in an air conditioned office behind a plateglass window, keeping an eye on everybody and everything coming down the line. It's obvious they see "Mexican" as stupid; one manager told me, "they can't make a decision."

The white ruler looks at the Black worker as dangerous and a threat, complaining that they won't work for \$4.35 an hour minimum wage. Yet my neighbor who is Black went to this laundry company where they had four openings, and from what I can see he was not even considered seriously for the job which he desperately needs.

While Blacks in L.A. are being excluded from employment, the Latino worker is being abused—but not without resistance. At a Huntington Park company called UniHosiery Inc. workers are striking for union recognition and at least 14 workers are suing the company supervisors for practicing pervasive sexual harassment and assault on employees. "One five-year employee said that workers were treated like animals. In one case a manager driving a fork-lift allegedly cornered a worker against a wall. Once trapped a second supervisor began to remove the employee's pants and managers left after the worker screamed for help." (LA Times, May 15, 1994)

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

WHAT HAPPENED TO NEW BEGINNINGS?

What this system of race and class, separate and unequal, is headed toward in 1994 is another explosion which will split the nation in two. The L.A. rebellion was just a glimpse of what a mind will do when it is denied recognition of being whole and human; it is still eating away at the system's very root.

The greatest fear of the oppressor, whether plant foreman or police officer, is that the oppressed has a mind of his or her own. To be human, that represents the greatest threat. As Teresa Allison, founder of Mothers Reclaiming Our Children, put it at a recent meeting on the two-year anniversary of the L.A. rebellion:

"It was strange. There were about 300 of us out protesting in front of the criminal courts building in downtown L.A., trying to stop the railroading of our children into prison, when a policeman said to me that he was no longer afraid of the guns or

weapons that we might have but that 'I am afraid of what you might be thinking.' They are afraid that your mind plays a rough role in this life. We have to think, to take the streets and march because the mind is what they are afraid of."

The problem is that many within the movement past and present, labor unions, the Left, Civil Rights organizations, Black nationalist organizations have given more recognition to the force needed from the masses with which to uproot this society, or to force concessions from the state or corporations. Very few within the movement have made a category out of the mind of the oppressed.

Because the system will only single out our destructive rage and reject the creative reason which is shouting for recognition, it is the responsibility of the revolutionary Marxist to give voice to, and act upon the Idea of Freedom, so when rebellion takes place, our creative side has a forum through which to develop. This process, which we could call a look in the historic mirror, allows the subject, in particular Black labor, unemployed and employed, to experience a shock of recognition which builds confidence, not alone in the individual self, but as a self-movement, a mass movement to take control of our own destiny.

The labor unions in this country have lost those kinds of unique beginnings as the collective body of working people. Behind the voice of labor had walked the ability to shut down production at any plant that was organized. The great beginnings of the CIO in the 1930s broke the tradition of organized labor within this country as only white and skilled trades. That is what the AFL represented before a new labor movement of tremendous proportions gave recognition to the unskilled, Black and minority worker and placed this country on the verge of revolution. With those great beginnings of the CIO,

"for the first time organized labor struck where it hurt capital most, in all the basic industries—rubber, coal, steel, auto. For the first time, employed and unemployed did not work at cross purposes. On the contrary, the unemployed would often, along with another new phenomenon—women's auxiliaries—man the picket lines while the workers sat down inside. For the first time, control over the conditions of labor—the recognition [emphasis added] of the union—predominated over all other demands, even of wages. Nowhere more than in America had the capitalist outcry about 'the invasion of private property' produced a greater militancy than among the workers who insisted on sitting down at those machines they had always worked but never controlled."

(American Civilization on Trial, p. 23)

In these most concrete of beginnings for Black and organized labor, the idea of recognition took on the form of concrete, creative action at the point of production where the machine dominates the laborer. A break in thought and action was made within the production process of capital. Today the established unions, which have separated in action and thought from their rank-and-file membership, have allowed capitalist production to dominate the laborer. The labor struggle has been narrowed down to five or six workers walking a picket line, to the exclusion of the question of who controls production. The control of production by labor has been further transformed, with the help of a corporate union bureaucracy, into simplistic "input" by workers through the "team concept." The team concept is controlled and dominated by production, as a means to make the company profitable. The genuine thought of the laborer is further suppressed through the fear of joining the millions of unemployed workers who have no future of finding work in this high-tech computer era of minimum wage manual jobs.

Even when new laws that would help labor, like the striker replacement bill, are about to be implemented, they meet barriers which represent the old way of doing things. Resistance to the bill is coming from the "right-to-work" states from Tennessee to Mississippi. There, a deep layer of rebellion and organization by Black, particularly women, workers is challenging the permanent character of reaction whose roots go back to slavery.

NEED FOR MARX'S PHILOSOPHY TODAY

So the problem of today's labor movement is that it

has allowed these most creative new beginnings in struggle to be suppressed from within the very organization that was created by workers. The worker's need for philosophy demands that Marx's analysis of capitalism be seen as more than just a theory of the economic facts but as one which contains philosophic categories of struggle that allows the human spirit to breathe.

"Take the succinct way in which Marx pinpointed the situation in the Civil War at its darkest moment, as the war dragged on and the Southern generals were winning so decisively as to produce a defeatist attitude in the North. Where others looked at the military forecast, Marx looked at the forces of revolution: 'A single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on southern nerves... a war of this kind must be conducted along revolutionary lines...'" (Letter from Marx to Engels, August 7, 1862; *American Civilization on Trial*, p. 11)

This quote reflects Marx's critique of Lincoln, but it also implies a critique of an attitude that permeates revolutionaries today, post-Marx Marxists who see the forces of revolution as force alone and not subjects as Reason. Marx criticized the Marxists of his time in America whose attitude toward slavery was that the slave revolts were unimportant because a chattel slave would only become a wage slave. Marx's response was: If that is Marxism, I am not a Marxist.

Because reason goes unseparated from revolt, whether Black labor is employed or unemployed, Black has practically been made invisible by the state except when crime is being committed. Today the state is not very far away from a fascist "final solution" against Blacks and Latinos because they are seen as parasites living off the wealth of a society in which there will be no more economic booms that do not include the loss of many lives.

Partly in response to this growing state repression and partly in response to revolt in Mexico, thousands in L.A. came out in protest May 29 against an anti-labor California ballot initiative. "A sea of brown" with participants from the United Farm Workers, Janitors for Justice, and striking UniHosiery workers marched through downtown and into the grassy area in front of city hall. The law would bar all essential services from undocumented workers, including their children from attending public schools and all from getting emergency medical care. Worst of all, it would require state agencies to play the role of immigration cops by reporting suspected "illegal aliens."

Governor Pete Wilson is using the proposition to promote his campaign of enforced discrimination begun by Reagan. "The politicians are happy to have my people here working, but they don't have any rights," said one of the protesters. The attitude behind this law is being transmitted to all workers as benefits are cut and unions are busted.

This reflects the law of motion of capitalism which demands that profit be made at the expense of humanity. It is expansion of constant capital—machines of production—in search of a cheaper "pair of hands" to continue to feed production's "werewolf" hunger for sweated labor to create value. This law of motion has driven capitalists to create NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) and to export factories to Mexico in hope of fostering a cheaper production process and finding a more easily exploited work force.

But the rebelliousness of the Mexican worker is on the rise and the Chiapas revolt of the peasants of southern Mexico has sent a signal to the U.S. with its imperialist NAFTA ambitions and with its own rebellious workers. The revolution sparked by the campesinos of Chiapas hopefully will inspire the border population of Mexicans to take up their cry for freedom. The life and death question that faces the campesinos of southern Mexico, with their struggle against the government of big land owners, is a struggle shared as well by American labor fighting NAFTA.

So the challenge facing the labor movement today is of tremendous importance to the survival of people nationally and internationally. The Idea of freedom must determine history, and human reason must guide our hand toward revolutionary action.

Essay Article

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op, it is Dunayevskaya's contention that the question of "what happens after the revolution"—the concept of second negativity so lacking in the post-World War II Left—must find its highest expression upon the philosophic ground left by Marx's 1844 "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic."

In her 1988 Praxis International article, Dunayevskaya outlines the theoretical need to 1) intensify our theoretical comprehension of Marx's 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts as the "philosophic moment" that became ground for the development of Marx's thought, including its future achievement of social concreteness; and 2) extend our comprehension of the totality of Marx's work, including his unique concept of organization as putting an end to the division between mental and manual labor.

Marx's critique of capitalist society is inseparable from his concept of revolution, a fact which cannot be evaded except through misplaced abstractions like Habermas' substitution of learning through dialogue for Marx's dialectic of philosophy and organization which is the unity of the social individual and the universal of a new society that has yet to be concretized for our age.

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Youth

'Minds stayed on freedom'

by Diane Lee

*Woke up this mornin' with my mind stayed on freedom,
Hallelu, Hallelu, Hallelujah!*

—from a civil rights song

Minds Stayed on Freedom: The Civil Rights Struggle in the Rural South, by The Youth of the Rural Organizing and Cultural Center, with an Introduction by Jay MacLeod, Westview Press, 1991.

This work is so extraordinary because those who have lived through the experience of the civil rights struggle in Holmes County, Mississippi, were individually interviewed by 18 Holmes County eighth and ninth grade students in 1989. The students conducted extensive research and spent countless hours transcribing tapes, editing texts, writing introductions to each interview, taking photographs, doing illustrations, compiling a chronology of events and preparing copy for the printer. One student in a single evening, using nothing but a flashlight, produced a 43-page transcription the next day for editing. The students came up with provocative, insightful questions about the movement and on the meaning it gives us today.

In their preface to this work, the youth express what the title of this book means to them:

"Our title comes from a freedom song that was used to make black people in struggle unite and become stronger. That's also what happened to us as we struggled over fourteen months to make this book—we united and got stronger. We also became prouder and prouder: proud of the way our people fought for their natural rights and proud of ourselves for capturing that history for all to read and learn from."

The introduction, written by the students' advisor Jay MacLeod, gives a history of Holmes County and how African Americans fought white domination from its founding in 1833. It is a magnificent piece of writing that reveals how people of Holmes County struggled with a "vision of the future" and shows the movement as an unfinished revolution that needs to continue.

What is important about Holmes County as a locale is that it was one of the fiercest battlegrounds in the U.S. for civil rights. And although this individual locale is portrayed, what becomes clear is how universal are the struggles that relate to the past and future. What the book itself shows is the process, the momentum of the civil rights struggle—how it was born and how it continued throughout the years. The movement lives through each individual who experienced it.

The students asked questions about the freedom schools, the freedom riders' struggles, about integration of schools and hospitals. They wanted to know about violence from the whites in power, and constant abuse and struggle to overcome in terms of voter registration.

I'll never forget Mr. Jodie "Preacher" Saffold's interview called "I Caught Hell":

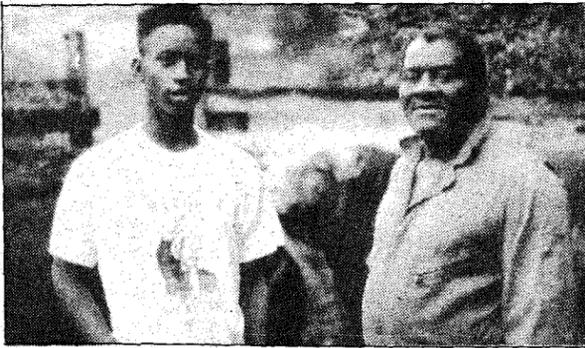
Q: Mr. Saffold, who was the first people involved in the Civil Rights Movement?

A: I would say...the so-called dumb people. Up from the grassroots, they call it. But now, the school teachers, the educated people, they ain't did a damn thang! The preachers ain't neither. The so-called dumb people open the way for everybody. See, the table was set. Yeah, and when the table got set with cake and pie, school teachers and everybody come in helping eat it up."

In a very direct way, Jodie Saffold has spelled out the elitism that so plagued the movement at that time. He also presents a kind of self-direction that was very needed in the movement, especially when he describes how he housed many freedom riders and was so determined to take his daughters to integrate the schools.

He also discussed the importance of land ownership as a question of power. The introduction also talks about why this is so important: "With mechanized agriculture and other trends undermining the small family farm, the Mileston farmers never had incomes much above subsistence; but what they did have was more threatening to the caste system: independence, pride and control of their destiny." This is what one feels when they "hear" Jodie Saffold's voice.

Mr. Shadrach Davis's interview is called, "It Don't Pay to be Too Afraid." He spoke of the enormous, spontaneous growth of the meetings in Mileston (the first meetings held in the county): "The meetings got to be so big and so important that they built what they call Holmes County Community Center. An' every third Sunday they would hold a county-wide meeting."



A young interviewer with Jodie "Preacher" Saffold

What is emphasized throughout this book is that while everyone kept an eye on Birmingham, Alabama with its mass mobilizations what is not so well-known is Holmes County's tradition of community organizing which built an indigenous movement there.

Mrs. Bee Jenkins's interview is called "Ready to Shoot Lead." She spoke about the horrors of segregation and her deep involvement in the fight against it including being a part of registering to vote, integrating hospitals and participating in marches. The last question posed to Mrs. Jenkins was this:

Q: Do you think what you talked about today with these two students can help them, and why?

A: I hope so...I would like to know that we'll be leaving something behind that will carry on the way we started...I have always wanted young people to get involved so they could know the struggles we came through to get them where they are today. Some lost their lives, too. ...I'm glad someone is eventually gonna write a book about Holmes County, because it's been a need so long."

This book is for everyone: for those who think they may not know enough about struggles in the Civil Rights Movement and for those who think they know all about it. This work gives the reader a glimpse of the history and struggles today in one part of the Mississippi Delta.

On to Stonewall 25!

Chicago—On June 26, one and a half million people are expected to converge on New York City for Stonewall 25 and the International March on the UN to Affirm the Human Rights of Lesbian and Gay People. The march commemorates the Stonewall rebellion of June 1969—three days and nights of rioting in the streets of Greenwich Village in protest of police raids and harassment of gays and lesbians.

Stonewall 25 will be led off by some of the very same mostly working-class drag queens whose brick-wielding began the riots 25 years ago. I find this to be a very historical image, especially at a time when the marginalized elements of gay culture are being shunned by their own people, i.e., the assimilationists who want to present a Richie Cunningham face to capitalist America. *Make me puke, no thank you. I'm too pissed to assimilate.*

Stonewall 25 comes on the heels of last year's March on Washington for Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Civil Rights. I felt last year's march wasn't angry enough. I fear that Stonewall 25 could be viewed by many as another great party with the Gay Games and Cultural Festival scheduled at the same time in New York City, which are already getting more attention in the gay press than remembering the struggles.

I hope we won't forget what hell we've gone through and that we are there for more change, more respect, and more of our lives to be saved. It was the Stonewall rebellion that thrust the movement forward.

—Tom Williamson

10 p.m.? Forget that!

Oakland, Cal.—On May 17, youth from all over the East Bay gathered to protest the proposed curfew for Oakland. The 10 p.m. curfew would restrict youth from being on the streets or hanging out in restaurants, movie theaters, and in parks and cars.

Billed as a deterrent to "violence and crime by youth," the curfew would only serve as an excuse to repress young people even more. Even the police have admitted that the curfew will be selectively enforced: "If they're good kids, just hanging out, we won't bother them. This (proposed curfew) will be so that we can take in potentially violent criminals and youth gang members."

One 13-year-old said, "It's true that this is just another attempt at repressing the Black race, the Latino race, and other minorities. You and I both know that me and my friends are gonna be the ones taken in, not the white kids from the suburbs who got sh-- going down at the BART Station. It's my friends who get arrested for hanging out in my neighborhood."

—Lynn Halley

State-capitalism strip-mines the sea

Suddenly, time is running out for the once seemingly limitless stocks of ocean fish, the primary source of protein for one billion people in Asia and many more in island nations and coastal Africa, and an industry which employs over 200 million people.

The UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) reported recently that all 17 of the world's major fisheries have reached or exceeded their natural limits, with nine in serious decline and four more "commercially depleted"; 67 species are being overfished.

Pacific salmon and steelhead have virtually disappeared from Puget Sound, as have red snapper and grouper from the Gulf of Mexico. Canada shut down the Grand Banks cod fishery in the Atlantic, putting 33,000 people out of work. Much of New England's Georges Bank—now largely barren of the haddock, cod and flounder that once swam there in the billions—has been closed to fishing, but other regulatory efforts have been undermined by fishing interests dead set on short-term profits at the cost of the fishery's destruction.

Overfishing is the nail in the coffin of fish populations already weakened by pollution and habitat destruction, caused by coastal development, filling in of wetlands, runoff from farming and logging, and so on.

What accounts for this insatiable drive to pull the last fish from the sea? In the 1970s and 1980s, many countries cultivated domestic fishing fleets, state-capitalist hothouse style, resulting in, as the FAO reports, \$124 billion spent each year to catch \$70 billion worth of fish.

Competing on the world market, some of these state-subsidized fleets use sonar, aircraft and satellites to track schools of fish. Giant nets pull up tens of thousands of fish at a time, and huge, mechanized "factory trawlers" process them on the spot and dump unwanted fish, mammals, seabirds—80% or more of the haul, now dead—back into the sea.

To the extent that it reduces the labor time socially necessary to catch fish, high-tech fishing reduces its value. A decrease in the product's value and an increase in the capital invested in the ship and equipment make it necessary to catch more fish to maintain profits, even with state subsidies. The time it takes for nature to produce the fish, however, increases since depleted stocks need more time to recover.

What is at work here economically is the contradiction between labor time and time of production. Just think of fish where Marx says "forest" in Capital:

"The long time of production (which comprises a relatively small amount of working time)...makes forestry little adapted for private, and therefore, capitalist enterprise, which is essentially private even if associated capitalists take the place of the individual capitalist. The development of civilization and of industry in general has ever shown itself so active in the destruction of forests, that everything done by it for their preservation and production, compared to its destructive effect, appears infinitesimal." (Vol. 2, p. 279, Kerr edition)

World capitalism has reacted to shrinking fish stocks in two ways. One is treaties, which, according to the Worldwatch Institute's *State of the World 1994*, do not significantly address land-based pollution, habitat destruction or overfishing. The other is fish farming, which only partially makes up for what is no longer available in the oceans—for those who can afford the market price, not for the Third World poor.

The scarcity of fish forces small-scale fishing crews to spend more time fishing—even risking their lives in stormy weather that few would have braved 20 years ago. In Sierra Leone, for example, modern fleets fish for export, undermining traditional fishers who supply 75% of the animal protein people consume there.

In fighting back, small-scale fishers in Indonesia have attacked and burned trawling vessels that enter their fishing grounds. Canadians such as Bernard Martin, one of the 33,000 put out of work, formed Fishers Organized for the Revitalization of Communities and Ecosystems. Martin said, "Dragging [huge nets across the sea floor] is a technology that is the equivalent of clear-cutting or strip-mining."

The impetus for such technologies is capitalism's need to constantly reduce labor time and its disregard for the actual time of production. This type of environmental destruction is inherent in the capitalist manifestation of time. To overcome it requires struggling for a society where the relation of time to the human being is what Marx spelled out as: Time is the space for human development.

—Franklin Dmitryev

Homeless teen speaks out

San Francisco—When I was a kid, my mama taught me that as women, we had to be strong and stand up for what we believe in. My mama didn't have much. She was single before that was fashionable. But she did teach me that in a white man's world, all we can do is fight, fight, fight.

By the time I started school I was already the fighter, no, the warrior my mama wanted me to be. Being taught in a white man's school, by a woman who was only Black in the color of her skin, I learned that the white men were scared of a woman who could hold her own. Everything in their system is done to keep us, the Blacks, the women, the minorities, down. The Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) is never enough to get beyond: beyond survival, beyond living day to day, beyond the Tenderloin. It is like they are scared of us. The white men are scared of what would happen if my people learned to read, learned to stand up, learned to vote, to think, and became part of the society they criticize us for not participating in.

—Shidana

How to contact NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES

CHICAGO 59 Van Buren, Room 707 Chicago, IL 60605 Phone 312 663 0839 Fax 312 663 9069 MEETINGS Call for meeting information	NEW YORK P.O. Box 196 Grand Central Station New York, NY 10163 212 663 3631 MEETINGS Sundays, 6:30 p.m. Washington Square Church 135 W. 4th St. (East door) Manhattan
OAKLAND P.O. Box 3345 Oakland, CA 94609 510 658 1448 MEETINGS Mondays, 7 p.m. June 6, 20 Room T808, Laney College	LOS ANGELES P.O. Box 29194 Los Angeles, CA 90029 213 960 5607 MEETINGS Sundays, 5 p.m. Echo Park United Methodist Church 1226 N. Alvarado (North of Sunset, side door)
DETROIT P.O. Box 27205 Detroit MI 48227 MEETINGS Thursdays, 7 p.m. Central Methodist Church Woodward and Adams	FLINT P.O. Box 3384 Flint, MI 48502

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

In May, five months late and over eight months since the September 1993 Palestinian-Israeli peace agreement, Israeli troops finally redeployed in the Gaza Strip and around the West Bank town of Jericho, turning over power to a Palestinian police force composed of Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) militants. While there were some small-scale celebrations in Gaza and Jericho, most Palestinian Arabs were dubious about the prospects for genuine self-rule under the new arrangements.

First, there was the problem of the Israeli government's intransigence and obstruction, the main reason for the unconscionable delay from the originally agreed upon December 1993 date to May 1994 for the implementation of self-rule in Gaza and Jericho. Israel's policy of obstruction continued even after the whole world, including many Israelis, was outraged by the Feb. 25 Hebron massacre of over 40 Arabs by a right-wing follower of Meir Kahane. The government of Yitzhak Rabin was extremely slow in cracking down on Kahane's followers, who are a small fringe element even among the militant Jewish settler movement.

In a stronger position to undermine the peace accords are the 25,000 armed members of the Gush Emunim movement, who live in fortress-like enclaves in the occupied territories and who vow to resist Palestinian self-rule violently. Their leader Rabbi Moshe Levinger openly sanctifies massacres of Arabs, and was himself convicted

Greece in Balkan crisis

Greece has tightened a trade embargo against Macedonia after it was formally recognized as "The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" by the U.S. in February. The Greek government of Andreas Papandreu has become increasingly shrill over its own claims on Macedonia and parts of Albania.

The Greek government has claimed that Macedonia usurped the name and flag of the adjacent region of northern Greece when it declared independence from Yugoslavia in 1991, with aims of ultimately claiming Greek territory. Given the relative size and military might of the two countries, this is absurd and merely a cover for Greece's growing strident nationalism which is entering the Balkan crisis.

A group of right-wing nationalists, supported primarily by the Greek Orthodox church, had laid claim to nearly all of southern Albania, which they call "northern Epirus." The church has financed a radio station which broadcasts to ethnic Greeks who live in Albania, and set up loudspeakers on the border which blast provocative messages and martial music. It is also taking in young Greeks from Albania for "training" and sending them back "to fight for Hellenism and prevent Islam from taking over this country."

In April, a commando group from Greece attacked a military barracks inside Albania. The Greek government has fanned the flames. Only days before the attack, the foreign minister stated that the Greek minority in Albania was attached to Greece by an "umbilical cord." And last summer, after Albania expelled a Greek Orthodox bishop accused of calling for the merging of "northern Epirus" with Greece, the Greek government expelled thousands of Albanians who had been living legally in Greece.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

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

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

some years ago of murdering an Arab in Hebron, for which he received a slap on the wrist ten-week jail sentence. In addition, three prominent rightist rabbis plus former Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir have stated that any Israeli soldier who removes Jewish settlers anywhere has committed a grave sin. Far from standing up to such pressures, the Rabin government has caved in to them again and again.

The second grave contradiction undermining the peace accords is one internal to the Palestinian movement itself. The fractured PLO is in such disarray that even after Israel finally agreed to turn over Gaza and Jericho, the date had to be postponed for several more weeks because the PLO was not ready to take over. PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat's authority has always been based as much on the gun and on money from authoritarian Arab governments as on support from the grassroots. Since losing his financial support from the Arab monarchies after backing Iraq in the Gulf War, Arafat's leverage over the PLO has also weakened, since he is a paymaster without any funds. This may change a bit if new donations promised from leading capitalist nations and Arab governments arrive as promised.

More importantly, in addition to the expected chal-

Yemen's tragic civil war

In May, forces from northern Yemen launched full-scale attacks on those from the South, touching off civil war. Within two weeks, the northern forces were at the gates of Aden, the largest city in the South, and had also moved toward taking control of the South's oil fields.

Ever since 1990, when the military-tribal leaders of North Yemen (population 12 million) agreed with the formerly Marxist-Leninist leadership of South Yemen (population 3 million) to form a single unified state, there have been tensions. The economy went almost immediately into severe crisis when Saudi Arabia expelled thousands of Yemenis who had worked there, some for decades, in reprisal for Yemen's neutral stance during the Gulf War.

In multiparty elections held in 1993, the southern-based Yemen Socialist Party (YSP) placed third, with the dominant northern faction led by President Ali Abdullah Saleh coming in first, and an Islamic religious party taking second place. A string of unsolved murders of key YSP leaders in the years since 1990 has also been a major source of tension, leading YSP politicians from the South to assume residence in Aden last year, creating the implicit threat of a repartition of the country.

This civil war is a particularly tragic one for the Arab-Muslim world. Until 1986, when it self-destructed in a civil war between Stalinist factions, South Yemen had represented a leftist, secularist pole on the Arabian peninsula, where the predominant form of government has been the reactionary, patriarchal sheikdom or kingdom as seen in Saudi Arabia. Even though much secular ground was given up after Yemen's unification, including passage of a new "Islamic" family law in 1992, a few elements of political democracy and of leftist and secular politics remained within unified Yemen. Unless the South succeeds in its new effort at secession, which is unlikely given the balance of military forces and the cynicism of the southern masses toward their leaders ever since 1986, all remnants of leftist politics will face severe repression in a northern-ruled Yemeni state.

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*.

Divided PLO assumes 'power'

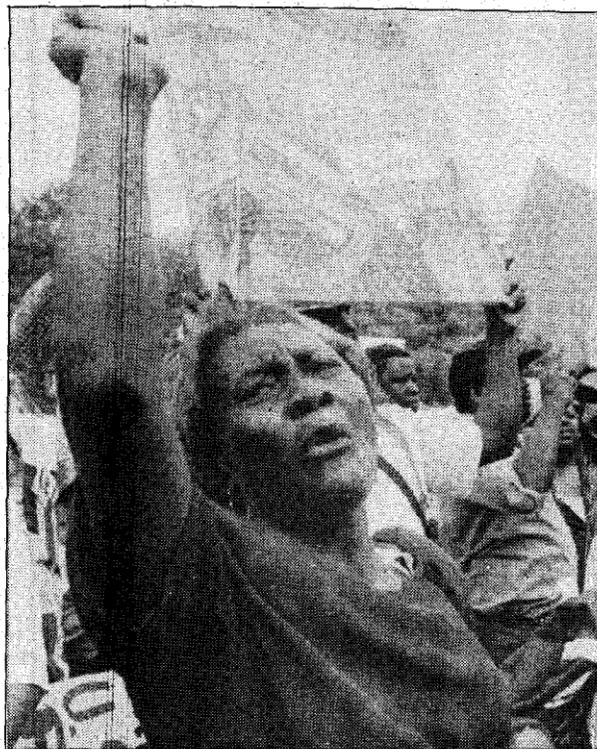
lenges to the peace agreement from rejectionist groups such as Hamas and various Stalinist PLO factions, Arafat is facing opposition even from his trusted lieutenants, people such as Farouk Kaddoumi and Hanan Ashrawi, who agree with the main lines of his policies. Even these former Arafat supporters are refusing to serve under him on the 24-person political authority for Gaza and Jericho, because as one put it: "It does not matter if we are 5, 20, or 24. Arafat will, as usual, make every decision himself."

These conflicts are not limited to the upper levels of the PLO. Over the past several months, key Arafat supporters at the grassroots levels in the territories have been resigning in droves. One key resignation was that of the head of Fatah, Arafat's own PLO faction, in the whole of Gaza. In addition, a group of 120 Palestinian intellectuals including such prominent figures as professor Edward Said, Palestinian national poet Mahmoud Darwish, and former chief Palestinian negotiator Haidar Abdel Shafi, have been demanding democratization of the PLO, so far to no avail. Without this, they predict, Palestinian self-rule will be a disaster.

Further down the road, there are several other problems. When will the elections for Palestinians in the whole of the territories, including Jerusalem, originally promised for July 1994 take place, and under what conditions? Now that Gaza has been largely relinquished to the PLO, something even rightist Israelis accede to, will there be any real movement toward Palestinian self-rule on the West Bank, or in Jerusalem, where the Israeli Right has vowed never to give in and where, in the case of Jerusalem, even Rabin claims he will never give up exclusively Jewish control of this Jewish-Muslim-Christian city? Finally, what will happen to the 2.8 million Palestinians and their descendants who fled in 1948 and the 800,000 who fled in 1967, many of whom today languish in refugee camps in Arab countries?

Haiti refugees betrayed

A U.S.-brokered, UN-sanctioned near total trade embargo on Haiti went into effect May 22, after Haiti's military rulers refused to relinquish power. Instead, on May 11, Gen. Raoul Cedras installed a puppet president, Emil



Jonassaint, showing the military's scorn for both U.S. government policy and ousted president Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Cedras has hinted he may resign from the military and run for president, in a Pinochet-style move, when new elections are scheduled.

The crisis in Haiti took a deep curve when the Clinton administration announced May 9 that it would not automatically return Haitian refugees which the U.S. military abducts on the high seas, but instead provide "due process" before returning them to Haiti, and often death. This so-called change of face was meant to pacify growing criticism of Clinton's policy, especially from Black America.

Nearly two weeks later, not a single Haitian has been "processed"; instead, over 1,000 have been summarily returned. The criteria for a Haitian to qualify for political asylum are so narrow that they rule out virtually the entire country. The hollowness of U.S. concern for the Haitians is obvious in one fact alone: the processing centers are to be set up anywhere but on U.S. soil.

The May embargo is turning Haiti into a nation of near total unemployment; since the latest sanctions were first announced, nearly all foreign capitalists have shut down their factories, throwing thousands more out of work. At the same time, the Haitian military has stepped up its repression against the Haitian people together with a campaign of narrow nationalism against U.S. imperialism.

Despite this, the U.S. government wants above all to reach a reconciliation with the Haitian military, or its successors, in order to avert anything like the 1986 uprising which overthrew the decades of Duvalier rule. It is crucial now to oppose U.S. imperialist intervention while supporting the Haitian people's opposition to their own class rulers.